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QUESTION II

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH

"God, who, at sundry times and in divers manners, spoke in times past to the fathers by the prophets, last of all, in these days hath spoken to us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also he made the world. (Heb. I: 1) The Son of God established His religion upon the earth. This book presumes that this has been proven elsewhere. In this book we must inquire whether the religion of Christ has the nature of a church.

It seems best to start from the institution of this church under a general aspect, which I believe to be in conformity with the intellectual process, and which is indicated by St. Thomas Aquinas, who in the I Sent. IV, dist. 17, q. 3, art. 1, sol. 5 says: "The ministers of the Church are instituted in the Church which is established by God; therefore the institution of the Church is presupposed for the operation of the ministers, just as the work of creation is presupposed with regard to the work of nature." At present we inquire:

FIRST. WHAT THE NAME "CHURCH" MEANS.

SECOND. WHETHER CHRIST IMMEDIATELY ESTABLISHED THE CHURCH.

THIRD. WHETHER THE SANCTIFICATION OF MEN IS THE PROXIMATE END OF THE CHURCH.

FOURTH. WHEN THE CHURCH WAS INSTITUTED.

ARTICLE I

[I]

THE MEANING OF THE WORD "CHURCH"

[I.1] THE MEANING OF THE WORD "CHURCH". *Church* comes from a Greek word *ἐκκαλεω*, from which comes in turn the word *ἐκκλησία*, which means "evocation" or "calling out." In its widest sense it refers to the group of men who are drawn together by a vocation or calling. It could refer to a good group or to a bad group. In Psalm XXV: 5 we read: "*I have hated the assembly of the malignant.*" [*Odivi ecclesiam malignantium*] If we take the word "church" in a more narrow sense, it signifies a religious group, either partial as in Acts VIII: 1 (I Cor. I: 2), or universal, as in Matth. XVI: 18: "*Super hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam meam.*" [*Upon this rock I will*

build My Church]. Metaphorically it is restricted to a place in which the faithful come together for the purpose of worshipping God. In the very ancient creed which is known as the *Apostle's Creed*, Christians professed the *holy Church*.

[I.2] St. Thomas Aquinas, in his commentary *In Symbolum Apostolorum* notes, concerning this article of the creed: "The holy Church is the same thing as the *congregation of the faithful*; any Christian is just like a member of this Church, concerning which Ecclesiasticus in the last chapter, verse 31, says: "*Draw near to me, ye unlearned, and gather yourselves together into the house of discipline.*"

[1.3] In a special way, the word is used to signify the faithful who are associated in confessing the religion of Christ according to a threefold state, that is: [1] the militants on earth; [2] the suffering in Purgatory; [3] the triumphant in heaven. The Church Militant, because it is extended to those also who worshipped God through Christ who was to come in the future, had three states. The first was in the family of Adam and of his descendants, inasmuch as they persevered in the primeval revelation; the second is in those who received the written law from Moses; the third is among those who embraced the religion of the incarnate Christ.

- The word "church" is taken in the present use in its last meaning, according to the Roman Catechism: "The Church Militant is the society of all the faithful still dwelling on earth, and is called militant, because it wages eternal war with those implacable enemies, the world, the flesh, and the devil." Cf. St. Thomas, IIIa, q. 8, art. III & IV.

[1.4] The mysteries of the divine goodness are seen in the very word *ecclesia*, which word by custom was proper to the Christian Church. "Moreover, from this calling we shall better understand the end which the Christian should propose to himself, that is, the knowledge and possession of things eternal, when we reflect why the faithful living under the law, were of old, called a synagogue, that is, a congregation: as St. Augustine observes, 'they were so called, because, like cattle which usually go together, they looked only to terrestrial and transitory things; and hence the Christian people are called a church, not a synagogue, because, despising terrestrial and transitory things, they aspired only to things heavenly and eternal.'" (*Catechism of the Council of Trent*, Part I, no. 10, 3)

[1.5] II. On the idea of the Church according to non-Catholics. Here we will treat [1] of the heretics before Luther; [2] of Luther and the reformers of the sixteenth century; [3] of the unbelieving Protestants; [4] of the protestant reaction.

[1.6] [1] The Donatists, the Pelagians, the Catharists, and Waldensians had asserted that the Church was a congregation of the *just*, or of those who are completely immune of sin. The followers

of Wycliffe and the Hussites contended that the Church was a congregation of the *predestined*. But it is asked how a group which consists exclusively both of members and of a hierarchy of the just or the predestined could be discerned as an institution or society from other groups. And indeed, that very concept of the Church is such that the very group, and especially the government of this group, is removed entirely from the sight of mortal men. For this reason we are led to *individualism*.

[1.7] [2] Luther, whose doctrine in this matter had a great deal of weight among the Protestants, substituted particular churches (*Gemeinde*) for the universal church. In fact, if the principles of protestantism are considered in their totality, only *individualism* is admitted by the reformers. For their principles are: (a) *faith alone*; (b) *clear and sufficient scripture*; (c) for the same reason it is necessary that each one "*be an absolutely free judge of all things, having been taught only by God*" (Luther: *De instituendis ecclesia ministris*); (d) *the sacraments of the New Law do not confer grace ex opere operato*, and (e) *there is no hierarchy by divine right*. If these things are admitted, then without difficulty one understands the Church to be an *ecclesiastical mass*, which is endowed with no organization or institutions. In that mass, there is hidden the *true and perfect Church*, which appears only *per accidens*; from the same mass, since the faithful come together in communities (*Gemeinde*) the imperfect Church springs up visibly.

[1.8] [3] In modern times, people have thought up [A] the ideal Church; [B] the ethical Church; [C] the pantheistic Church, and [D] the esthetic Church.

[1.9] [A] The *ideal Church*-in-fact does not exist as a group, but is an empty idea or a kind very sublime example, which can be expressed nowhere. [B] It is proper ^{to me} for the *ethical Church* to have no dogma, but only a moral doctrine, which pertains to its essence. Those things which do not pertain immediately and uniquely to morals are considered transitory. [C] The concept of the *pantheistic Church* proceeds from the idea that the Church should be considered to be only a contemporary form of that necessary evolution

which it undergoes according to nature under the influence of an immanent God. [D] Strauss¹ says that the term Church refers to an *inferior esthetic school*, which ought to be abandoned by the human race now that it is emancipated. Magnificent things, he says, have supplied for the Church in our times both in the life of the political state, and in the group of poets and musicians. (*Der alte und der neue Glaube*, p. 293)

[1.10] [4] By a certain reaction [A] the neo-Lutherans under leadership of Kliefoth² and the Puseyites under Pusey³ and the Puseyites teach more or less openly that the Church is joined together by an objective bond, that is, in it are found offices and functions which are proper, and which have power over the faithful. [B] Others have fallen into a notion of a *fanatical* Church, for since the *kingdom of God*, which was announced by the prophets, never appears in any place, according to the Protestant concept of the Church, some, falling into a passive millenarianism, affirm that the Second Coming of Christ must be awaited; others, having embraced an active millenarianism, say that Sion is being built by men whom the Spirit of God impels. From this the idea of a socio-political Church arose, by which it is asserted that the proximate end of Christ was national, that is, that the purpose of Christ's coming was that He found a people and a kingdom in the strict sense, and not that He build a Church. However, this "people" must be constituted before Christ comes again in order to found His *kingdom*.

[1.11] III. THE DEFINITION OF THE CHURCH ACCORDING TO CATHOLICS. St. Thomas says that

¹ David Friedrich Strauss (or Strauß) (January 27, 1808 – February 8, 1874) was a German theologian and writer. He scandalized Christian Europe with his portrayal of the "historical Jesus," whose divine nature he denied. His work was connected to the Tübingen School, which revolutionized study of the New Testament, early Christianity, and ancient religions. (*Wikipedia*)

² Theodor Friedrich Dethlof Kliefoth, German Neo-Lutheran; born at Körchow near Wittenburg (17 m. s.w. of Schwerin), Mecklenburg-Schwerin, January 18, 1810; died at Schwerin January 26, 1895. (*Wikipedia*)

³ Edward Bouverie Pusey (22 August 1800 – 16 September 1882), was an English churchman and Regius Professor of Hebrew at Christ Church, Oxford. He was one of the leaders of the Oxford Movement. (*Wikipedia*)

the Church, in the wayfaring state (*in statu viae*), is a congregation of the faithful (*congregatio fidelium*)

(III^a, q. 8, art. 4, ad 2) Cf. *In Sent.* IV, dist. 20, q. I, art. 4; *Contra Gent.*, book IV, 78. A definition which is less incomplete and more explicit, and which has been expressed by various authors in various ways, but which is reduced to the same thing, is this: *A group of the baptized faithful, who are united by the profession of the same faith, by participation in the same sacraments, under the vicar of Christ on earth, the Roman Pontiff.*

[1.12] The definition is explained. The *congregation of the faithful* means the same thing as the society of the faithful. But a society is a uniting of men for the purpose of doing one thing in common. (St. Thomas in the *Contra Impugnantes*, c. 3.) But the members of that society or city are united not merely by a certain equality of affection and bond of friendship, but by a divine bond of law and by objective institutions of profession, sacraments, and government. Concerning this bond of ecclesiastical society, St. Thomas wrote: "In any city, there must be these four things in common, in order that it be one, namely: *one governor, one law, the same insignia, and the same end*. St. Paul says that these four things are in the Church." The holy doctor explains each one. There is (1) *one governor* because the Church has one leader, namely Christ, of whom the representatives on earth are the Roman Pontiff and the prelates. This is explained by St. Thomas elsewhere, namely in the IIa IIæ, q. 78, a. 12. There is (2) *one law*, which is the law of faith. There is *one faith*, that is, you are ordered to believe the same thing, and to operate in the same manner, because one and the same thing is believed by all the faithful, and for this reason it is called the universal or catholic Church. For this reason, in the I Cor. I: 20, it says: "*Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you all speak the same thing, and that there be no schisms among you; but that you be perfect in the same mind, and in the same judgment.*" (3) There are the *same insignia*, namely the sacraments of Christ, which are sources and instruments of divine grace. There is (4) the *same end*, which is God (*In Ephes.* IV, lect. 2), for the beatific vision

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of whom men are prepared through the supernatural life of faith and charity. Therefore, by the proposed definition, are expressed both the mystical life of the Church and its organization and hierarchical form. These two things are one: those things which appear visibly as an institution of social unity ordered by God, and the intimate mystical life, nourished by the mysteries of faith, renewed and increased interiorly by the sacraments, the life of supernatural movement and of union with God through the grace of Christ, the Redeemer of all men. Nor should one think that these two things are joined by a merely external connection. For what you see as a group here on earth lives its life for the purpose that it manifest that internal life flowing from Christ into itself, and communicate it to the whole world.

[1.13] What we will cover here in a few words must be elaborated, and within the limits of Apologetics, to be proved by our discourses. From what has been said, however, it is sufficiently apparent that the concept of the Church, to the extent that it has the nature of a society, differs completely in the Catholic doctrine from the Protestant notion. There are two reasons for this: [1] Protestantism seeks the efficient principle of the Church from the individual, whereas Catholics say that it is contained in the objective institutions of Christ. [2] Protestants assert that only an ideal and internal union pertains essentially to the Church, whereas Catholics believe that there is also a social and external bond instituted by the founder of the Church.

[1.14] IV. CERTAIN FIGURES, PARABLES, AND NAMES OF THE CHURCH. [1] The Church in the Old Testament is considered to be prefigured by *paradise* and *Eve*, by the *Ark of Noe*, by the *Jewish people*, by the *Temple of Jerusalem*, and in Daniel II

by the rock which is cut out from the mountain without hands, and becomes the great mountain and fills the whole earth.

[1.15] [2] The parables by which the Church is depicted in the gospel are expressed in this verse:

Ecclesiam Christi parabola quina figurat:
Arx, convivium, retia, pascua, ager.

The parable gives five figures of the Church of Christ:
A fortress, a banquet, nets, pastures, and a field.

One could also mention *a ship* (Cf. St. Hippolytus, *De Christo et Antichristo*, chap. LIX, and St. Thomas in the *Catena Aurea*, In Luc. V., no. 1)

[1.16] [3] The *names* of the Church are: the *house of God* (I Tim. III); *a city* (Matth. V); *a kingdom*, Matth: XIII, Luke: XIII, John: XVIII); *a flock* (John: X); *the body of Christ* (Eph: IV); *the spouse of Christ* (St. Methodius in *Convivium*, orat. VIII, 5); *virgin and mother* (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* IV, 26; VII, 5) *a lily*, "because just as a lily shines among thorns, so the Church of God shines above all the associations of men." (St. Ambrose, *In psalm.* CXVIII, v. 33); *a dove*, corresponding to the verse in the Canticle of Canticles VI: *One is my dove* (St. Augustine, *De Bapt.* book IV, 3); *a dove and queen* (St. Pacianus, *Ep.* 1); *Jerusalem*, as it is written: *And I John saw the holy city, the new Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God*, (Apoc. XXI: 2) — Cf. St. Thomas, *In Ephes.* II. lect. VI and the Catechism of the Council of Trent, pt. I, art. 9.

ARTICLE II

[2]

WHETHER CHRIST IMMEDIATELY FOUNDED THE CHURCH

[2.1] I. THE *status questionis*. If we take the word *Church* in a vague sense, understanding nothing except a multitude of *individuals*, among whom there is a community of any Christian idea whatsoever, there is no one who would doubt that Christ founded the Church. But here it is asked whether the Church was founded which corresponds to the Catholic concept, which was described in article 1. In other words, did the Savior unite all of His followers into *one society* in the proper sense of the term? This also must be proved, something which our adversaries do not concede to us, namely that the Church and all of its essential things have as their *principal efficient, and immediate cause* nothing else than Christ Himself. For there seems to be no dispute about the *material cause* of the Church, which consists of the faithful. This therefore is the question, whether from the first disciples the Church was *immediately* established by Christ Himself as *one social body* or one moral body, which more accurately would be called *moral person, into which body*, by the decree of the Lord, *all* who in subsequent centuries would believe in Him, would be obliged to be incorporated. We say *immediately*, for the reason that the Church was founded by Christ without the mediation of other persons.

[2.2] II. THE OPINIONS OF THE ADVERSARIES. Luther and the other reformers of the sixteenth century, in order to more easily take away the authority of the Catholic Church, perverted the very idea of the Church by neglecting the *social institution* of the Church, and teaching only the principle of *faith alone*. Christ established through the faith alone of the faithful a *multitude* but not a *society* of the faithful, that is, a Church in the proper sense of the term. The Church or the society of the faithful is caused by the faithful themselves, inasmuch as they organize themselves into many communions (*Gemeinde*) or churches or little churches. Therefore [1] the society or Church is not established immediately by Christ

but by the faithful; [2] the faithful effect only *communities*, but not one group of all the faithful. Calvin tried to retard the consequences of this doctrine. He promotes the idea of a social Church with these words: "Participation in the Church is so great, that it retains us in association with God." He furthermore declares that the act of leaving the Church is a "denial of God and of Christ." (*Instit.* book IV, chap. I no. 3 and 10). In other places, however, Calvin teaches that the true Church of Christ consists in the aggregation of the saints in the society of Christ, and that they are in communion with one another. (Cf. l.c., no. 3) But the true notion of the Church demands [1] that the faithful, and not merely the holy, be gathered together; [2] that they be gathered together not only in the society of Christ, but also in a society amongst themselves; [3] that they be gathered together not through a communion with each other, but through a social bond established by Christ. The errors of many modern Protestants concerning the origin of the Church return to this one. They say that the Church was made by a merely human process, or by a type of pantheistic evolution. J. Drummond, Sabatier, and others hold that the concept of a Church was alien to the mind of Christ and of His preaching. Salvador explicitly denies that any religion, distinct from the synagogue, can be attributed to Christ as its author.

[2.3] It must be proven by us that the Church, taken in that sense in which we have explained it, in fact came forth from Christ.

[2.4] *Thesis:* CHRIST IMMEDIATELY ESTABLISHED THE CHURCH.

[2.5] ARGUMENT I. St. Thomas said: "He establishes something who gives to it its strength and power." (IIIa, q. 64, a. 2) Christ, however, gave to the Church those things by which it has strength and power of a society, in the true sense of the term, namely: [A] *one fixed and determined*

faith; [B] certain sacred institutions; [C] a legitimate government. Therefore Christ instituted a society of the faithful.

[2.6] *Proof of the minor.* [A] IN ONE FIXED AND DETERMINED FAITH. For the Savior imposed His doctrine on everyone. But the doctrine of Christ is without doubt a fixed and determined faith. Ergo. Christ clearly said: "Going therefore, teach ye all nations; baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world." (Matth. XXVIII: 19, 20; Mark XVI: 15-16; Matth. V: 18-19). St. Paul said: "But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach a gospel to you besides that which we have preached to you, let him be anathema." (Gal. I: 8) *One Lord, one faith, one baptism.* (Eph. IV: 5)

[2.7] [B] IN ^{Certain} SACRED INSTITUTIONS. In this place those things ought to be pointed out which are more accessible. [1] All are united in one baptism. For we read in Mark XVI: 16: *He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved: but he that believeth not shall be condemned.* (Cf. Matth. XXVIII: 19) In responding to Nicodemus, Jesus said: *Amen, amen I say to thee, unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.* St. Paul said: *One Lord, one faith, one baptism.* (Eph. IV: 5)

[2.8] [2] A determined celebration of the Eucharist is prescribed by the Savior. Jesus said in the Cenacle: *Hoc facite in meam commemorationem.* (Luke XXII: 19) St. Paul said: "For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread. And giving thanks, broke, and said: Take ye, and eat: this is my body, which shall be delivered for you: this do for the commemoration of me. In like manner also the chalice, after he had supped, saying: This chalice is the new testament in my blood: this do ye, as often as you shall drink, for the commemoration of me. For as often as you shall eat this bread, and drink the chalice, you shall shew the death of the Lord, until he come. Therefore whosoever shall eat this bread, or drink the chalice of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and of the blood of the Lord. But let a man prove himself: and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of the chalice. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment to himself, not discerning the body of the Lord. Therefore are there

many infirm and weak among you, and many sleep." (I Cor. XI: 23-30) It is not necessary, however, that we say at this time what the Holy Eucharist contains. Other institutions, namely the sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction, we will pass over in silence, since these are rejected entirely by most of the heretics.


[2.9] [C] UNDER LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT. It is evident that the power of preaching and remitting sins, the function of ruling and officiating, was not conferred upon everyone indiscriminately, but upon certain persons, who alone acquired the ministry from Christ. And so to some determined persons it was said: "Peace be to you. As the Father hath sent me, I also send you. When he had said this, he breathed on them; and he said to them: Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them; and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained." (John XX: 21-23) "Amen I say to you, whatsoever you shall bind upon earth, shall be bound also in heaven; and whatsoever you shall loose upon earth, shall be loosed also in heaven." (Matth. XVIII: 18) Cf. Matth. XVI: 16; Mark XVI: 15; Luke XXII: 19 & 32; John XXI: 15; I Cor. IV: 1. etc.

[2.10] This entire argument is confirmed by a public fact, namely Clement of Rome, Hermas, Ignatius of Antioch, Polycarp and many other Fathers, and even the pagans, such as Pliny and Celsus, have handed down to us that there was in fact an existing universal Church, which from the beginning was the one and unique *Church of the living God* (I Tim. III: 15)

[2.11] ARGUMENT II. The words of Christ in Matthew XVI: 18, *edificabo ecclesiam meam*, manifestly indicate one society of all the faithful. But this idea of the Lord must be held to be absolutely authentic, not only by those who believe that Sacred Scripture is the word of God, but by everyone as a historical testimony. Therefore Christ immediately established the Church. *Proof of the minor.* [A] From the absolutely perfect consent of all of the codices, and most ancient sources. [B] From the fact that the unique or at least principal reason for doubting among the incredulous is that Christ had no concept at all of the Church in His mind or preaching. But this reasoning collapses, both because it is gratuitous, and because we have shown in our first argument that the concept of the Church was completely in agreement with the mind and preaching of the

Savior. [c] From the fact that otherwise there is no proportionate cause for such a great effect such as the Church. For Harnack,⁴ since the word "church" was in use before St. Paul used it (Gal. I: 22), found nothing to explain the origin of the word than the very great ingenuity of the Palestinian Christians in selecting this term.

[2.12] It is confirmed from other testimonies of Sacred Scripture from which it is apparent that all of the faithful of Christ and all of the particular Churches were congregated into one society. The word of St. Paul is "*ecclesia Dei vivi*" In I Tim. There is also "*persecutus sum ecclesiam Dei*" in I Cor. XV: 9. (Cf. I Cor XII: 28). St Luke writes in Acts IX: 31: "*Now the church had peace throughout all Judea, and Galilee, and Samaria; and was edified, walking in the fear of the Lord, and was filled with the consolation of the Holy Ghost.*" This one Church is united to Christ as a body is to the head: "*And he hath subjected all things under his feet, and hath made him head over all the church, Which is his body, and the fullness of him who is filled all in all.*" (Eph. I: 22-23) (Cf. V: 22-33; Col. I: 24) The faithful from among the Jews and the Gentiles were made one through Christ. "*For he is our peace, who hath made both one, and breaking down the middle wall of partition, the enmities in his flesh: Making void the law of commandments contained in decrees; that he might make the two in himself into one new man, making peace.*" (Eph. II: 14). Furthermore this one and unique congregation of the faithful is compared to a *kingdom, a house, a city, a flock.* (Acts I: 3; I Timothy III: 15; Apocalypse III: 12; John X: 16)

[2.13] ARGUMENT  From harmonious considerations. [a] Grace does not take away nature, but perfects it, as St. Thomas says in the Ia, q. I, art. 7 and in the *Super Boet. de Trinitate*, q. 2, art. 3. But man by his nature is inclined to society.

⁴ Adolf von Harnack (7 May 1851–10 June 1930), was a German theologian and prominent church historian. He produced many religious publications from 1873-1912. Harnack traced the influence of Hellenistic philosophy on early Christian writing and called on Christians to question the authenticity of doctrines that arose in the early Christian church. He rejected the gospel of John in favor of the synoptic gospels, criticized the Apostles' Creed, and promoted the social gospel. In the 19th century, higher criticism flourished in Germany, establishing the historical-critical method as an academic standard for interpreting the Bible and understanding the historical Jesus (see Tübingen school). Harnack's iconoclastic work is part of this tradition. (Wikipedia)

Therefore a society which is supernatural, that is, the Church, seems to be in agreement with man



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who has been restored to the supernatural order.

[2.14] [b] St. Thomas says: "Just as in other things, also does God provide to man according to his condition." (*Contra Gent.*, book IV, no. 64). But this is the condition of men: that they obtain more easily most things by

living in society, and that they most efficaciously avoid most evils. Therefore it is suitable to men who are observing the religion of Christ, that the religion of Christ be endowed with the nature of a society, and certainly the good of true doctrine and of Christian life is obtained more certainly in a society by which the truth is proposed and acts are directed. A society, furthermore, has the greatest force in the consent of the good against the evil, as very evil conspirators show.

[2.15] [c] Social perfection, if it can be said of figures and shadows, cannot be denied to the truth. But the Judaic religion, which was a shadow of the future religion, was a certain society. Therefore, by analogy with the Judaic religion, it seems congruous that the Christian religion, which has the truth of the figures, should have the form of a society.

OBJECTIONS

[2.16] OBJECTION I. Christ taught men to live right. But we are united by living rightly in an ideal and ethical manner only, and not in a society or church in the proper sense. Therefore Christ instituted no concrete church, but only an ideal one.

[2.17] RESPONSE. I respond by *distinguishing* the major. Christ taught that we live correctly and in the Church, *I concede*, outside the Church, *I deny*. *I distinguish* the minor. We are not united into a concrete Church by living correctly according to the precepts of Christ, *I deny*, according to the judgement of men, *I concede*, for it has been proven, and will be proven more, that

Christ ordered that men be incorporated into a Church. But he is not considered to be innocent who resists this order. St. Augustine comments: "Pagans may say, then, 'We live well.' If they enter not by the door, what good will that do them, whereof they boast? For to this end ought good living to benefit every one, that it may be given him to live for ever: for to whomsoever eternal life is not given, of what benefit is the living well? For they ought not to be spoken of as even living well, who either from blindness know not the end of a right life, or in their pride despise it. But no one has the true and certain hope of living always, unless he know the life, that it is Christ; and enter by the gate into the sheepfold." (*In Joannem*, 45)

[2.18] **INSTANCE.** The religion of humanity transcends all the churches. But Christ instituted a religion of humanity. For it is written in James I: 27: "*Religion clean and undefiled before God and the Father, is this: to visit the fatherless and widows in their tribulation: and to keep one's self unspotted from this world.*" Therefore the religion of Christ transcends all churches whatsoever.

[2.19] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the major. The religion of humanity transcends all religions whatsoever according to ^{the} naturalistic concept of religion, *I concede*; according to the precepts of Christ, *I deny*. Therefore I likewise *distinguish* the minor. For the proof of the minor, *I distinguish*: St. James taught these things including the other precepts of Christ, *I concede*, excluding them, *I deny*. The precepts of Christ concerning the Church are clear. Therefore he who denies these precepts *a priori*, based on human opinions and doctrines, does not keep himself immaculate from this world.

[2.20] **OBJECTION II.** Men, when they are worshipping Christ, join themselves together and make the Church. The Church, therefore, since it arises from men, has not been established by Christ.

[2.21] I respond *by distinguishing*. The Church, because it joins men together, is in need of men materially, *I concede*, but effectively, *I deny*. And I deny the conclusion. Christ united His own into a society, giving to them all things which are required for a social union and a Church, that is, the unity of doctrine, common institutions, and a government. The faithful are joined as matter

and new members to that body and society, which they do not make, but find already established.

[2.23] **INSTANCE.** St. Irenæus said: *Ubi spiritus Dei, ibi ecclesia*. Where there is the Spirit of God, there is the Church. Therefore the Church is said to be from the internal state of man, and not from a social bond.

[2.24] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the statement of St. Irenæus, *ubi Spiritus Dei, ibi ecclesia*, supposing the existence of the Church, *I concede*, not supposing it, *I deny*, and I deny the conclusion. The full text of St. Irenæus is: "For where the Church is, there is the Spirit of God; and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church, and every kind of grace; but the Spirit is truth. Those, therefore, who do not partake of Him, are neither nourished into life from the mother's breasts, nor do they enjoy that most limpid fountain which issues from the body of Christ; but they dig for themselves broken cisterns (Jeremias II: 13) out of earthly trenches, and drink putrid water out of the mire, fleeing from the faith of the Church lest they be convicted; and rejecting the Spirit, that they may not be instructed." (*Adv. Haereses*, III, 24) By these words the most sublime union of the Holy Ghost with the Church is signified. This union, however, arises from Christ, who promised to the Church, instituted by Himself, the Holy Ghost. But it is so far from the mind of St. Irenæus that he would admit a merely ideal union of the faithful, that he would always at the same time persevere in teaching the objective institutions by which the social unity or concrete Church is effected, as well as the sacraments and the divine hierarchy. In fact, as men multiplied who were filled with the Spirit of God, what is produced is not an ecclesiastical mass, but an organization or social form. But Christ gave to the Church all those things on which the strength and power of a society, taken in the proper sense, rely.

[2.25] **OBJECTION III.** The word "church" is found in St. Matthew only twice: in XVI: 18 (*edificabo ecclesiam meam*) and in XVIII: 17 (*dic ecclesiae*). But it is never found in the other gospels. Therefore it is uncertain whether Christ Himself used that word from which the institution of the Church would be proved.

[2.26] **RESPONSE.** I respond *by distinguishing the antecedent*. We do not read the word "church" in the other gospels with regard to the word itself; I

Doesn't make complete sense

concede, but with regard to the *thing*, I deny, and I deny the consequent. Nothing follows, even if the Lord used in the cited places the Aramaic word, which, although it does not mean precisely the same thing as *church*, nevertheless would ~~dignify~~ *signify*

group or society of the faithful. We have shown the reality, namely that whatever pertains to the establishment of a true society of the faithful or social union, was given and ordered by Christ Himself.

ARTICLE III

[3]

WHETHER THE SANCTIFICATION OF MEN IS THE PROXIMATE END OF THE CHURCH

[3.1] THE ENDS OF THE CHURCH. The end is that because of which something happens. The *ultimate* end of the Church is the obtainment of eternal salvation. The *proximate* end of the Church is the *sanctification of men in this life*. The primary end consists of supernatural goods; the secondary end consists of many temporal goods. Here we are speaking about the proximate end of the Church, which is the sanctification of men in this life.

[3.2] II. WHAT THE "SANCTIFICATION OF MEN" MEANS IN THE THESIS. Sanctification consists in being cleansed from sin and confirmed in the good, which the grace of Christ has effected for the supernatural order. It is necessary, however, that that sanctification and the function of sanctifying, which we affirm to have been confided to the Church by Christ, be extended to all acts of human life. There are three types of human acts: (1) acts of the mind ordered to God; (2) acts of the body ordered to God; (3) acts towards one's neighbor for God's sake. S. Thomas. *In Bet. De Trin.*, q. III. art. 2.

[3.3] The *finis operantis* of the Church is to protect, propagate, and exercise the true religion of Jesus Christ, and therefore to *primarily* generate and nourish in man the life of faith and charity, by which we are joined to God in the greatest way, and *secondarily* to lead men to exterior acts of

religion, inasmuch as exterior things are connected to interior things. (St. Thom. Ia IIæ q. 101, art. 2)

[3.4] III. EXPLANATION OF THE MEANING OF SANCTIFICATION WHICH WE ATTRIBUTE TO THE CHURCH. [1] God alone is the principal author of all sanctification; the Church of Christ is merely the instrument. For it is written: "*Being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption, that is in Christ Jesus.*" (Rom. III: 24) The Council of Trent declared: "If anyone says that without the anticipatory inspiration of the Holy Ghost and without His assistance man can believe, hope, and love or be repentant, as he ought, so that the grace of justification may be conferred upon him: let him be anathema." (Denz. 813) (2) By the *ordinary* way, men can only be sanctified in the communion of the Church. The *extraordinary* way is for those who labor under invincible ignorance, who can be saved by the operation of grace. Heretics in good faith are considered to belong to the Church.⁵ (3) The function of sanctification which is committed to the Church, no more than the sanctifying action of Christ, as the principal cause, ~~excludes~~ *does not exclude* the free cooperation of men.

[3.5] IV. THE OPINIONS OF THE ADVERSARIES. Protestants reject the use of men as

⁵ There is an important distinction to make which is made by other authors: Heretics who are visibly outside the Church (e.g., Lutherans) who are in good faith belong to the Church only *in voto* but not *in re*; heretics in good faith who are visibly in the Church belong to the Church *in re*.

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instruments of salvation. Given the doctrine of *faith alone* and *clear and sufficient Scripture*, the ministry of the Church seems to be devoid of meaning. Modernists are of similar opinion.

[3.6] *Thesis: THE SANCTIFICATION OF MEN IS THE PROXIMATE END OF THE CHURCH.*

ARGUMENTS

[3.7] ARGUMENT I. Christ founded His religion for the sanctification of souls. But Christ founded His religion in the Church, which is evident from the preceding article. Therefore the end of the Church is the sanctification of souls.

[3.8] ARGUMENT II. *From Sacred Scripture.* Christ was sent in order to sanctify men. But the Church is the *instrument* by which Christ, as principal cause, continues His mission. This is proven [A] by the *holy mission* of the Apostles and their successors. For Christ said to them: "*As the Father has sent Me, I also send you.*" (John XX: 21) "*I have chosen you, and have appointed you, that you should go and bring forth fruit, and that your fruit should remain.*" (John XV: 16) [B] from the *sanctifying power and offices*, by which Christ delegated them. These are the power of preaching, baptizing, remitting sin, and of binding and loosing. (John XX: 23; Luke X: 16) [C] *From the divine help* given to the Church to complete its mission of sanctification. To the Church are promised both the permanent presence of Christ (Matth. XXVIII: 20); and the Holy Ghost and the divine charisms (John. XIV: 16), pertaining to the Church alone, which in Sacred Scripture is called the *body* of Christ and the *fullness* of Christ. (Ephes. I: 23.; II: 21.; IV.: 11-14.; I Cor. XII: 12-27).⁶

⁶ It is for this reason that non-Catholic religions cannot be means of salvation, or even means of sanctification, since they lack these very things, i.e., the *mission from Christ, the power and offices which He established, and the divine help.*

[3.9] ARGUMENT III. *From the Fathers.* [A] All of the Fathers hold that it is necessary that men be in the Church and that they be sanctified through her. Therefore sanctification is the proper end of the Church. *Proof.* St. Ignatius of Antioch: "However many, led by penance, should return to the unity of the Church, they will be of God, in order that they live according to Jesus Christ. Make no mistake, my brothers. If anyone should become part of a schism, he does not obtain the inheritance of the divine kingdom." (*Ad Philadel.* chap. III) [Then how can schismatic churches be "means of salvation?"] St. Irenaeus: "God placed the apostles, prophets, and doctors in the Church and the rest of the universal operation of the Spirit. They do not participate in these things who do not run to the Church." (*Adv. haer.* Lib. III) St. Cyprian: "We are born of this Church, we are nourished by its milk, and we are animated by its spirit." (*De eccl. unit.* cap. V., cf. S. Methodium, *Conv. Orat.* VIII, 6). St. Cyprian: "He cannot have God as his Father, who does not have the Church as his mother." (*loc. cit.*, chap. VI) Lactantius: in *Div. inst.* lib. IV., 30.: "This [the Church] is the fountain of truth." St. Augustine: "Only the Catholic Church is the Body of Christ...He who, therefore, wants to have the Holy Ghost, must beware not to remain outside of the Church." (*Ep.* 185. n. 50). [Compare Vatican II: "It follows that the separated Churches and Communities as such, though we believe them to be deficient in some respects, have been by no means deprived of significance and importance in the mystery of salvation. For the Spirit of Christ has not refrained from using them as means of salvation which derive their efficacy from the very fullness of grace and truth entrusted to the Church."]

[3.10] [B] Archeology teaches this holy function of the Church expressed in inscriptions. [See book].

[3.11] Corollary I. Since the end of the Church is spiritual and supernatural, it follows that *the Church is a spiritual and supernatural society.*

[3.12] Corollary II. Since no one but a sanctified person is able to attain beatitude, and since sanctification is found only in the true

religion of Christ, *it follows that the Church is a necessary society.*

[3.13] COROLLARY III. *The Church ought to be loved.* "For the Church is the holy City of the living God, born of God Himself, and by Him built up and established. Upon this earth, indeed, she accomplishes her pilgrimage, but by instructing and guiding men she summons them to eternal happiness. We are bound, then, to love dearly the country whence we have received the means of enjoyment this mortal life affords, but we have a much more urgent obligation to love, with ardent love, the Church to which we owe the life of the soul, a life that will endure forever. For fitting it is to prefer the good of the soul to the well-being of the body, inasmuch as duties toward God are of a far more hallowed character than those toward men." — Leo XIII in *Sapientia Christiana*.

OBJECTIONS

[3.14] OBJECTION I. It is necessary that men be sanctified before they be incorporated into the Church. Therefore sanctification, since it precedes, does not seem to be the proper end of the Church.

[3.15] RESPONSE. *I distinguish the antecedent.* Men must be previously sanctified before they are incorporated into the Church *improperly, I concede; properly, I deny.* Sanctification *properly* is the infusion of grace, the washing from sins and the confirmation in good. Sanctification *improperly* is said to be those dispositions by which man is prepared for faith and justification. These dispositions ordinarily precede in time incorporation in the Church. But through baptism men are both adopted as sons of God and at the same time become participants in the unity of the Church. Cf. IIIa, q. 39, art. 8 ad 3um, and q. 67, art. 2.⁷

⁷ "Priests are consecrated for the purpose of celebrating the sacrament of Christ's Body, as stated above (Question 65, Article 3). Now that is the sacrament of ecclesiastical unity, according to the Apostle (1 Corinthians 10:17): "We, being many, are one bread, one body, all that partake of one bread and one chalice." Moreover, by Baptism a man becomes a participator in ecclesiastical unity, wherefore also he receives the right to approach our Lord's Table. Consequently, just as it belongs to a priest to consecrate the Eucharist, which is the

[3.16] ~~INSTANCE~~ ^{fact are} Holy men are not obtained for the fact they are members of the Church, but because they are holy, therefore they should be considered members of the Church because they are holy.

[3.17] RESPONSE. The entire reasoning limps. Men are neither sanctified by ecclesiastical communion alone nor are they incorporated into the Church for the fact they are holy. But men must be sanctified through the Church, together with the cooperation of their own free will.

[3.18] OBJECTION II. The faithful desire eagerly to be united to Christ through religious life. But if the sanctification of men is the purpose of the Church, no immediate union with Christ is had.

[3.19] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. This union is excluded by the Church, *I deny*; it is effected by the Church, *I subdistinguish*: instrumentally, *I concede*, principally, *I deny*. Likewise *I distinguish* the minor: there is no such thing as an immediate union *secundum quid*, *I concede*; *simpliciter*, *I deny*. Christ in the supernatural order uses the Church as a condition and instrument, subordinated to Himself, for the purpose of sanctifying men. In the same way in the natural order secondary causes are used by God by which He grants to them a certain participation in the divine activity. *Simpliciter*, however, we do reject an immediate union with Christ, for we are members of one body of which Christ is the Head, and faith and charity regard God as their proper object. In the first place, however, charity joins men to God. St. Thomas says in the Ia IIæ, q. VI, art. 6: "For the beloved is in a certain way in the lover, and also the lover by his love is drawn to a union with the beloved. For this reason it says (1 John IV: 16): "He who abides in charity, abides in God, and God in him."

[3.20] OBJECTION III. The Christian religion consists in a love for God. But there is no need for a Church in such a love.

principal purpose of the priesthood, so it is the proper office of a priest to baptize: since it seems to belong to one and the same, to produce the whole and to dispose the part in the whole."

[3.21] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. The Christian religion consists *in part* in that love, *I concede*; but *totally*, *I deny*. And *I distinguish* the minor: There is no need of a Church as the *form* of the love, *I concede*; but as a *certain cause of this love*, *I deny*. The true religion consists in this, that we serve God according to the divine law. But it has been proven that the Christian religion has been established by Christ, who is God, in the form of the Church. Therefore, he who wants to have God for his father, must have the Church for his mother. For in very fact, the love for God resides *formally* only in the soul. But the Church under Christ is the instrumental cause which begets and nourishes such a love.

[3.22] INSTANCE. For a mediator, we need no one else besides Christ. Therefore the Church is useless.

[3.23] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. We need no mediator besides Christ, *as the meriting and saving mediator*, *I concede*; that we are in no need of a mediator *applying* His merits and salvation, *I deny*.

[3.24] OBJECTION IV. It is read in Acts X: 34-35: "And Peter opening his mouth, said: In very deed I perceive, that God is not a respecter of persons. But in every nation, he that feareth him, and worketh justice, is acceptable to him." From this it is obvious that sanctification has been confided to no Church.

[3.25] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. God is not the respecter of men inasmuch as He calls to the Church all peoples, *I concede*; in the sense that He excludes any Church whatsoever, *I deny*. The response is clear from the context, for it concerns the centurion Cornelius. He, however, because he was found acceptable to God, was called to the Church in order that he obtain a greater abundance of grace and virtues. Cf. St. Thom. IIIa, q. 69, art. 4.⁸ For this reason

⁸ "As stated above (art. 1, ad 2; q. 68, art. 2) man receives the forgiveness of sins before Baptism in so far as he has Baptism of desire, explicitly or implicitly; and yet when he actually receives Baptism, he receives a fuller remission, as to the remission of the entire punishment. So also before Baptism Cornelius and others like him receive grace and virtues through their faith in Christ and their desire for Baptism, implicit or explicit: but

Cornelius is ordered to seek out Peter, the angel saying to him: "Send therefore to Joppe, and call hither Simon, who is surnamed Peter: he lodgeth in the house of Simon a tanner, by the sea side." (Acts X: 32)

[3.26] INSTANCE. Only God causes grace. Therefore sanctification, since it is the effect of grace, does not depend on the Church.

[3.27] RESPONSE. *I distinguish the antecedent*: Only God causes grace principally, *I concede*, instrumentally, *I deny*. The Church is the instrument by which Christ *ordinarily* uses for the sanctification of men. Hence the operation of the Church cannot be separated from Christ. Leo XIII recalls this in these words: "For the only-begotten Son of God established on earth a society which is called the Church, and to it He handed over the exalted and divine office which He had received from His Father, to be continued through the ages to come. 'As the Father hath sent Me, I also send you.' (John XX: 21) 'Behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world.' (Matth. XXVIII: 20) Consequently, as Jesus Christ came into the world that men 'might have life and have it more abundantly,' (John X: 10) so also has the Church for its aim and end the eternal salvation of souls, and hence it is so constituted as to open wide its arms to all mankind, unhampered by any limit of either time or place. 'Preach ye the Gospel to every creature.'" *Immortale Dei*, 8.

[3.28] INSTANCE. If the Church has as its end the sanctification of men, then they would lack sanctification who are outside of the Church.

[3.29] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major: If things were such that sanctification would be the proper end of the Church according to an exclusive law of Providence, *I concede*; according to the ordinary law of Providence, *I deny*. Catholics profess that it is possible that God provide extraordinary means of sanctification to those who are invincibly and materially outside the Church. [Anti-Feeney]

afterwards when baptized, they receive a yet greater fulness of grace and virtues. Hence in Psalm 22:2, 'He hath brought me up on the water of refreshment,' a gloss says: 'He has brought us up by an increase of virtue and good deeds in Baptism.'" [Anti-Feeney]

[3.30] **INSTANCE.** It is abhorrent to the notion of divine providence that (a) heretics and (b) infidels be completely deprived of the means of sanctification. But from the thesis it follows that all such people lack these means. Therefore the sanctification of men is not the proper end of the Church.

[3.31] **RESPONSE.** Setting aside the major, I deny the minor and the conclusion. (a) That Providence does not exclude from sanctification and the hope of eternal beatitude heretics who err in good faith, is the common teaching of doctors. [Anti-Feeney] So St. Augustine said: "He is a heretic, in my opinion, who for the sake of some temporal comfort and very great glory and power, either concocts or follows false and new opinions: he, however, who believes men of this type, is a man who is deluded by some imagination of truth and piety."

[3.32] [B] Concerning heretics the Church teaches these two things: [1] Pope Pius IX said: "For it must be held by faith that outside the Apostolic Roman Church, no one can be saved; that this is the only ark of salvation; that he who shall not have entered therein will perish in the flood; but, on the other hand, it is necessary to hold for certain that they who labor in ignorance of the true religion, if this ignorance is invincible, are not stained by any guilt in this matter in the eyes of God. Now, in truth, who would arrogate so much to himself as to mark the limits of such an ignorance, because of the nature and variety of peoples, regions, innate dispositions, and of so many other things?" *Allocution of December 9, 1854.*⁹ [Anti-Feeney] [2] St. Thomas Aquinas said:

⁹ Pius IX also said in the encyclical *Quanto Conficiamur Mærore* of August 10th, 1863: "And here, beloved Sons and Venerable Brothers, We should mention again and censure a very grave error in which some Catholics are unhappily engaged, who believe that men living in error, and separated from the true Faith and Catholic unity, can attain eternal life. Indeed, this is certainly quite contrary to Catholic teaching. It is known to Us and to you that they who labor in invincible ignorance of our most holy religion and who, zealously keeping the natural law and its precepts engraved in the hearts of all by God, and being ready to obey God, live an honest and upright life, can, by the operating power of divine light and grace, attain eternal life, since God who clearly beholds, searches and knows the minds, souls, thoughts, and habits of all men, because of His great goodness and mercy, will by no means suffer anyone to be punished with eternal torment who has not the guilt of

"If we should do our best in following the lead of natural reason, God will not fail us in those things which are necessary to us. But if an infidel should lead his life detached from the society of men, and was brought up in such a manner, and were to follow the lead of natural reason in the seeking of the good and the avoidance of evil, it must be held with absolute certainty, that God would either reveal to him what is necessary to believe through an internal inspiration, or would direct some preacher of the Faith to him, just as He sent Peter to Cornelius." S. Thom. Quæst. disp. *De Veritate*, XIV. art. 11, ad 2, et ad 1. It is permitted to leave to dogmatic and moral theologians to determine what things are necessary to explicitly believe. [Anti-Feeney]

[3.33] **INSTANCE.** None of these things is able to be asserted concerning infants.

[3.34] **RESPONSE:** Infants fail to be sanctified through a defect of secondary causes. But God does no injustice to them, if it should happen that they do not achieve supernatural grace and beatitude. For God, as Provider, is not bound to impede all defects, but can permit them for a higher end.




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deliberate sin. But, the dogma that no one can be saved outside the Catholic Church is well known; and also those who are obstinate toward the authority and definitions of the same Church, and who persistently separate themselves from the unity of the Church, and from the Roman Pontiff, the successor of Peter, to whom "the guardianship of the vine has been entrusted by the Savior,"⁹ cannot obtain eternal salvation."

ARTICLE IV
[4]
WHEN THE CHURCH WAS ESTABLISHED

[4.1] We can understand the Church in the state before Christ and in the state in which Christ instituted it when He was on earth with the Apostles.

[4.2] I. THE BEGINNING OF THE CHURCH AS IT EXISTED BEFORE THE BIRTH OF CHRIST. There is a threefold opinion concerning this [1] The first is that the Church was established first in Adam; [2] the second is that the Church did not begin with Adam, but with Abel, because Abel offered the first sacrifice and was delegated to worship God by a sign of faith (Turrecremata, Tournely); [3] the third is that the Church began to be produced in Adam, but did not actually begin until the formation of Eve. St. Thomas says that


Thomas says: "the body of the Church is made up of the men who have been from the beginning of the world until its end." (IIIa, q. 8, art. 3) In another place, he says "the Church began from the time of Abel." (*In symbol.* art. 9). This does not seem to exclude the first parents, but seems only to say that Abel, by his cruel and bloody death, was a witness to the primitive Church.

[4.3] II. WHEN CHRIST INSTITUTED HIS CHURCH ON EARTH. The Christian Church was not instituted at a single point in time, but was gradually instituted by Christ. [1] When He went into the region of Caesarea Philippi, He declared that He would found a Church: "*upon this rock I will build My Church.*" (Matth. XVI: 18); [2] He augmented the Church gradually by handing over the doctrine of the faith, by instituting the sacraments, and by establishing the hierarchy; [3] From the side of Christ on the Cross, there flowed blood and water, by which flowing the Church was consecrated; in fact, says St. Thomas, "the Church is said to be built up with the sacraments 'which flowed from the side of Christ while hanging on the Cross.'" (IIIa, q. 64, art 2, ad 3um.) [4] After the resurrection Christ committed the Church to the care of St. Peter, questioning him three times, when He said "Feed my lambs;" (John. XXI: 17). [5] Finally, after the completion of the command to the disciples that they remain in Jerusalem, "*till you be endued with power from on high,*" (Luke. XXIV: 49), by sending the Holy Ghost, (Acts II: 4) Christ completed the establishment of the Church, and on this day of Pentecost, the Church was promulgated.

QUESTION III

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH

It is clear that Christ established a Church. We therefore come to the constitution of the Church. The question must not be defined *a priori*, and by the liberty of human things, but it is absolutely necessary to investigate what the divine Founder established by His own work. We ask therefore:

FIRST. WHAT IS **GENERALLY** THE CATHOLIC DOCTRINE CONCERNING THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH?

SECOND. WHETHER THE CHURCH OF CHRIST IS A GROUP WHICH IS ALSO ESSENTIALLY **VISIBLE?**

THIRD. OF **WHAT FAITHFUL** THE CHURCH IS PROPERLY MADE UP?

FOURTH. WHETHER SACRED SCRIPTURE TEACHES THAT THE CHURCH HAS BEEN **HIERARCHICALLY ESTABLISHED?**

FIFTH. WHETHER THE HIERARCHICAL **CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH IS ATTESTED** TO BY THE FATHERS?

SIXTH. WHETHER **IS IT SUITABLE** TO CONSTITUTE THE CHURCH IN A HIERARCHICAL MANNER?

SEVENTH. WHETHER THE **BISHOPS ARE SUPERIOR** TO PRIESTS BY DIVINE INSTITUTION?

EIGHTH. WHETHER THE FORM OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT IS **MONARCHICAL?**

ARTICLE I

[5]

WHAT IS IN GENERAL THE CATHOLIC DOCTRINE CONCERNING THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH?

[5.1] I. PREJUDICED OPINIONS. Non-Catholics are accustomed to err in two ways concerning the concept of the Church. [1] They think that the internal or mystical element of the Church is unknown to Catholics, or neglected by them; [2] they deny ~~that~~ the external element of

the Church which was instituted by God, and for that reason, say that it is not essential.

[5.2] II. THE CHURCH IS CONSTITUTED BY AN INTERNAL PART AND AN EXTERNAL PART AS IF OF BODY AND SOUL. In the same way that one

thing results from the union of body and soul, so from the internal part of the Church and its external part, there is constituted one Church Militant. To the body pertains the external profession of faith, the administration of the sacraments, and the visible government. By the soul we understand faith, hope, charity, the internal gifts of the Holy Ghost, and finally all supernatural virtue and grace, by which the Church lives and has its movement from an intrinsic principle. [1] From the soul and body the *living body* of the Church is constituted, which according to Sacred Scripture is the *Mystical Body of Christ*. (Ephes. I: 23; IV: 12; V: 30; Coloss. I: 24; I Cor. XII: 27). [2] The faithful cannot be solitary and disjoined one from another, but it is necessary that all of them together be inserted and incorporated into one body. Otherwise they would be dispersed and dead members, and not "*many as one body*," (I Cor. X: 17) "*Baptized into one body*." (I Cor. XII: 13). (3) The internal part and the soul are in themselves of greater dignity, but the external part does not lack its own dignity. St. Thomas said: "It must be said that the beauty of the Church consists principally in the interior things; but even external acts pertain to the same beauty, inasmuch as they proceed from the interior, and inasmuch as they preserve the interior beauty." (*In Sent.* IV. 15, q. 3, art. 1).

[5.3] III. THE INFLUENCE OF THE SOUL UPON THE BODY OF THE CHURCH. [1] Just as the form gives *esse*, and the soul gives human *esse* to man, so the interior constituent part intimately penetrates the whole *esse* of the Church and the exterior part or the body of the Church. For the exterior profession of the faith is *animated* through the internal grace of faith; the government is animated by the supernatural power which is conceded to the hierarchy¹⁰; the administration of the sacraments is animated by the salutary power which is derived from the divinity of Christ, and flows into the sacraments through His humanity.

¹⁰ Therefore if the hierarchy is somehow stripped of this supernatural power, it remains a *dead body*, an *inanimate corpse* of the Catholic hierarchy, which is the *Thesis*.

Cf. S. Thom. IIIa, q. 62, a. 5.¹¹ [2] Just as the soul, which is the most noble part of man, does not exclude the body, but experiences an influence from it, so the interior part of the Church is connected to the exterior part, inasmuch as the external profession and ministry are ordered by Christ Himself to the interior life of the Church. [3] Therefore the Church is *simpliciter* a supernatural society. For just as the soul and body are united into one personal and essential *esse* of a composite, which is man, (cf. *De Veritate*, XXVI: 30), so from an interior and exterior part, i.e., from a soul and a body of the Church there exists one moral person, which is *simpliciter* supernatural, just as man is said to be *simpliciter* rational.

[5.4] IV. THE DIVINE INFLUENCE UPON THE WHOLE CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH. Supernatural grace and virtue, by which the entire composite or body and soul of the Church is constituted and preserved, even in its act of existence as a social body, is the divine operation of Christ and the Holy Ghost. Hence [1] Christ is said to be the head of the Church and [2] the Holy Ghost is said to be its heart.

[5.5] [1] *Christ as head of the Church*. This doctrine is worthily explained by St. Thomas (III, q. 8) where he concludes: "The whole Christ according to each nature is at the same time the head of the whole Church." When St. Paul speaks about the influence of Christ as head of the Church, he says: "*But doing the truth in charity, we may in all things grow up in him who is the head, even Christ: From whom the whole body, being compacted and fitly joined together, by what every joint supplieth, according to the operation in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body, unto the edifying of itself in charity.*" (Eph. IV: 16).

¹¹ "As stated above (Article 1) a sacrament in causing grace works after the manner of an instrument. Now an instrument is twofold: the one, separate, as a stick, for instance; the other, united, as a hand. Moreover, the separate instrument is moved by means of the united instrument, as a stick by the hand. Now the principal efficient cause of grace is God Himself, in comparison with Whom Christ's humanity is as a united instrument, whereas the sacrament is as a separate instrument. Consequently, the saving power must needs be derived by the sacraments from Christ's Godhead through His humanity."

[5.6] St. Thomas explains these words in this way: "Therefore, one body is composed of many members in these three ways: through its structured whole or unity, through its connective bindings, and through its reciprocal actions and assistance just as all these actions of interrelating organs, the connecting of tendons, and movements take their initiative from the body's head, so the spiritual counterparts of these flow from Christ, our head, into his body, the Church. First, there is a structured unity through faith. Whence he says from Christ who is our head, as was already mentioned, the whole body, being compacted is joined together in a unity. Second, a connecting and binding force emanates from Christ, the head, into his body, the Church, since whatever is united must be held together or bound by some nexus or bond. On this account he says "fitly joined together, by what every joint supplieth," that is, through the faith and charity which unite and knit the members of the mystical body to one another for their mutual support. Third, from Christ the head there is infused into his members the power to act in order that they may grow spiritually. For this reason he states, "according to the operation in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body." As if he said: Not only is the structured unity of the members of the Church through faith, and their connection or being joined together through the mutual service of charity, from Christ the head. Indeed, from him comes the actual operation or movements of the members needed for action, and this according to the measure and competency of each member. Thus he asserts that Christ accomplishes the increase of the body

according to the operation and in the due measure of every part. Therefore, the body not only grows through the faith which compacts it into a structured whole and through charity's mutual assistance, but also through the actual composition which flows out from each member according to the degree of grace given him; and also through the actual impulse to act which God effects in us." (In Ephes. IV. lect. V).

[5.7] [2] The Holy Ghost is the *heart* of the Church. The Angelic Doctor says this concerning the relation of the Holy Ghost to the Church of Christ: "Each thing appears to be that which preponderates in it," as the Philosopher states (*Ethic.* ix, 8). Now that which is preponderant in the law of the New Testament, and whereon all its efficacy is based, is the grace of the Holy Ghost, which is given through faith in Christ. Consequently the New Law is chiefly the grace itself of the Holy Ghost, which is given to those who believe in Christ." (*Ia IIæ*, q. 106, art. 1). Notice that St. Thomas follows the opinion of the ancient philosophers, saying in his commentary on the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle (*In V. Metaph.* lect. 1): "According to the opinion of Aristotle, the first part is the heart, because from the heart all powers of the soul are diffused through the body." For this reason, St. Thomas was the first to teach: "The heart has a certain hidden influence. Therefore the Holy Ghost is compared to the heart, who invisibly vivifies and unites the Church."

ARTICLE II

[6]

WHETHER THE CHURCH OF CHRIST IS AN ORGANIZATION WHICH IS ALSO ESSENTIALLY VISIBLE

[6.1] I. THE CONNECTION OF THIS ARTICLE WITH THE PRECEDING ONES. He who desires to judge correctly concerning the visible Church must

not forget the doctrine already explained concerning the end and the constitution of the Church. For the **internal life of the Church** does

not in any way lessen the doctrine of the visibility of the Church. The externals of the Church are, as Aquinas says, "also for a more explicit signification of the grace of Christ, through which the human race is sanctified." (IIa, q. 60, art. 5, ad 3um) There remains, therefore, this clear statement: "The New Law, which is the law of liberty...is filled with moral precepts of the natural law, articles of faith, and sacraments of grace: for which reason it is also called the law of faith and the law of grace, because of the determination of the articles and the efficacy of the sacraments." (St. Thomas in the *Quodl.* q. IV, 14) One thing is asked: whether the Church, by the ordering of Christ, necessarily shines externally, that is, whether it is essentially visible.

[6.2] II. THE OPINIONS OF THE ADVERSARIES CONCERNING THE VISIBILITY OF THE CHURCH. The doctrine which is contrary to Catholic doctrine is contained in these four, which are connected amongst themselves. [1] There is a twofold church, one visible, the other invisible. [2] The invisible church is the church of the promises, to which indefectibility and other charisms are promised. [3] This invisible Church is the whole essence of the Church, whereas its visibility is merely an accident. [4] Therefore it is not necessary that the Church be always visible. [The doctrine of "subsist in" is very close to these errors]. For which reason, Calvin, in the preface of the *Institutions*, says: "Let us permit God sometimes to know alone who is His own; now and then to take away the exterior knowledge even of His own Church from the sight of men." Luther said very plainly: "who shall show the Church to us, since it is hidden in spirit, and it is only to be believed." (*De Abrog. Missae. priv.*)

[6.3] III. THE ROOT OF THE ERRORS AGAINST THE VISIBILITY OF THE CHURCH. The error which we have just shown is connected to other errors. The Donatists in the fourth century conceived of a group of the just. Wycliff and Huss said that the Church was the congregation of the predestined. From these errors comes the Protestant error that the whole constitution of the Church consists in some invisible thing, viz. in justice and

predestination. Then the sectaries, since justification and communion with Christ were invisible, either totally rejected the visible elements of the Church, the sacraments and hierarchy, or very greatly reduced them. Finally, when the Catholics objected to the reformers that before Luther, since there was no church besides the Roman Church, it was necessary to say that either the true Church disappeared for a very long time, or that the Roman Church is the true Church, the deserters, pressed by this dilemma, said that the Church was invisible.

[6.4] IV. THE CATHOLIC DOCTRINE CONCERNING THE VISIBILITY OF THE CHURCH. The visibility of the Church is defined: *That constitution of the Church Militant, by which it can be discerned in the concrete, with certitude of judgement, that it is the true Church of Christ.* There is therefore one Church and it is *simpliciter* visible, although invisible *secundum quid*, that is, if one considers the internal things only without respect to the external things. In the same way, a man is said to be visible *simpliciter*, even though according to his soul he is invisible.

[6.5] In order to effect this visibility it is not sufficient that there be merely external religious acts of individuals, nor partial Churches which are visible. The Church is believed to be *essentially, formally and always visible as one universal Church* and kingdom of Christ. So in the same manner that we can point out terrestrial kingdoms with our finger, e.g., Belgium or England, so we can point out the Church, not only *materially*, inasmuch as we see men who are members of the Church, but *formally*, i.e., precisely as it is a *group* and a society of the faithful, and the true one.

[6.6] The visible Church is not of ecclesiastical or apostolic origin, but of divine origin.

[6.7] *Thesis:* THE CHURCH IS DIVINELY INSTITUTED AS A SOCIETY WHICH IS ESSENTIALLY VISIBLE.

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ARGUMENTS

[6.8] Argument I. FROM SACRED SCRIPTURE.

[6.9] [A] in the Old Testament, the prophet Isaias (chap. II) sings: "And in the last days the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be prepared *on the top of mountains*, and it shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it." But *all peoples* cannot come to the Church, unless it is always apparent. cf. Mich. cap. IV. Furthermore, the *mountain of the house of God* is the Church of Christ, as St. Augustine and other Fathers teach. St. Augustine, *In Ioan.* tract. I. 13.; S. Optatus Milev. *De Schismate Donat.* lib. III.; S. Basilius, *In Is.* n. 66.; S. Joan Chrys. *In Is.* II.; S. Cyrillus Alex. *In Is.* lib. II. 2.; S. Thomas *In Is.* II. Cf. S. Hier. *In Is.* LX. But *all people* cannot flock to the Church unless it is visible. Isaias says in chapter 60: "The Gentiles shall walk in thy light, and kings in the splendor of thy rising." But the Gentiles cannot walk in the light of Christ, if God does not make His Church visible to them.

[6.10] [B] In the New Testament, Christ teaches that there would always be visible *members* of the Church, which are joined through a visible *authority* and through the *sacraments*, which are visible signs of an invisible grace. But this argues visibility. The visible members are the *wheat* and the *cockle*, both of which the Lord wants to increase *until the harvest*, that is, until the end of the world. The *flock* is also visible, which the shepherds must guard. "Take heed to yourselves, and to the whole flock, wherein the Holy Ghost hath placed you bishops, to rule the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood." (Acts. XX: 28) (Cf. Matth. XIII: 30; I Pet. V: 2). — *The visible authority* is evident by the twofold law of Christ: *tell the Church* (Matth. XVIII: 17) and *going therefore teach ye all nations* (Matth. XXVIII: 19) where the Savior indicates that this command must be observed "until the end of the world." — *The visible signs* of grace are baptism, Eucharist, etc.

[6.11] This argument is confirmed by the words of Christ to the Apostles: "*You are the light of the world. The city cannot be hidden which is placed on the mountain top.*" (Matth. V: 14). St.

Paul did not envision an invisible Church, when he instructed pastors: "...that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to *behave* thyself in the house of God, which is the Church of the living God."

[6.12] Argument II. FROM TRADITION.

[A] The Fathers teach an *absolute* necessity of adhering to the visible Church and of avoiding schism. Therefore they consider the Church to be essentially visible. The *consequent* is obvious, for the absolute necessity of belonging to an organization which at some time is hidden cannot be admitted. *Proof of the antecedent.* St. Ignatius of Antioch (in *ep. ad Philad.* III 3): "If anyone should follow him who makes a schism, he will not obtain an inheritance in the kingdom of heaven." ¹² St. Cyprian *De unitate eccl.*: "He cannot have God for his Father who does not have the Church for his mother." St. Augustine: "Let us love the Lord our God, let us love His Church; Him as our Father, her as our mother." (*Enarr. in Ps. LXXXVIII.* 14).

[6.13] [B] The Fathers always said that the Church was very visible. St. Ireneus praises the Church "*in which one and the same way of salvation is shown in the world.*" Origen: "*The Church is full of splendor from West to East.*" St. Athanasius: "*Understand the Church as the throne of Christ, for in it He rests. The Church of Christ, therefore, will be something which will brighten and illuminate the world, and will remain forever like the sun and moon.*" (*In ps. LXXXVIII.*). St. Augustine: "*It is easy for you to notice and see a city placed on a mountain, concerning which Our Lord said in the gospel, that it cannot be hidden. For it is not permitted to anyone to ignore this Catholic Church; therefore, according to the word of Our Lord Jesus Christ, it cannot be hidden.*" (*Ep.* 52).

[6.14] ARGUMENT III. FROM THE END AND QUALITY OF THE CHURCH.

¹² [Compare Vatican II: "It follows that the separated Churches and Communities as such, though we believe them to be deficient in some respects, have been by no means deprived of significance and importance in the mystery of salvation. For the Spirit of Christ has not refrained from using them as means of salvation which derive their efficacy from the very fullness of grace and truth entrusted to the Church."] (*Unitatis Redintegratio*, no. 3)

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[6.15] The goal of the Church is that the divine mission of Christ be continued, according to this verse in the Gospel: "*Just as the Father hath sent Me, so I send you.*" (John XX: 21) But Christ, in order that He teach men, appeared visibly. Therefore visibility of this kind must be continued in the Mystical Body of Christ, which is the Church.

[6.16] But this should also be noticed, that God provides to men according to their condition, which is such that we are led through visible things

to invisible and spiritual things. Therefore the Church, instituted for men, in order that they be sanctified in it and through it, cannot lack a visible element. (Cf. S. Thom. C. Gent. lib. IV. 56).

[6.17] Add the social quality of the Church, by which the pride of individualism is tempered, and the faithful obtain many useful things by the mutual influence of the members. But the social life of men, without visibility, cannot even be conceived of.

ARTICLE III

[7]

WHO ARE PROPERLY AND TRULY MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH?

[7.1] I. PRINCIPLES. There are five principles to be recalled concerning this matter.

[7.2] [1] Since the Church is the Mystical Body of Christ (Eph. I: 23), and since Christ is the head of the body of the Church (Col. I: 18), it follows that to the extent that one is a member of the Church, to that same extent is he united with Christ.

[7.3] [2] Men are united to Christ *in act* or *in potency*. But "infidels, although they are not in the Church in act, nevertheless are in the Church in potency. But this potency is founded upon two things: first and principally in the power of Christ which is sufficient for the salvation of the whole human race; secondarily in free will." (S. Thom. III^a, q. 8. art. 3. ad 1).

[7.4] [3] Men are united to Christ in act *internally* and *externally*. *Internally* they are united to him by faith and charity; *externally* through the public profession of faith, the communion of the sacraments, and the obedience to legitimate authority. [This pertains both to the *Thesis* and to the *refutation of Feeney*].

[7.5] [4] Internal union is either *perfect* or *imperfect*. There is *perfect* union when faith works through charity; *imperfect*, when charity is lacking to faith. The Council of Trent said: "for faith, unless there be added to it hope and charity, does not perfectly unite someone to Christ, nor does it

make him a living member of His body." (session VI, chapter 7) [Anti-Ratzinger]¹³

[7.6] But even in the case of imperfect union, there is nevertheless a certain union, for faith is the beginning of human salvation, the foundation and root of all justification. Those who are in mortal sin "receive from Christ a certain act of life, which is to believe; just as if a deadened member is moved in some way by man." (III^a, q. 8, art. 3 ad 2^{um})¹⁴

[7.7] [5] The *external* participation of men with the Church can be considered [a] to the

¹³ Ratzinger said on November 26, 2008: "Faith, if it is true and real, becomes love, charity — is expressed in charity. Faith without charity, without this fruit, would not be true faith. It would be a dead faith." This statement incurs the anathema of the Council of Trent: "If anyone should say that together with the loss of grace by sin faith is also lost, or that the faith that remains is not a true faith, though it be not a living one, or that he who has faith without charity is not a Christian: let him be anathema."

¹⁴ To be "a glorious Church not having spot or wrinkle" is the ultimate end to which we are brought by the Passion of Christ. Hence this will be in heaven, and not on earth, in which "if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves," as is written (1 John 1:8). Nevertheless, there are some, viz. mortal, sins from which they are free who are members of Christ by the actual union of charity; but such as are tainted with these sins are not members of Christ actually, but potentially; except, perhaps, imperfectly, by formless faith, which unites to God, relatively but not simply, viz. so that man partake of the life of grace. For, as is written (James 2:20): "Faith without works is dead." Yet such as these receive from Christ a certain vital act, i.e. to believe, as if a lifeless limb were moved by a man to some extent.

fix this

extent that it is an external participation in the single members is vivified either by a living faith or by dead faith; [b] as the members are joined by an external bond of *social* life. Under the first aspect, no one, who lacks the faith, even in an occult manner, can be said to be a member of the Church. Under the second aspect, those who are baptized and united to the Church by the exterior profession of faith and the other exterior bonds, by this union alone seem to be in a certain way members of the Church, for as long as the Church does not exclude them. The reason is that the *external social form* of the Church is continued by members of this type, although they are dead, and because these same members are "co-moved" by that exterior movement which the living body of the Church receives from the soul of the Church.

[7.8] II. CONCLUSIONS CONCERNING THE MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH. [1] Those who have faith and charity, and profess their faith in the communion of the Church, are members of the Church perfectly and completely. [2] These same, if they should lose charity, are members completely but imperfectly. [3] *Infants and small children* who are born into a heretical sect, but baptized validly, are considered to be members of the Church completely until the age of reason, since having entered the gate of the Church through Baptism, have posited no contrary act. [4] *Heretics and schismatics*, if they err in *good faith*, are members of the Church incompletely; perfectly, if they have preserved charity with faith, imperfectly, if they have preserved only faith. For heretics and schismatics of this type adhere implicitly to the Church, which they would obey, if they were instructed. [Anti-Feeney]¹⁵ For this reason St. Augustine says: "Those who defend their position, however false and perverse it should be, without any pertinacious animosity, especially if they have

¹⁵ However, it should be noted that this refers to only an *internal* participation in the Church, since externally those who adhere to non-Catholic sects are considered to be outside of the Church, regardless of their good faith. Baptized Catholics, on the other hand, who in good faith fall into heresy or schism, continue to be members of the Church both externally and internally, since there has never been any legal separation from the Church.

received the doctrine from their parents who were seduced, but seek the truth with attentive solicitude, and are ready to be corrected when they find it, should not be counted among heretics." *Ep.* 43. [Anti-Feeney] [5] *Innocent excommunicates*, even if they should be deprived of external communion with the Church for a time, nevertheless do not cease to be members of the Church by an interior communion. St. Thomas says: In this case, if the error, on the part of the sentence, be such as to render the sentence void, this has no effect, for there is no excommunication; but if the error does not annul the sentence, this takes effect, and the person excommunicated should humbly submit (which will be credited to him as a merit), and either seek absolution from the person who has excommunicated him, or appeal to a higher judge. If, however, he were to condemn the sentence, he would "ipso facto" sin mortally. (Suppl. q. XXI, art. 4)¹⁶

[7.9] [6] *Catechumens*, although they seem to belong to the soul of the Church imperfectly *by faith*, and perfectly by *faith with charity*, nevertheless they do not belong to the body of the Church in reality and properly, but only proximately and *in voto*. [Anti-Feeney]¹⁷ For they are deprived of baptism, through which we enter the Church as if through a door. Cf. *Conc. Trid.* sess. XIV. de Pœn. cap. II.

[7.10] [7] *Formal* and *public heretics* are in no way members of the Church, either externally ~~not~~ or internally. For since they lack charity, faith, and the bond of external communion there is nothing left which would join them to the head and the rest of the members of the Church. They nevertheless remain *subject* to the Church because the baptismal character, by which someone becomes a member of the people of God, says St.

¹⁶ Let the Lefebvrists consider this last sentence carefully.

¹⁷ Feeneyites, since they deny adherence to the Church *in voto*, as well as Baptism of Desire, are bound to say that catechumens who were martyred went straight to hell. This would be the case of St. Emerentiana, who was killed as she prayed at the tomb of Saint Cecilia. Some Feeneyites, observing the enormity of such a conclusion, hold that this saint, and ~~others~~ like her, were baptized before they expired, although there is ~~no~~ evidence for it.

others

Thomas,¹⁸ is indelible, and therefore the baptized person always remains in some way related to the Church and therefore the Church can judge him. *Formal schismatics* are not members of the Church either internally or externally. They are not members externally, obviously; not internally, since they posit an obstacle of a contrary disposition to that interior unity which the faith effects among those who are sincere and of good intentions, For they are contumacious and of bad faith.¹⁹



SAINT ROBERT BELLARMINÉ

[7.11] II. CONCERNING OCCULT HERETICS AND GUILTY EXCOMMUNICATES. [I] There is a certain amount of doubt as to whether heretics

¹⁸ "But since the baptismal character whereby a man is numbered among God's people, is indelible, one who is baptized always belongs to the Church in some way, so that the Church is always competent to sit in judgment on him."

¹⁹ It should be recalled that the *only* thing which excuses from formality in heresy is *ignorance*. Therefore where ignorance of the teaching of the Church is not possible, as in the case of Montini, Luciani, Wojtyla, and Ratzinger, the only conclusion is that they are not members of the Roman Catholic Church either externally or internally.

who are hidden and internal to the Church can be considered members of the Church. That they do not belong to the Church internally is evident, since they lack both faith and charity, that is, an interior supernatural life. Therefore, what about *externally*? Billuart²⁰ thinks that probably they are not members externally, by analogy to a wolf in sheep's clothing. Cajetan, Canus, Bellarmine, and John of St. Thomas say that they are members of the Church externally.²¹ John of St. Thomas: "Occult heretics, for as long as they are not condemned by the Church, and cut off, are parts of the Church, and communicate with it in an exterior communion, although not in an internal spirit." Some seem to pay attention to the internal life of the Church, and say that since the occult heretics are deprived of this, they are not members of the Church. Others consider the external social bonds and the external co-movement of dead members with a loving body, and say that occult heretics are in some way members of the Church. Melchior Canus: "We see, when a member which is lacking sense and life dries up in the body, because it is attached to the rest of the members, it participates in a certain external motion which comes from the soul, although the soul communicates to it nothing vital or interior. This indeed is the manner of acting of the Spirit of Christ in the body of the Church. For He animates and vivifies certain parts in such a way that there seems lacking to them nothing which pertains to vital movements: He influences some in such a way that He does not infuse life in them, but confers on them a kind of vital inspiration; to others He gives certain external force and faculty, so that although they are completely dead and dried up members, they are moved by the Spirit with the body, since they are not cut off from the body."

²⁰ "probabilius...arbitramur (hæreticos occultos et internos) non esse de Ecclesia, nec vera eius membra; sicut si lupus pelle ovina tectus reperiretur inter oves, esset in ovili, sed non esset de ovili, ut vera eius pars." *De regulis fidei*, diss. III. art. 2. §. 4.

²¹ *De regulis fidei*, diss. III. art. 2. §. 4. Cajetanus, *De author. papa et concilii*, cap. XXII.; Canus, *De locis theologicis*, lib. IV. 6. ad 12; Bellarminus, *De contr.* III. 3.; Joannes a Sancto Thoma, *De auct. Summi Pontificis*, disp. II. art. 3 n. 5.

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[7.12] *Guilty excommunicates* and who remain obstinate, provided the Church has punished them with a full and perfect excommunication and with that formula by which they are declared *vitandi*, are in the judgement of many no longer to be considered as members of the Church. The Catechism of the Council of Trent says (Part I, art. IX): "Excommunicated persons, because excluded by her sentence from the number of her children, belong not to her communion until restored by repentance." Cfr. S. Thom. *Suppl.* quæst. XXI. 1. Excommunicates, however, who repent of their crimes, are considered to be members of the Church at least by desire. [Anti-Feeney] Finally, by the intention and character of the excommunication, excommunicates are excluded from the Church not *mortally*, but *medicinally*.

[7.13] III. ADVERSARIES. John Huss, a Bohemian, said that only the predestined, and all the predestined, were members of the Church. They remain perpetually members of the Church, because they never fall from the grace of predestination, although they can fall into sin. This error was condemned by the Council of Constance. The Donatists, the Waldensians, some Protestants, and Quesnell said only the just were members of the Church. This error was condemned by Trent, Clement XI, and Pius VI.

[7.14] *Thesis*: A. THE CHURCH CONSISTS OF BOTH THE JUST AND SINNERS. B. NOT ALL OF THE PREDESTINED ARE ALWAYS MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH.

ARGUMENTS

A.

[7.15] [I] NOT ALL OF THE PREDESTINED ARE ALWAYS MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH.

[7.16] ARGUMENT I: FROM SACRED SCRIPTURE.

[7.17] "That you were at that time without Christ, being aliens from the conversation of Israel,

and strangers to the testament, having no hope of the promise, and without God in this world." (Eph. II: 12) "Now therefore you are no more strangers and foreigners; but you are fellow citizens with the saints, and the domestics of God." (Eph. II: 19) "Who in time past were not a people: but are now the people of God. Who had not obtained mercy; but now have obtained mercy." (I Peter: II: 10) "For you were heretofore darkness, but now light in the Lord. Walk then as children of the light." (Eph. V: 8) But these texts clearly show that many of the predestined were not members of the Church at some time.

[7.18] ARGUMENT II. [7.19] St. Thomas said: "Someone is not considered to be a member according to that ^{which} ~~what~~ he can become, but according to what he is." *In Sent.* III. dist. 13, q. 2, 2. But in the predestined, during that time in which they had not yet the faith, there will be indeed a bond with the Church, *but there is not one now*. Furthermore, there is no reason to say that Saul, before his conversion, the Turks, and pagans, who will be saved after converting, are members of the Church.

[2] NOT THE PREDESTINED ALONE.

[7.20] ARGUMENT I. Christ teaches that His Church is similar to a *marriage feast* prepared by a king, in which he enters who was later cast out into the interior darkness; to a *threshing floor* in which the wheat and the chaff are mixed, and when they are separated, the chaff is burned; to a *net*, in which bad fish are found which must be thrown away, etc. But this proves that those who were in the Church are later damned. Therefore the Church cannot consist only of the predestined.

[7.21] ARGUMENT II. Sacred Scripture and especially the epistles of the Apostles are full of exhortations that the faithful not lose their eternal salvation by falling into depraved morals and sins. But these were certainly members of the Church. But if only the predestined are members of the Church, none of them would be in danger of losing his ^{only} ~~only~~ salvation. Therefore not ~~only~~ the predestined are members of the Church.

B.

[7.22] THE CHURCH CONSISTS OF THE JUST AND OF SINNERS.

[7.23] ARGUMENT I: FROM THE WORDS AND INSTITUTIONS OF CHRIST.

[7.24] [A] Christ said that His Church was similar to a *net*, in which good and bad fish are included; to a *threshing floor*, in which the wheat and the chaff are mixed; to *the ten virgins*, of whom five are foolish; to a *marriage banquet* in which a man entered who was without a wedding garment. St. Thomas says that the meaning is that he enters because he has faith, but his lack of wedding garment shows lack of charity. (Matth. XII: 47; XXV: 1; et in hunc locum S. Thom. in *Catena aurea*).

[7.25] [B] Christ teaches his disciples to pray: *Forgive us our trespasses*, (Matth. VI: 12), which indicates that there are *trespasses* or *sins*. Those who sin gravely cannot be thrown out of the Church unless they have first heard the Church, and remained obstinate. (Matth. XVIII: 17). Furthermore, Christ gives the power to remit sin in the Church. (Joan. XX: 22).

[7.26] ARGUMENT II: FROM THE SAYINGS AND DEEDS OF THE APOSTLES.

[7.27] [a] St. Paul says: "*But in a great house there are not only vessels of gold and silver, but also of wood and earth: and some indeed unto honor, but some unto dishonor.*" (II Tim: II: 20). He says in Hebrews: "*For every high priest taken from among men, is ordained for men in the things that appertain to God, that he may offer up gifts and sacrifices for sins.*" (Hebr. V: 1); St. James says: "*Is any man sick among you? Let him bring in the priests of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord. And the prayer of faith shall save the sick man: and the Lord shall raise him up: and if he be in sins, they shall be forgiven him.*" (Jac. V: 14-15).

[7.28] THEREFORE THERE ARE SINNERS IN THE CHURCH.

[7.29] [B] If anyone reads St. Paul's epistles to the Corinthians and to the Galatians, there is no doubt that there were carnal people and even sinners in the Church. "*Therefore are there many infirm and weak among you, and many sleep.*" (I Cor. XI: 30). "*Brethren, and if a man be overtaken in any fault, you, who are spiritual, instruct such a one in the spirit of meekness, considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted.*" (Gal. VI: 1) "*Them that sin reprove before all: that the rest also may have fear.*" (Gal. VI: 1) *But let a man prove himself: and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of the chalice.*" (I Cor.: XI: 28). Likewise Saint John in the Apocalypse gravely scolds the churches of Asia. (II: 4) In all these cases, these people were at the same time sinners and *fratres*, that is, members of the Church.

[7.30] ARGUMENT II: FROM THE FATHERS.

[7.31] [A] St. Cyprian said: "We observe weeds in the Church." (*Ep. 51.*) St. Ambrose: "The image of Thy Church is in her (Matth. XI) who approaches from behind and touches the hem of His garment, saying within herself, 'Because if I should only touch his garment, I shall be saved.' This Church, therefore, confesses *her wounds*; this Church seeks to be cured." *De pæn.* I. 6. St. Jerome: "Just as in that [ark] there were all kinds of animals, so in this [ark] there are men of all peoples and of all customs; just as there was the leopard and young goats, the wolf and the lambs, so here there are the just and sinners." (*Contra Luciferian.* n. 22). St. Augustine: "The Church of this time is compared to the threshing floor, having grains mixed with chaff, having the evil mixed with the good; after the judgement it will have only good without any evil." (*Ser.* CCXXIII. n. 2). St. Augustine: "Just like the lily in the middle of the thorns, so is my neighbor in the middle of daughters. Did he say, 'In the middle of strangers?' No, but in the middle of daughters. There are therefore evil daughters, and among them is a lily in the middle of thorns." (*referunt*)

[7.32] [B] It is sufficient to remember: [1] that the Church in the beginning preached the

remission of sins to its members, which is evident from the history of the Montanists; [2] that the Donatists, who held that only the just were members of the Church, were ejected by a judgement of the Church; [3] that the visible Church, which is approved by the testimony of all

the Fathers, cannot be reconciled with a Church consisting only of the just.

ARTICLE IV

[8]

WHETHER SACRED SCRIPTURE TEACHES THAT THE CHURCH WAS HIERARCHICALLY INSTITUTED BY CHRIST

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[8.1] I. NOTION OF THE HIERARCHY. The hierarchy means the same thing as "sacred principality." It can be defined: A group of men who are distinct from the rest of the faithful by power to administer sacred things and by a divine right to rule the Church. Thus in the Church, by the command of Christ, some rule, and others obey. But the power of principality is twofold, namely [1] the power of orders for the purpose of confecting and dispensing the sacraments, and [2] the power of jurisdiction for the purpose of governing the Christian people. The totality of those who are in charge is called the clergy, that is, lot, that is, those who are of the lot of the Lord. The word *clergy* is derived from the Greek word *kleros*, which means *lot*, either because they are of the lot of the Lord, or because the Lord is the lot or part of the clergy. Cf. St. Jerome. *ep. 52. ad Nepotian.* concerning those things which are narrated about Levi and the Levites, Num. XVIII: 20, Deut. XVIII: 2. Those who do not pertain to the hierarchy are called the laity from the Greek word *laos* which means people. St. Peter calls the faithful the people of God. (I Peter II: 10) Cf. S. Clem. Rom. in *ep. I. ad Cor. XL*. A cleric is distinct from the lay people by divine right. For this reason, these four things must be held: [1] The sacred principality was instituted by Christ, in such a way that, by providing replacements for those ministers who die, there would be a perpetual succession of ministers until the end of the world;

[2] The power of the clergy is in a distinct group not in such a way that it was common to all the members of the Church, but who committed to some a power to be exercised, lest confusion arise; [3] The hierarchical power cannot be obtained either from the people, or from the secular power, or from private persons, no matter what force of internal vocation should urge them; [4] The Church is not an egalitarian society, but by divine right unequal. Cf. *Conc. Trid. sess. XXIII. cap. IV.; Conc. Vatic. Constit. Pastor aeternus.*

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[8.2] II. THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE HIERARCHY TO THE SUPREME HIGH PRIEST, CHRIST. Christ, because He remains forever, has an eternal priesthood. (Hebr. VII; 24) To Him alone pertains the power of excellence, that is, the merit and power of the passion of Christ operates in the sacraments; the sacraments are sanctified in Christ's name. Christ alone was able to institute the sacraments. He was able to confer the effect of the sacraments without the exterior sacrament. Cf. IIIa, q. 64. art. 3

[8.3] If you are seeking the cause of justification, God alone is the principal cause of justification. Christ's Passion which belongs to Him in respect of His human nature, is the cause of justification, both meritoriously and efficiently, not as the principal cause thereof, or by His own authority, but as an instrument, in so far as His humanity is the instrument of His Godhead, as

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stated above. Nevertheless, since it is an instrument united to the Godhead in unity of Person, it has a certain headship and efficiency in regard to extrinsic instruments, which are the ministers of the Church and the sacraments themselves, as has been explained above (Article 1). Consequently, just as Christ, as God, has power of "authority" over the sacraments, so, as man, He has the power of ministry in chief, or power of "excellence." (St. Thomas)

[8.4] From this it is easy to see the relationship of the hierarchy to Christ: For it pertains to the hierarchy [1] to have an influence on the members of the Church with regard to exterior government; [2] to have an interior effect of the sacrament by being a minister. "For a minister is of the nature of an instrument, since the action of both is applied to something extrinsic, while the interior effect is produced through the power of the principal agent, which is God." (III^a, q. 64, art. 1) Cf. q. 8, art. 6. Therefore the interior influence of grace is only from Christ, whose humanity has the power of justifying, since it is joined to His divinity. Cf. S. Thom. *C. Gentes*. lib. IV. 76-77. Christ is therefore *He who holds the primacy in all things*. (Col. I: 18) We hold the hierarchy to be the "ministers of Christ and the dispensers of the mysteries of God." (I Cor. IV: 1)

[8.5] THE PROTESTANT DOCTRINE. In the sixteenth century, the reformers were absolutely determined to destroy the hierarchy. Luther said: "We are all entirely of the same right." (*De instit. min. eccl.* III) That was the norm. But a certain part of the reformers, the High Church Anglicans, the Puseyites and the ritualists, lacking however, valid ordination and legitimate succession, restored a certain show and appearance of the Catholic hierarchy. But in general no priesthood properly so called is admitted by the Protestants, but there is instead one priesthood of all, namely that by which each one offers himself to God. [Editor's note: This theology is also that of the Novus Ordo Mass, expressed particularly in the Offertory rite, e.g., "work of human hands."] In the primitive churches there was only a communal constitution. Each community ruled itself. So Geffken said,

"German Protestantism denies that a determined and external constitution of the Church is of *divine origin*. It is not necessary to further point out that the modern school of theology is totally opposed to the Catholic doctrine. Witnesses to this fact are Hatch, Weizäcker, Sohm, Holtzmann, Harnack, Pressensé, A. Sabatier, and others. Nevertheless in practice the sects, lest they go out of existence, wanted to have ministers. From this arose the *office* of the word and of the sacrament, *created by the Church*, and not divinely instituted. Since all the faithful, who are indeed equal in power, but who are unable to all at the same time undertake the job of preaching and administering the sacraments, the Church itself instituted the aforesaid office, by which the ministers differ from the rest of the Christians in the same way that a senator would differ from the citizens by his office of ruling the State.

[8.6] There are some who think that the Church has a *divine* mandate to constitute ministers, such as Dr. Hort in *The Christian Ecclesia* (1898), who seems to teach that the Mystical Body of Christ or the Church came forth as an organism, not fixed and divinely constituted in its essence, but one which must adapt itself to the necessities of a living and growing society, under the direction, however, of the Holy Ghost. This is, they say, the law of ordered evolution, and is the fruit of the most recent biblical criticism. But all of the doctrines of this type depart very much from the Catholic doctrine, since they transfer not only the execution according to time and place, but also the very essential organization of the hierarchy from Christ to the Church. They depart from the Church's teaching 1° because their doctrine does not contain the *immediate establishment* of the hierarchy by Christ; 2° because it is always supposed that the power is not given to a distinct group, but to the Church; because it is not expressed whether ministers have a power in the true sense of the term, or merely an office; 4° because it is not apparent whether the ministers are good for anything in that invisible Church, which the reformers separate from the visible.

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[8.7] The question of the *grades* of the hierarchy is reserved for when it must be proved against those who deny it.

[8.8] *Thesis: FROM SACRED SCRIPTURE IT IS CERTAIN THAT THE CHURCH IS HIERARCHICALLY CONSTITUTED.*

ARGUMENTS

[8.9] ARGUMENT I: FROM THE GOSPELS. Christ instituted a hierarchy if [A] He distinguished determined persons from the rest on the basis of power, and [B] He constituted this group, distinguished on the basis of power, to last until the end of time. But Christ did both of these things. Ergo.

[8.10] [A] Christ said: "*Just as the Father hath sent Me, so I send you.*" (Joan. XX: 21). "*He who hears you, hears Me.*" (Luc. X: 16); "*All power in heaven and on earth has been given to Me. Going therefore teach...*" (Matth. XXVII: 18 & 19); "*Receive the Holy Ghost, whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them.*" (Matth. XVI: 19) He said to St. Peter: "*Feed my sheep...*" "*I will give to thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven...*" (Matth. XVI:19)

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[8.12] It is clear from these words that He is giving power. But it is also necessary that He designate certain persons. This is clear from [1] the very nature of the thing, since such a power which would be indiscriminately given to all would engender confusion; [2] from the literal sense of the text: "I send you;" "I give to you;" [3] from the context, for those who enjoy the power are called, chosen. (Mark VI; Luke VI: 13) Therefore the Apostles enjoyed power, not conceded to them willingly by the faithful, but handed to them by Christ.

[8.13] [B] *This organization remains.* [1] The Savior promised that He would be with those who had the sacred power until the consummation of the world. He promises the Paraclete to these same saying "*that He remain with you forever.*" (John XIV: 16) But Our Lord clearly knew that the Apostles would not live until the end of the world. Therefore Christ was intending to confer power both on the Apostles and upon their successors,

i.e., the hierarchy. [2] Christ said: "*Teach ye all nations.*" But this mission to all nations was not able to be fulfilled by the Apostles alone. Therefore Christ is teaching that there are successors to the Apostles, i.e., a hierarchy.

[8.14] ARGUMENT II: FROM OTHER N. T. BOOKS. From these books, it is apparent [A] that there is a group which is distinct on the basis of power; [B] that it is instituted by divine right; [C] it is instituted in a stable way. This is proven in the following way.

[8.15] [A] *A group distinct on the basis of power.* We have already proven, from Argument I and from II Cor. II: 9 and X: 6 and other places, that the Apostles enjoyed supreme power. But that spiritual power was found in others as well is proven from [1] the Acts of the Apostles; [2] the epistles of St. Paul; [3] the words of Peter, James and John.

[8.16] [1] From the *Acts of the Apostles* we find that priests in some Churches were constituted by St. Paul and St. Barnabas. Similarly, St. Paul speaks of a flock and shepherds, which indicates rulers and subjects. To the elders (πρεσβυτερος) of the Church are addressed these words: "*Take heed to yourselves, and to the whole flock, wherein the Holy Ghost hath placed you bishops, to rule the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.*" Act. XIV: 22; XX: 28. St. Paul uses a Greek word which means to rule. It should not be thought that St. Paul is using an unusual expression, because he uses the Greek word *poimainein*. Here it means the same thing as to rule. For those who rule, in both the New and Old Testaments, are said to be, by a transferred meaning, pastors or those who feed (*pascere*). This is evident from both Hesiod and Homer. Likewise in St. Matthew II: 6, we read the quotation from Micheas: "*For out of thee shall come forth the captain that shall rule (poimainei) my people Israel.*"

[8.17] [2] From the epistles of St. Paul we find that Timothy was in charge of the Church of Ephesus, and Titus of Crete. St. Paul calls the bishop the *dispenser of God*, (Tit. I: 7) in the same way in which he spoke of himself: "*Let a man so account of us as of the ministers of Christ, and the*

dispensers of the mysteries of God." (I Cor. IV). A bishop must be in charge over the Church of God. (I Tim. III: 5) He must fulfill his ministry (II Tim: IV 3-5); argue with *all authority*. In I Timothy V: 17 we read: "Let the priests that rule well, be esteemed worthy of double honor: especially they who labor in the word and doctrine." In Hebrews XIII: 17, it says: "Obey your prelates (ηγουμενοις) and be subject to them. For they watch as being to render an account of your souls..." "And his bowels are more abundantly towards you; remembering the obedience of you all, how with fear and trembling you have received him.") Likewise Saint Paul in II Cor. VII: 15, referring to Titus, says: "And his bowels are more abundantly towards you; remembering the obedience of you all, how with fear and trembling you have received him."

[8.18] [3] From the words of St. Peter, St. James, and St. John. St. Peter says to the elders or presbyters: "Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking care of it, not by constraint, but willingly, according to God: not for filthy lucre's sake, but voluntarily: Neither as lording it over the clergy, but being made a pattern of the flock from the heart. And when the prince of pastors shall appear, you shall receive a never fading crown of glory." (φανησμενοV tou arcipoimenoV) (I Petr. V: 2 — 4). St. James commands the faithful (James. V: 14): "Is any man sick among you? Let him bring in the priests of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord." St. John recalls the angels who are set above each of the seven Churches: "And in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks, one like to the Son of man, clothed with a garment down to the feet, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle. And he had in his right hand seven stars. And from his mouth came out a sharp two edged sword: and his face was as the sun shineth in his power. And when I had seen him, I fell at his feet as dead. And he laid his right hand upon me, saying: Fear not. I am the First and the Last, And alive, and was dead, and behold I am living for ever and ever, and have the keys of death and of hell. Write therefore the things which thou hast seen, and which are, and which must be done hereafter. The mystery of the seven stars, which thou sawest in my right hand, and the seven golden candlesticks. The seven stars are the angels

of the seven churches. And the seven candlesticks are the seven churches." (Apoc. I 13—20) Therefore there were there were shepherds and a flock, rulers and subjects, a juridical power and an obedience.

[8.19] [B] The group, of which we are speaking, is constituted by divine right. For [1] the spiritual power is given by God; [2] those who participate in this power besides the Apostles are said to be instituted by God; [3] the sacrifice which has been given by God demands a priesthood which has been instituted and handed over by God.

[8.20] [1] The spiritual power is given by God, as St. Paul teaches: "according to the power which the Lord gave to me." (II Cor. XIII: 10). Similarly, when Simon the Magician offered money for this power to impose hands whereby people receive the Holy Ghost, St. Peter rebuked him for thinking that this "gift of God" could "be possessed by money." (Act. VIII: 18—20).

[8.21] But the Apostles did give this power to others, which can be seen in the cases of Timothy, Titus, Apollo and the elders who were summoned by Paul in Miletus. For this reason St. Paul says: "For while one saith, I indeed am of Paul; and another, I am of Apollo; are you not men? What then is Apollo, and what is Paul? The ministers of him whom you have believed; and to every one as the Lord hath given." (I Cor. III: 4, 5).

[8.22] There is agreement among the Apostles: St. Peter calls the people endowed with authority *seniores*, (πρεσβυτερους). St. Paul calls such a person a *consenior*, (συνπρεσβυτερος) and St. John calls himself a senior in his epistles. (II et III Joan. v. I). Finally, in the Acts of the Apostles, the verse of the psalm is applied to him: "et episcopatum ejus accipiat alter," (Acts I: 20) indicating an equivalence between *apostleship* and *episcopacy*.

[8.23] [2] The successors of the Apostles are said to be instituted by God. "Neither doth any man take the honor to himself, but he that is called by God, as Aaron was." (Hebr. V: 4.) "...the Holy Ghost hath placed you bishops, to rule the church of God..." (St. Paul in Acts. XX: 28.) "For which cause I admonish

thee, that thou stir up the grace of God which is in thee, by the imposition of my hands." (II Tim. I: 6)

[8.24] The imposition of hands pertained to the function of ruling the Church: "These things command and teach. Let no man despise thy youth: but be thou an example of the faithful in word, in conversation, in charity, in faith, in chastity. Till I come, attend unto reading, to exhortation, and to doctrine. Neglect not the grace that is in thee, which was given thee by prophesy, with imposition of the hands of the priesthood." (I Tim IV: 11-15) This can be gathered from the whole character of both epistles to Timothy.

[8.25] St. Paul warns Timothy not to impose hands imprudently. But this indicates that Timothy has the power to do so.

he [8.26] It is universally evident that those who had the charisms had not power in the Church, unless they had received these charisms from the imposition of hands, with the effect that they would be numbered among them which had a true mission to rule, according to this rule: pastors from the Apostles, Apostles from Christ, Christ from God. For this reason, we recognize the divine origin of the hierarchy.

[8.27] [3] *Because of the sacrifice and worship has been handed over by God, it is necessary that the priesthood also be handed over by God.* But the sacrifice was transferred from the Old Testament to the New Testament. Therefore the priesthood was transferred as well. The public worship which

Paul and Barnabas performed in Antioch prove the minor (Act. XIII: 12), as well as the altar and the table of the Lord, of which St. Paul and St. John make mention. The prediction of Malachias applies here: "For from the rising of the sun even to the going down, my name is great among the Gentiles, and in every place there is sacrifice, and there is offered to my name a clean oblation: for my name is great among the Gentiles, saith the Lord of hosts." From all of these things, it is clear that God gave a power to some to use for others.

[8.28] [c] *The perpetuity of this organization is apparent* [1] from what has been said in section [B] above which demonstrates the successors of the Apostles, distinct by power. [2] St. Paul commands Titus, that he establish bishops in the various cities. He admonishes Timothy that he should not impose hands with imprudence. He defines the norm of constituting bishops elsewhere, which fact shows that St. Paul intended that the hierarchy should endure. [3] St. Paul said: "And he gave some apostles, and some prophets, and other some evangelists, and other some pastors and doctors, For the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ." But the Mystical Body of Christ or the Church will endure until the end of the world. Therefore Christ "wanted pastors and doctors in the Church to endure until the end of the world." (Vatican Council)

Reference

Ref.

ARTICLE V

[9]

WHETHER THE HIERARCHICAL CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH IS ALSO PROVEN BY THE TESTIMONY OF THE ANCIENTS

[9.1] **THE STATUS QUÆSTIONIS.** That a certain hierarchy is visible at the end of the second century is admitted even by our adversaries. But they assert that this hierarchy did not originate from Christ, but was established by the Christian community or

groups of lay people, in order that among equals some might be designated to preach and to minister. For this reason, the following things are important: [1] to select from the innumerable testimonies of the Fathers those passages which are the oldest, [2] to investigate in these testimonies

what arguments can be made for the divine institution of the hierarchy.

[9.2] It must be noted finally that we are not inquiring here whether *many orders* of the sacred principality were constituted, nor what was attributed to each order of power.

[9.3] *Thesis:* THE HIERARCHICAL CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH IS PROVEN BY THE TESTIMONY OF THE FATHERS.

ARGUMENTS

[9.4] ARGUMENT I. The hierarchy is a group distinct by power by divine right. But that the Fathers knew a group of this type is proven from the authority of St. Clement of Rome, St. Ignatius of Antioch, St. Polycarp and of others.

[9.5] [A] St. Clement said: "He has enjoined offerings [to be presented] and service to be performed [to Him], and that not thoughtlessly or irregularly, but at the appointed times and hours. Where and by whom He desires these things to be done, He Himself has fixed by His own supreme will, in order that all things being piously done according to His good pleasure, may be acceptable unto Him." "The apostles have preached the Gospel to us by the command of the Lord Jesus Christ; Jesus Christ has done so from God. Christ therefore was sent forth by God, and the apostles by Christ. Both these appointments, then, were made in an orderly way, according to the will of God. Having therefore received their orders, and being fully assured by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and established in the word of God, with full assurance of the Holy Ghost, they went forth proclaiming that the kingdom of God was at hand. And thus preaching through countries and cities, they appointed the first-fruits [of their labors], having first proved them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons of those who should afterwards believe."

[9.6] St. Clement then recalls the rod of Aaron, which flowering rod God elected, and then turns to the New Testament with these words: "Our apostles also knew, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that there would be strife on account of the office of the episcopate. For this reason, therefore,

inasmuch as they had obtained a perfect foreknowledge of this, they appointed those [ministers] already mentioned, and afterwards gave ordination (*epinombn*), that when these should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed them in their ministry." *Ep. I ad Cor.* XL. XLII. XLIII—XLIV.

[9.7] [B] *St. Ignatius of Antioch* in his epistles (105 — 117) which he wrote to many churches, teaches that it is necessary that the faithful be united "with the bishop, the presbyters, and the deacons, who have been appointed according to the mind of Jesus Christ, whom He has established by His own will in security, after His own will, and by His Holy Spirit." (*Proem. ad Philad.*) "For we ought to receive every one whom the Master of the house sends to be over His household, as we would do Him that sent him. It is manifest, therefore, that we should look upon the bishop even as we would look upon the Lord Himself, standing, as he does, before the Lord." (*Ephes.* VI) The fact that Ignatius calls bishops, priests, and deacons the precept of God, the law of Christ, and command of God, indicates that he believes them to be a hierarchy established by God. (*Ad Trall.* XIII, *Ad Magn.* II, *Ad Smyrn.* VIII.) "Fare ye well in Jesus Christ, while ye continue subject to the bishop, as to the command of God, and in like manner to the presbytery." "Since, then, I have had the privilege of seeing you, through Damas your most worthy bishop, and through your worthy presbyters Bassus and Apollonius, and through my fellow-servant the deacon Sotio, whose friendship may I ever enjoy, inasmuch as he is subject to the bishop as to the grace of God, and to the presbytery as to the law of Jesus Christ, [I now write to you]."

[9.8] The *Didache* does not conflict with the doctrine of St. Ignatius: "Appoint for yourselves therefore bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men who are meek and not lovers of money, and true and approved; for they minister unto you in the ministry of prophets and teachers. Therefore despise them not; for they are honored men (*oi tetimhmenoi*) among you together with the prophets and teachers." (*Didache*, XV) Two things are apparent here: [1] that the ministers of the Church must be "worthy of the Lord" because of

their function, ordered as it is to the Eucharistic sacrifice, as is evident from the connection through the word *therefore* (*oun*) with chapter 14 [the preceding chapter] and the words immediately preceding concerning the clean sacrifice, according to the prophecy of Malachias. [2] The aforesaid ministers must be held in honor as ministers in the ministry of prophets and teachers. Prophets and teachers in this case are charismatic men to whom great reverence was paid in the early Church. However, this charism they exercised only *per accidens*, and only here and now, whereas this work of teaching and of building up the Church pertained to the ministers in virtue of their function, together with the Eucharistic function, which did not pertain to the charismatics as such.

[9.9] [C] *St. Polycarp* teaches that one must be obedient to the priests and deacons, "as if to *God* and to *Christ*." Deacons are called by him "ministers of *God* and of *Christ*, not of men." (*Ad Philipp.* V. 4) *St. Irenaeus*: "For they [the Apostles] were desirous that these men should be very perfect and blameless in all things, whom also they were leaving behind as their successors, delivering up *their own place* of magisterium to these men..." (*Adv. Her.* III. 3) *Origen* mentions the power of remitting sins given to *Sts. Peter and Paul*, and to all those "who after the Apostles have been placed in the Church, and to whom the discipline of healing wounds has been committed, whom *God* willed to be in His Church the physicians of souls." (*Hom.* I. in ps. XXXVI) *St. Cyprian*: "From that time [i.e., of Peter] the government of bishops and the order of the Church has traversed time and successions, with the result that the Church is established upon the *bishops* and every act of the Church is governed by these same rulers. Since *this* therefore was founded by *divine law*...etc." [The book gives a reference to Epistle 33, but the reference seems to be incorrect]. Cf. among other witnesses Saint John Chrysostom in the *De Sacerdotio*.

[9.10] ARGUMENT II. The Fathers hold that the essence of the Church consists of *clergy* and *laity*, who are bound to *obey* the clergy, as those who are endowed with power by divine right.

Therefore they believed in a hierarchy in the proper sense of the term. The *consequent* is evident. The *antecedent* is proved.

[9.11] *St. Clement* (*ep.* I ad Cor.) says: "It is therefore just...that we submit and incline ourselves, fulfilling the obligation of obedience, to those who are the leaders of our souls." *St. Ignatius*: "Whoever are of *God* and *Jesus Christ* are with the bishop." He praises *Zotio* because "he is subject to the bishop as to the *goodness of God* and to the priests as to the *law of Jesus Christ*." He says concerning *Dama*, the bishop of the *Magnesians*: "Now it becomes you also not to treat your bishop too familiarly on account of his youth, but to yield him all reverence, *having respect to the power of God the Father* as I have known even holy presbyters do, not judging rashly, from the manifest youthful appearance [of their bishop], but as being themselves prudent in *God*, submitting to him, or rather not to him, but to the *Father of Jesus Christ*, the bishop of us all." (*Philad.* III; *Magn.* II et XIII; *Magn.* III.)

[9.12] *St. Cyprian*: "*The Church* is the people joined to the priest and the flock adhering to their shepherd." (*Ep.* 69) "Does he think that he has *Christ*, who acts in opposition to *Christ's* priests, who separates himself from the company of His clergy and people?" (*De Unitate Ecclesiae.* n. 17)

[9.13] ARGUMENT III. *From three facts.* [A] During the second century and at the beginning of the third century, it is admitted by our adversaries that a hierarchy existed. But [1] the writers of the third century were joined to the earlier writers, and the earlier writers were joined to the Apostolic Fathers, and the Apostolic Fathers were joined to the Apostles. [2] No time can be found when there was no hierarchy, therefore a hierarchy would have to be prudently admitted, even if *Clement* and *Ignatius* and the most ancient writers were silent.

[9.14] [B] The hierarchy enjoys an authority given to it by *God*, if the Fathers believed Holy Orders to be a sacrament. For a sacrament can be instituted only by *God*. For such a faith among the Fathers is evident. (*Origen In Ezech.* hom. 9., in *lib. Jesu Nave*, hom. 17; *S. Cypr. ep.* 75; *St. Augustine, De Bapt.* V, 20; *St. Chrys. De*

resurrectione mortuorum, VIII; *De sacerdotio*, III. 4) Consult dogmatic theology for further references from the Fathers.

[9.15] [C] Once the sacrifice was established by God, one must also admit a *priesthood* which is of divine right. But from the beginning in the Church a sacrifice which was instituted by God has been offered. [1] From the first century there is observed an *altar* (*θυσιαστήριον*), which is called by the Fathers a *table of the Lord* (*τραπέζα κυρίου*), the *memory*, the *confession*, the *divine*, *celestial sacred thing*. S. Ign. Antioch. *Ad Magn.* VII, *Ad Philadelph.* IV. Athan. *Apol.* II; Aug. *De civ. Dei*, XXII, 8; Kraus, *Real-Encyclop.* ad vocabula *Altar* et *Arcosolium*; Cabrol *Dictionnaire d'archéologie et de liturgie*. — [2] The *Didache* or *The Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*, XIV; St. Justin, *Dial.* XLI. CXVI–CXVII; St. Irenæus, *Adv. Hæ.* IV, 17; Tertull. *Adv. Jud.* V, 6 et *Adv. Marcionem* III, 22; IV, I. The Fathers, finally, unanimously connected the prophecy of Malachias I: 11 with the Eucharistic sacrifice.

OBJECTIONS

[9.16] OBJECTION I. Tertullian said: "It is the authority of the Church, and the honor which has acquired sanctity through the joint session of the Order, which has established the difference between the Order and the laity."²² (*On Exhortation to Chastity*, no. 7)

²² The entire text of Tertullian is: "It is the authority of the Church, and the honor which has acquired sanctity through the joint session of the Order, which has established the difference between the Order and the laity. Accordingly, where there is no joint session of the ecclesiastical Order, you offer, and baptize, and are priest, alone for yourself. But where three are, a church is, albeit they be laics. For each individual lives by his own faith, nor is there exception of persons with God; since it is not hearers of the law who are justified by the Lord, but doers, according to what the apostle withal says. Therefore, if you have the right of a priest in your own person, in cases of necessity, it behooves you to have likewise the discipline of a priest whenever it may be necessary to have the right of a priest. If you are a digamist, do you baptize? If you are a digamist, do you offer? How much more capital (a crime) is it for a digamist laic to act as a priest, when the priest himself, if he turn digamist, is deprived of the power of acting the priest! "But to necessity," you say, "indulgence is granted." No necessity is excusable which is avoidable. In a word, shun to be found guilty of digamy, and you do not expose yourself to the necessity of administering what a digamist may not lawfully

[9.17] RESPONSE. Given, but not conceded the authority of Tertullian, *I distinguish* the antecedent: The authority of the Church established the difference between those with Holy Orders and the people, in the *designation of the person* and in *external discipline*, *I concede*; in the very power and essentials, *I deny*. Here it is necessary to pay attention to two things.

[9.18] [A] When Tertullian wrote the *De Exhortatione Castitatis*, he was already tending toward Montanism. The purpose of this work is to prevent a friend from marrying a second time, which practice he had utterly condemned in a book entitled *De Monogamia*. But Tertullian connects sophisms to his error. I will give an example of one sophism. It is wrong to marry one's brother. But a Christian widow can marry only her brother. Therefore it is not licit to marry again. He proves that ~~he~~^{she} can marry only her brother for the reason that she can only marry a fellow Catholic, and not a pagan. But a Christian is our brother, because we are all brothers. Tertullian reasoned in this way in the *De Monogamia*, chap. VII. Just as the notion of *brother* is exaggerated here, so is the notion of the *priesthood* exaggerated, which he has objected in this text. In another place he speaks about the "priesthood of widowhood." (*Ad uxorem*, VII) Furthermore, the authority of Tertullian does not stand up against the common consensus of the Fathers. The Fathers agree with Saint John Chrysostom when he says: "For no man, nor angel, ~~no~~^{nor} archangel, nor any other created power has established this office, but only the Paraclete Himself." (*De Sacerdotio*, book III)

[9.19] [B] [1] Tertullian warns his friend, in an effort to prevent him from marrying again, that a twice married person is barred from the *priesthood*. But here he is speaking about the *priesthood in the broad sense*, i.e., since second marriage is not

administer. God wills us all to be so conditioned, as to be ready at all times and places to undertake (the duties of) His sacraments. There is "one God, one faith," one discipline too. So truly is this the case, that unless the laics as well observe the rules which are to guide the choice of presbyters, how will there be presbyters at all, who are chosen to that office from among the *laics*? Hence we are bound to contend that the command to abstain from second marriage relates first to the *laic*; so long as no other can be a presbyter than a *laic*, provided he have been once for all a husband."

allowed for ordained priests, it follows that it is not allowed for the lay priesthood. [2] Hence he shows that priests are selected from among the laity, and that the laity have power, in case of necessity, to act in the place of a priest, e.g., to baptize. But this is not in opposition to the divine institution of the sacred principality. [3] The difference between clergy and lay people is certainly established by the Church in a certain aspect, namely in what regards the selection of persons, external honor, discipline, etc. But Tertullian uses this aspect in his own sense, indeed by using exaggeration, and not in this aspect *exclusively*. He seems to declare this when he says: "The authority of the Church, and the holy honor which arises from being a member of the clergy..." Tertullian, when was openly a Montanist, in his work *De Monogamia*, chapter XIII, tries to assert this same error, i.e., that lay people ought not contract second marriages from the fact that the clergy, to whom second marriage is forbidden, are *all selected* from the laypeople. He writes in this way: "For whence is it that the bishops and clergy come? Is it not from all? If all are not bound to monogamy, whence are monogamists (to be taken) into the clerical rank? Will some separate order of monogamists have to be instituted, from which to make selection for the clerical body?" When Tertullian was still Catholic, he taunted the heretics by saying: "For even on laymen do they impose the functions of priesthood." (*De Præscriptione*, chap. 41)

[9.20] INSTANCE. According to Catholics, it is never permitted that lay people *offer*. But Tertullian in the place cited says that lay people offer.

[9.21] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. That it is forbidden to the lay person to offer with regard to the *consecration*, *I concede*; with regard to other liturgical acts, *I deny*. The power of consecrating has been given to the priest alone, but because of persecutions and other necessities, it ~~was~~ ^{was} conceded to the ancient Christians that they lay people administer to themselves the Blessed Sacrament consecrated by a priest and religiously reserved in a tabernacle in the home. (Tert. *Ad Uxorem*, II, 5; Cf. Dionys. Alex. in Eusebius, *Eccl. History*, book V, 44 and St. Basil, *Ep. 93 ad Caesar*).

Similarly the word *liturgy* is sometimes used concerning those sacred acts which can be performed without consecration. So Theodoretus in *Eccl. History*, book I, 23 relates that Saint Frumentius, when in 341 A.D. had come to Ethiopia, performed the sacred liturgy. But St. Frumentius, when he was on his way to Alexandria, visited St. Athanasius, and there he was ordained a priest and consecrated a bishop. But Rufinus, who is the principal witness to this fact, and much older than Theodoretus, explains these words. He says that St. Frumentius warned the Roman businessmen, "that they hold their assemblies in those places to which they might come together for the purpose of prayer according to the Roman Rite." (*Historia Eremetica*, book I, 9)

[9.23] OBJECTION II. Some Fathers recognize the priesthood in laymen.

[9.24] Response. *I distinguish* the antecedent. They recognized an internal priesthood of the laity and improperly so called, *I concede*; an external priesthood and properly so called, *I deny*. We spoke above of this twofold priesthood. In fact, the testimony of the Fathers, with whom Catholic theologians agree concerning the priesthood taken in the broad sense, was never able to provide an argument for the heretics. Against the heretics this quotation of Tertullian may be used: "When we are extolling and inflating ourselves in opposition to the clergy, then 'we are all one;' then 'we are all priests, because He has made us priests to (His) God and Father.' When we are challenged to a thorough equalization with the sacerdotal discipline, we lay down the (priestly) fillets, and we are unequal." (*De Monog.* XII)

ARTICLE VI
[10]
WHETHER IT IS FITTING THAT THE CHURCH
BE HIERARCHICALLY CONSTITUTED

[10.1] THE POSITION OF NON-CATHOLICS. The protestants think that the Catholic teaching concerning hierarchy ought to be rejected in itself, since it is not in conformity [1] with the *sufficiency* of Christ's grace, [2] with the *immediate* worship of God without any intermediary²³, [3] with evangelical liberty.

[10.2] [1] The sufficiency of Christ's grace is not in any way harmed, since Christ is the *principal cause* of our justification, and the hierarchy the instrumental *cause*, whose action is exterior, but the interior effect of it is in virtue of the principal cause, which is God.

[10.3] [2] Catholics deny that the notion of hierarchy negates immediate and private worship. For *private* acts of the Christian religion, such as acts of faith, hope, and charity, are in themselves and *formally* of individuals, but of God *causally*. But according to the Catholic doctrine the supreme cause uses the hierarchy as an *instrument*, both in order to propose the truths of the faith, and to administer the sacraments. So that prejudiced opinion, that the worship of God is immediate and that it is incompatible with hierarchy, collapses. For Saint Paul said: "For we are God's coadjutors: you are God's husbandry."¹ (I Cor. III: 9) It should be added that the Christian

religion has acts which are both *public* and *social*. In acts of this type, however, the sacred minister does not exclude the private acts of individuals or immediate worship, but joins all of the members to the common good.

[10.4] The *liberty of the gospel* signifies the liberty from the Judaic law or from the yoke of sin or from government. But neither of the first two includes anything which is opposed to hierarchy. The third is not liberty, but is anarchy.

[10.5] *Thesis*: IT IS SUITABLE THAT THE CHURCH IS HIERARCHICALLY CONSTITUTED BY GOD.

ARGUMENTS

[10.6] ARGUMENT I. Since it pertains to the wise man to order things, the most wise Founder of the Church certainly ordered the multitude of the faithful. But a multitude is ordered by means of a government. Therefore Christ constituted a government for His faithful, i.e., a hierarchy.

[10.7] ARGUMENT II. *From an analogy of the natural order*. God, in the government of natural things makes use of secondary causes. But hierarchy best corresponds to this natural order in the supernatural order of the Church. Therefore it was suitable that the hierarchy be instituted by God. *Explanation of the major*. "That He [God] might be portrayed in His works, not only according to what He is in Himself, but also according as He acts on others, He laid this natural law on all things, that last things should be reduced and perfected by middle things, and

²³ Lacordaire: "Protestantism is a deep passion against the priesthood founded by Jesus Christ, a desperate effort in order to dispense with man in the relationship of the soul with God. Everything else is a consequence of this fundamental aversion. If a protestant could be made to believe that a man is the avowed minister of God, His real vicar upon the earth, he will abjure without any difficulty the many errors which he espouses. The weakness of the protestant is the inability to admit the atmosphere of mediation between the sun and himself, just as the weakness of the unbeliever is to lose his sight as soon as a cloud comes between the light and his eyes." (*Discours sur la loi de l'histoire*)

middle things by the first..." (*Suppl.* q. 34. art. 1.)
Explanation of the minor. Sacred ministers are divinely instituted in order that they give sacraments to others. "He [God] established Order in her so that some should deliver the sacraments to others, being thus made like to God in their own way, as co-operating with God; even as in the natural body, some members act on others." (St. Thomas, *ibid.*) Cf. II^a II^e q. 183. In this way the axiom is fulfilled which states that grace does not take away nature, but perfects it. (I^a, q. 1, art. 7).

[10.8] ARGUMENT III. *From the visible government of Christ.* The visible government of Christ was a certain instrument joined to the invisible divine Person, in order that man, through a visible government, might be called back to invisible things. But it is suitable that the visible government of Christ be continued. But this happens, if Christ instituted a hierarchy. Therefore it is suitable that the Church be hierarchically constituted. *Proof of the minor.* The visible government of Christ was suitable from the point of view of the human nature. But the same human nature endures today just as it was in the time of Christ. Therefore the doctrine of St. Thomas is still valid: "Through sin the human nature was wounded, and submerged in sensible things, in such a way that it was not sufficiently suitable for an invisible government by the Word. For this reason, it was necessary to use a medicine upon the wound through the humanity of Christ, through which Christ satisfied; and it was necessary that He assume the visible nature, in order that through a visible government men might be recalled to invisible things." (*Quaest. disp. de veritate* XXIX, 4. ad 3) But this visible government, after Christ's Ascension into heaven is carried on only by those whom Christ uses as the visible instrument of government. Cf. St. Thom. *C. Gentes.* lib. IV, 56 & 57.

OBJECTIONS

[10.9] OBJECTION I. There is one Mediator of all men and that is Christ. But the hierarchy contradicts this truth. Therefore the hierarchical Church is unworthy of Christ.

[10.10] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. Christ is the unique Mediator as the meritorious cause, *I concede*; as the one who applies the merits, *I subdistinguish*: principally, *I concede*; instrumentally, *I deny*. And *I deny* the minor. In what pertains to the distinction made in the ^{major} minor, Saint

Thomas says: "Since, however (as has already been said), the death of Christ is, so to say, the universal cause of human salvation, and since a universal cause must be applied singly to each of its effects, it was necessary to show men some remedies through which the benefit of Christ's death could somehow be conjoined to them." (*Contra Gentes*, IV, 56) The minor is completely debilitated by those things which we have said concerning Christ as *principal* cause and the hierarchy as *instrument* of Christ.

[10.11] INSTANCE. God does not need any instrument in the justification of men. Therefore the fittingness which is derived from the notion of instrument is void.

[10.13] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. God does not need an instrument on the part of God, *I concede*; on the part of men, *I subdistinguish*; that He necessarily does not need it, *I concede*, that He does not need it by way of congruity, *I deny*. For this reason, Saint Thomas says: "God does not use instruments or intermediate causes in His action because He needs to, but because of the *suitability of the effect*. For it is fitting that the divine remedies be shown to us according to our own manner, that is, through sensible things." (*Quaest. Disp. de Veritate* XXVII, art. 4, ad 16). "It is not on account of any defect in God's power that He works by means of second causes, but it is for the perfection of the order of the universe, and the more manifold outpouring of His goodness on things, through His bestowing on them not only the goodness which is proper to them, but also the faculty of

causing goodness in others." (*Suppl.* q. 72, art. 2 ad 2).

[10.14] INSTANCE. *"And to the angel of the church of Philadelphia, write: These things saith the Holy One and the true one, he that hath the key of David; he that openeth, and no man shutteth; shutteth, and no man openeth."* (Apoc III: 7) But if you posit a hierarchy, it is not only Christ who opens. Therefore the hierarchy is contrary to the dignity of Christ.

[10.15] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the minor. Christ alone does not open if the hierarchy operate on its own power, *I concede*; as a minister of Christ, *I deny*. The Holy Trinity has the power of authority; Christ as man has the power of excellence; the hierarchy has the power of ministry. Cf. St. Thomas, *In Sent.* IV, dist. 17, q. 1, art. 1, q.1)

[10.16] OBJECTION II. That one man obey another in spiritual things is unworthy of a perfect man. But the disciples of Christ are called to a perfect life; Therefore the hierarchy is not conceivable even on the part of men.

[10.17] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. It would be unworthy of man to obey another man in spiritual things if he lacked a legitimate mission, *I concede*; a man who is legitimately sent, *I deny*. Those who think that it is unworthy of their dignity to obey the hierarchy should consider the fact that human beings are most perfected by the observance of the law of order, concerning which Saint Paul said: *"Let every soul be subject to higher*

powers: for there is no power but from God: and those that are, are ordained of God." (Rom. XIII: 1) St. Thomas says: "We pay God honor and reverence, not for His sake (because He is of Himself full of glory to which no creature can add anything), but for our own sake, because by the very fact that we revere and honor God, our mind is subjected to Him; wherein its perfection consists, since a thing is perfected by being subjected to its superior, for instance the body is perfected by being quickened by the soul, and the air by being enlightened by the sun." (II^a II^e, q. 81, art. 7)

[10.18] It would help to recall here what the path of truth disturbs most in non-Catholics. Luther, in promoting *faith alone*, considers the Catholic doctrine, which does not completely exclude the cooperation of man in the work of justification, to be Jewish. Calvinism, contemplating the infinite power of God predestining, accuses Catholics of paganism for the fact that they profess exterior means of grace. The common source of the accusation is the erroneous concept concerning divine activity, as if God, the infinite cause of grace and justification, was unwilling or unable to use as an instrument the finite ministry of men in applying grace to men. That this is false is clear both from those things which we have already said in the previous objection and from the arguments which we have put forth.

ARTICLE VII

[II]

WHETHER BISHOPS ARE SUPERIOR TO PRIESTS

BY THE INSTITUTION OF CHRIST

[II.1] I. ON ORDERS IN GENERAL. *Order* is "the disposition of superior and inferior things, which are suitable one to the other, in such a way that one is related to the other. And so since in this

(ecclesiastical) ministry there are many grades and diverse functions, but where all are distributed according to a certain plan, then rightly and suitably is the name order given to it." There are

St. Thomas
reference

seven orders. The four minor orders are porter, lector, exorcist, and acolyte. The three major orders are subdiaconate, diaconate, and priesthood. The first grade of dignity and power of the priesthood is that of *priests*, and the second is that of *bishops*. The diaconate, priesthood, and episcopacy are of divine origin. Many say that the subdiaconate and the four minor orders are sacraments, but others say no. The diverse dignities of bishops, archbishops, metropolitans and patriarchs are of ecclesiastical right. Therefore a twofold power must be considered in the hierarchy: (1) the power of *orders*, which is ordered to confecting the sacraments, and (2) the power of *jurisdiction*, which is ordered to teaching and ruling the flock of Christ. The Roman Pontiff is at the head of the whole hierarchy.

[II.2] II. THE NAME OF PRIEST AND BISHOP. *Presbyter* (πρεσβυτερος) by its nominal definition means the same thing as *elder*. But this term was used by the Greeks to designate someone who must be considered to be of greater dignity. In the books of the N.T., the word *presbyter* sometimes indicates people who are older, and sometimes those who are deputed to the ministry through the imposition of hands. Cf. Orig. *Hom.* IV. in ps. XXXVI.

[II.3] *Episcopus*, (ἐπίσκοπος) which means inspector, guardian, ruler, in general designates not only care and administration, but also a power and a dignity. In the N.T., the apostolate is called the episcopacy (Act. I: 20) St. Peter says: "You have been converted to the shepherd and bishop of your souls." Here *bishop* refers to Christ. In general those who are called bishops in the N.T. are considered to be placed there by the Holy Ghost, in order that they rule the flock of Christ.

In the earliest times, before the year 113, we read other names given to the ministers of the Church: they are called *apostles* in the broad sense, *the sent, prophets, teachers, pastors* (ηγουμενοι), *rulers*, (προεστωτες; προϊσταμενοι; προκαθημενοι), ^{εὐαγγ} *ngelists*, etc. The collaborators of the twelve Apostles are called *prophets, messengers, teachers*, but not exclusively; Those who had a fixed place were

called *pastors, priest-bishops, rulers*, not precisely because of the diversity of functions, but because of the diverse aspects of the same function.

[II.4] III. THE LACK OF DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE TERM *presbyter* AND *episcopus* IN THE EARLY CHURCH. [1] Most hold it as certain that in the beginning there was a common name for priests both of the first and second order.

[II.5] [2] Even the name of bishop in the earliest times of the Church seems to have been common to both orders. [A] St. Thomas, following St. John Chrysostom, affirms that the name was used promiscuously for the first and second order. He says: "Both bishops and priests were called by a common name, i.e., *presbyteri* and *episcopi*." (In I Tim. III. lect. I. Cf. In Philipp. I. lect. I. et II. IIa IIæ, q. 84, art. 6). [B] Theodoretus is of the opinion that the priests of the first order in the N.T. were called *apostles*, and priests of the second order were called *episcopi*. [C] Others say that only priests of the first order were called bishops. ?

[II.6] More recent authors have rendered service by determining the offices which pertained to the ministers of the early Church according to the various names which I mentioned above. These are very erudite labors, but the outcome is very dubious. St. v. Dunin Borkowski, S.J. in *Die neueren Forschungen über die Anfänge des Episcopats*, (1900), explains what the modern schools have figured out and what they defend.

[II.7] IV. STATUS QUESTIONIS. We have already proved the existence of a divinely constituted hierarchy in general. Now we ask whether the order of ministers, which we call the episcopacy, is by divine institution superior to that order which we call priests. We are not proposing to discuss the diaconate and other orders and *assistants* (αντιληψεις), (I Cor. XII: 28), or those who "provided help to the major prelates in the universal government" (cf. S. Thom. In I Cor. XII. lect. III.). Instead, it must be shown that only bishops, who were in fact subordinated to the Roman Pontiff, were true prelates and judges of the Church, in regard to whom the inferior

ministers conducted themselves as "wardens or mayors to the king." (II^a II^a, q. 184, art. 6. ad 2).

[II.8] We hold for certain that there was in the earliest times a promiscuity of the use of the terms *priest* and *bishop*. The whole question is whether those who later were distinguished by the name of *priest* and *bishop* were in reality and in virtue of power established by Christ distinct from each other. Nor should one ignore the fact that the so widely used term *monarchical bishop* indicates two things, first and fundamentally the very monarchical bishop, and secondly the practice and application of the said prelate through the diocesan organization in the universal church. Here we are considering the episcopal power in its principle. But at the same time we will briefly treat of the practical part where the occasion arises. Finally this fact is understood by itself, namely that we should not be looking for that exterior majesty of bishops in the simplicity of the early times, but only the reality and the spiritual power.

[II.9] V. ADVERSARIES. In the fourth century, Ærius, "who, since he was a priest, was saddened that he could not be consecrated a bishop," (S. Aug. *Lib. de her.* cap. LIII), claimed that there was no difference between the dignity of a bishop and of a priest. Cf. S. Epiph. *Her.* LXXV, 2. Among the protestants, there is first of all the Presbyterians and David Blondel († 1655) held that the episcopacy was the name of an *office* instituted by men, and not of a *dignity* which was by divine right distinct from the priesthood. More recent authors, such as W. Löning, Harnack, and Loofs, since they consider *episcopus* and *presbyter* to refer to the same function, say that the Catholic episcopacy arose from the Pauline communities and the synagogue by a merely human process. But this is in vain, since the episcopacy is of divine institution. This was declared to be so by the Council of Trent: "If anyone should say that in the Catholic Church there is not a hierarchy which has been *divinely instituted*, which consists of *bishops, priests*, and ministers, let him be anathema." "If anyone should say that bishops are not superior to priests..., let him be anathema." (Sess. XXIII. can VI. et VII).

[II.10] *Thesis:* BISHOPS ARE, BY DIVINE INSTITUTION, SUPERIOR TO PRIESTS.

ARGUMENTS

[II.11] ARGUMENT I. *From Sacred Scripture.* Those who are commonly called bishops are superior to those who are commonly called priests, by the institution of Christ, i.e., by divine right, if some of them in Sacred Scripture are distinguished not indeed by name, but *in reality*, that is, by a power conferred on them by God. But in Sacred Scripture, some ministers are distinguished by such a power from other ministers. Ergo. *Proof of the minor.*

[II.12] [A] Christ designated seventy-two men, who were inferior in power and dignity to the Apostles. But priests of the second order, who are now simply called priests, seem to take the place of the seventy-two disciples. Cf. St. Thom. III^a q. 57, a. 2, ad 2um. Therefore it was necessary that priests of the first order, whom we call bishops, held the place of the Apostles.

[II.13] [B] The episcopacy is distinguished from the presbyterate in reality, is the power of judging priests, and especially of *ordaining* them is attributed exclusively to some ministers of the Church. But Sacred Scripture demonstrates that a power of this kind was divinely instituted. [1] This power is evident from the epistles of Saint Paul to Timothy and to Titus. We read in I Tim. V: 19: "*Against a priest do not receive an accusation, unless there are two or three witnesses.*" "*Do not impose hands quickly on anyone, and do not communicate with the sins of others.*" (Cf. I Tim. V: 22, etc.) With these words the image of a more eminent power is expressed and a dignity which is truly episcopal is seen.

[II.14] [2] The divine institution of this power is understood from three things. For the nature of the power, at least with regard to the ordination of priests, is such that it is necessary that it proceed from God as author of the supernatural order. A power of this kind is a participation in the apostolic power, which Christ gave. St. Paul indicates that Timothy was ordained for the

purpose of exercising this divinely-given power, when he says: "I admonish you, that you raise up the grace of God, which is in you through the imposition of my hands." II Tim. I: 6.

[II.15] [C] Christ created rulers and teachers of the Church when He said 'Going therefore...' But Sacred Scripture teaches that from the beginning the rulers and teachers were superior and functioned in the place of the Apostles. Therefore one must admit priests of the first order, or bishops. *Proof of the minor. Timothy and Titus* must be considered to be superior rulers and doctors, as is evident from the pastoral epistles of St. Paul. *Epaphroditus* must also be considered the same, whom St. Paul calls "my brother and fellow-laborer and fellow-soldier, but your apostle." *Phil.* II: 25. (cf. S. Thom. *In Philipp.* II. lect. IV.) Likewise the letters to the seven angels of which St. John speaks in the Apocalypse I-III indicate that there is one person in charge of each Church, who must give an account of his Church.

[II.16] ARGUMENT II. *From tradition.* The Fathers, already from the time of Clement and Ignatius of Antioch, already were distinguishing by separate names the *high priest* or *bishop* from the priests.

[II.17] They teach [A] the superiority of bishops, and [B] that this superiority is established by Christ.

[II.18] [A] *Bishops are superior to priests.* [1] *St. Clement of Rome*, explaining the order of the Churches to the Christians, offers the example of the O.T. in this way: "For his own peculiar services are assigned to the high priest, and their own proper place is prescribed to the priests, and their own special ministrations devolve on the Levites. The layman is bound by the laws that pertain to laymen." (*Ad Cor.* cap. XL) In these words the three grades of the Christian hierarchy, corresponding to the old order, is indicated. In chapter 42 he teaches that those ministers are legitimate "who have been constituted by the Apostles and thereafter by other excellent men." But these "excellent men" who are in charge of constituting the ministers of the Church and in

that function are called equal to the Apostles, seem to be priests of the first order or bishops.

[II.19] [2] *St. Ignatius of Antioch*: "I exhort you to study, to do all things with a divine harmony, while your bishop presides in the place of God, and your presbyters in the place of the assembly of the apostles, along with your deacons..." (*Ad Magnes.* VI). In the same epistle he says: "Study, therefore, to be established in the doctrines of the Lord and the apostles, that so all things, whatsoever ^{ye} do, may prosper both in the flesh and spirit; in faith and love; in the Son, and in the Father, and in the Spirit; in the beginning and in the end; with your most admirable bishop, and the well-compacted spiritual crown of your presbytery, and the deacons who are according to God." (*L.c.* XIII; cf. *Ad Smyrn.* VIII; *Ad Trallian.* XIII)

[II.20] [3] *Hermas*, in explaining the stones of the tower, i.e., the Church, said: "Those square white stones which fitted exactly into each other, are apostles, bishops, teachers [priests?], and deacons, who have lived in godly purity, and have borne the episcopacy and have taught and ministered chastely and reverently to the elect of God." *Pastor*, visio III. 5. It must be admitted, however, that this text and various other texts of *Hermas* clearly indicate ministries rather than each grade.

[II.22] St. Irenaeus teaches that St. Paul set out for Jerusalem "after the bishops and priests in Miletus had been convoked." (*Adv. her.* lib. III. 14. cf. *Act. Apost.* XX: 17) Elsewhere he teaches that the tradition of the Apostles can be perceived through them "who by the Apostles were constituted as bishops in the Churches and as successors of them up to our time." He adds that heretics can be confounded "by the succession of bishops." (*L.c.* cap. III). *St. Clement of Alexandria*: "In the Church the progressions of bishops, priests, and deacons, I think, are imitations of the angelic glory." *Strom.* lib. VI. 13. We have no need of more proofs, since even the adversaries admit that there is a hierarchy in place at the beginning of the second century.

[II.23] To these witnesses should be added the evident episcopate of St. Clement of Rome (*Iren. Adv. her.* lib. III. 3; *Tert. De praescr.* Cap XXXII),

of St. Polycarp (Ignat. *Ad Polycarp.* inscriptio et cap. V. 2; Iren. *Adv. her.* III. 3) of Evodius, who was the successor of St. Peter in Antioch (Euseb. *E.H.* III. 22), of Marcus, who ruled the Church of Alexandria (Eus. *l. c.* II. 16) and of others. One should add as well the catalogues of bishops from the Apostles to the those of the second and third centuries in Hegisippus, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Jerome, Optatus of Miletus; the monuments, the crypts of St. Cecilia, for example, which give the list of the Roman bishops of the third century from Zephyrinus to Cajus (218-283) and the inscriptions indicating the episcopacy properly so called; the liturgical documents, the Leonine and Gelasian sacramentaries, the Alexandrian, Ethiopian, and Nestorian liturgies; Novatian, a schismatic, and heretics of the third century, who are in agreement with the Catholics (Tert. *Præscr.* cap. XLI; Eus. *E.H.* VI. 43); finally prescription, since no one has ever indicated a time in which the episcopacy was not considered a distinct grade and superior to the presbyterate.

[II.24] [B] *The episcopacy as a distinct grade and superior to the priesthood was instituted by Christ.* [I] Concerning the divine institution of the hierarchy, there is supreme agreement among the Fathers. (Cf. art. 6) But all the Fathers indicate that the episcopacy is the essential and principal element of the hierarchy. This is evident from the Fathers recently quoted. Add what St. Ignatius of Antioch says: "Let all in the same way venerate the deacons, just as they venerate the bishop, who is the type of the Father, whereas the priests are the senate of God and the council of the Apostles. Without these there is no Church." (*Ad Trall.* III). St. Cyprian: "Our Lord, whose commands and admonitions we must observe, establishing the honor of the bishop as the plan of His Church, speaks in the gospel..." [The reference in the book to Epistle 27 seems to be incorrect] Finally he teaches that the government of bishops was "founded by divine law."

[II.25] [2] The Fathers affirm that the power of ordaining priests pertains only to bishops. Therefore the episcopacy was instituted by Christ. The consequent is obvious, for if the episcopacy had been invented over time by human consent,

the power of validly ordaining priests would not absolutely pertain to bishops. *Proof of the antecedent.* St. Jerome said: "What does the bishop do, with the exception of ordaining priests, which the priest does not do?" (*Ep.* 85. ad Evangelium). St. John Chrysostom: "Indeed only by ordination are the bishops superior, and in this alone do they seem to have more than priests." St. Epiphanius refutes the dogma of Ærius concerning the equality of the bishop and the priest in this manner: "Who is able to ascertain this? Since the order of bishops pertains principally to generating priests: for the propagation of priests pertains to him. The other (the priest) since he is not able to make priests, produces children of the Church by the regeneration of baptism, but not fathers and teachers. For who can give him the power to make a priest, who does not have the right to impose hands for the purpose of making them?"²⁴ *Adv. her.* III. 75. 4. When Ischyra had himself ordained by the priest Colluthus, nearly 100 bishops congregated in Alexandria confounded Ischyra for the fact that Colluthus was not a bishop. For they wrote to Julius, the Roman Pontiff: "In what way is Ischyra a priest? Who ordained him? Colluthus?... But it is known to all that Colluthus died as a priest, and that both of his hands were without authority." (S. Athan. *Apol. c. Arian.* n. 12).

[II.26] [3] Another argument can be taken from public facts. Catholic writers were accustomed to refute heretics by means of the authentic succession of bishops,^q whom (the Apostles) — St. Irenaeus says — and their successors left behind as those who would take their place of teaching authority! (*Adv. her.* III. 3). An argument for this fact can also be found S. Irenæus, *Adv. hereses*; Tertullian, *De præscriptione*; St. Cyprian, *De unitate ecclesie*. In Another fact is the public condemnation of Ærius. Furthermore, the Apostolic Constitutions, the ancient canons, the liturgies, teach that the plenitude of the priesthood is in the bishop. For the episcopacy is called the "first order," the "high priesthood," the "prerogative of high dignity," episcopal consecration is called the "multiplication of the

²⁴ (μη έχοντα χειροθεσίαν του χειροτονειν).

priestly grace," and the "increase of advancement." Finally, there is no time and no place which can be indicated in which the Church changed its doctrine concerning the divine institution of the episcopacy. Therefore the argument of prescription applies.

[II.27] ARGUMENT III. FROM REASON. In any ordered society, it is necessary that there be some superior ministers, through which inferior ministers are united, just as the superiors themselves are united by one supreme head. But ministers who are superior in this way are called the bishops of the Church. Therefore the bishops, since Christ is the author of the order, are correctly said to be divinely instituted. (Cf. S. Thom. C. Gent. lib. IV, 76.; S. Theol. Suppl. quæst. 37. art. 1; q. 40, art. 4).

OBJECTIONS

[II.28] OBJECTION I. In the past, bishops and priests were not distinguished by name. Therefore not in reality.

[II.29] RESPONSE. *Given* the antecedent, *I deny* the consequent. There is in each word the proper power to signify the sacerdotal function. For, as Bede says, "One signifies the maturity of wisdom and the other the work of pastoral care." For this reason, priests of the first and second rank were promiscuously referred to as priests and bishops. St. Thomas says: "Subsequently, however, in order to avoid schism, it became necessary to distinguish even the terms, by calling the higher ones bishops and the lower ones priests. But to assert that priests nowise differ from bishops is reckoned by Augustine among heretical doctrines (*De Heres.* LIII), where he says that the Arians maintained that 'no distinction existed between a priest and a bishop.'" (II^a II^e, q. 184, art. 6 ad 1^{um})

[II.30] OBJECTION II (I Tim. IV 14) "*Neglect not the grace that is in thee, which was given thee by prophesy, with imposition of the hands of the priesthood.*" Timothy is said to have been ordained "with the imposition of the hands of the

priesthood." But Timothy is considered a bishop. Therefore, since superiors are not ordained by inferiors, the bishop is not superior to the priest.

[II.31] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. "with the imposition of the hands of the priesthood" excluding the episcopacy, *I deny*; including it, *I subdistinguish*, that the priests cooperate essentially, *I deny*; that they cooperate accidentally for the sake of solemnity, *let it pass*. It is certain that there was a common name for bishops and priests of the second order. Hence nothing is proved by the word *presbyter*. This very thing is explained by Saint Paul, when he said in another place concerning the ordination of Timothy: "*through the imposition of my hands.*" (II. Timothy I: 6).

[II.32] INSTANCE. In Sacred Scripture, there is never found a monarchical episcopacy, i.e., one man who, exceeding others in power, is constituted over a Church. This is not in conformity with the episcopacy in the Catholic Church, which is monarchical.

[II.33] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. There is not found a monarchical episcopacy with regard to the perfect circumscription of dioceses, *let it pass*; otherwise, *I deny*. Above we related certain facts which testify to the partial organization of the monarchical episcopacy. For at least, after the year 67, Timothy is seen to have been established as the bishop of Ephesus, and Titus of Crete. Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus were perhaps the bishops of Corinth. Epaphroditus was bishop of Philippi; at Collosa Archippus or Epaphras was the bishop. The seven *angels* of the Apocalypse are considered with great probability to be monarchical bishops. On page 115 [of the book], no. 4, we showed a solid testimony of the most ancient catalogues. Furthermore, the tradition of the oriental sources, which the *Chronicon* and the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius preserve, as well as the Western tradition of the *Liberian Catalogue*²⁵ or the *Philocalian Collection*

²⁵ In compiling the history of the Early Christian Church, the Liberian Catalogue (*Catalogus Liberianus*), which was part of the illuminated manuscript known as the Chronography of 354, is an essential document, for it consists of a list of the popes, designated bishops of Rome, ending with Pope Liberius (died

serve as a document ^{from} form which to derive the monarchical episcopate from apostolic times, against what ~~Karnack~~ teaches in his *Chronology*, where he proposes that Anicetus, the bishop of Rome from 167 to 168 was the first monarchical bishop. It is necessary to recall that the *episcopal power* is one thing, and another thing is the ecclesiastical *law* which assigns territory of jurisdiction to each bishop. The power of orders and at least the proximate capacity for jurisdiction was clearly conferred by Christ, whereas the territories of jurisdiction were only gradually constituted for bishops. For this reason, St. Thomas says that "the power of the priest is naturally and by divine law subjected to the power of the bishop, since it is imperfect with regard to it." *Contra Impug.*, IV.

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[II.34] INSTANCE. Perhaps the episcopacy drew its origin from Judæo-Christian and Greco-Roman ideas. Therefore it should not be assigned to the divine founder.

[II.35] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent: with regard to essential things, *I deny*; with regard to certain accidental things, *let it pass*, and *I deny* the conclusion. The priesthood of the Old Testament was a shadow of the Catholic hierarchy, and not its cause. Nor is it important what *could* have happened, since we have already proven the fact of the divine institution against any hypotheses. If someone should say that the Church followed the Jews and Romans in some

366), hence its name and approximate date. The list gives the lengths of their respective episcopates, the corresponding consular dates, and the names of the reigning emperors. In many cases there are other details. "The collection of tracts of which this forms a part was edited (apparently by one Furios Dionysius Philocalus) in 354 (AD). It now survives only in a copy.

The Liberian Catalogue is clearly the work of a compiler using earlier texts. It has been suggested that it is largely dependent on a work of Bishop Hippolytus of Portus (died 235), and is his lost *Chronica*. The character of the entries changes after Pontian. There are a number of "strange errors" (Edmundson 1913, lecture VIII) in the Liberian Catalogue, some of which may be the product merely of copyist errors (AD). The texts in the *Chronography* do display damage in transmission.

Two other lists are associated, in the sense that they occur in the same manuscript (the *Chronographus anni 354*). These are the *Depositio martyrum* and *Depositio episcoporum*. While these names could be generic, for lists of martyrs and bishops, scholarly usage without qualification tends to mean these lists. (Wikipedia)

accidentals, e.g., the Romans in the circumscription of dioceses, I do not oppose it.

[II.36] OBJECTION III. The authority of Saint Jerome is great. But the saint teaches that "priests and bishops are the same." *Ep.* 146 ad Evangelum.

[II.37] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. The authority of Saint ~~Paul~~ ^{Jerome} is great, *I concede*, greater than the common consent of the Fathers, *I deny*. And *I distinguish* the minor: *secundum quid*, *I concede*; *simpliciter*, *I deny*. Indeed the priest is the same thing as a bishop according to the primitive commonness of the name and according to the power of consecrating the Body of Christ. But if priest and bishop are considered according to the proper notion of their species, then they are clearly different. Saint Jerome is annoyed at the fact that a deacon is preferred by some to a priest, and so extols the dignity of a priest and very pointedly illustrates that the duties of priests and bishops are common, especially in what regards the Body and Blood of Christ. This is not absurd provided that an absolute equality of power is not construed.

[II.38] INSTANCE. Saint Jerome writes elsewhere: (*In Titum* I, 5) "Before partisanship in matters of religion took place at the suggestion of the devil, and it was said: 'I am of Paul, I of Apollo, and I of Cephas' (cf. I Cor. I, 12), the churches were governed by the common ^{the} counsel of the the priests. After, however, each one whom they had baptized thought himself to belong to one of these, but not to Christ, it was decreed throughout the whole world that one of those chosen from among ^{the} priests should be in charge of the others, to whom the care of the whole church would pertain and by which the seeds of schism would be removed." Therefore the episcopacy was introduced only by human consent.

[II.39] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent: the episcopacy was instituted by an ecclesiastical decree, i.e., some use of the episcopal jurisdiction, *I concede*; the very episcopal dignity, *I deny*. And *I deny* the consequent. St. Jerome does not seem to have denied the divine institution of the episcopal dignity *in se*, although the audacity of some adversaries and the well-known vehemence

of mind of the Doctor have had the effect that he is thought to have said some things more boldly than carefully. But [A] the circumstance, [B] the context, and [C] other ideas of the saint must be taken into consideration.

[11.40] [A] The circumstances are [1] the audacity of the adversaries; [2] the ardor of Saint Jerome; [3] the honor given to the holy Doctor by the Church, *by the Church*, I say, which was very opposed to Colluthus²⁶ and Acrius.²⁷ By these circumstances, both the lack of moderation in the choice of words to express his ideas and his doctrinal sincerity are explained.

[11.41] [B] [1] The holy Doctor, correcting his lack of moderation in these ideas, soon adds: "so the bishops know that they *more* by custom, than by the truth of the institution of Christ, are greater than priests." (*In Titum*, l.c.) Therefore, by using the word *more*, he does not exclude the divine institution. [2] He gives the power of ordaining priests exclusively to bishops: "Bishops," he says, who have the power of constituting priests in each locality," and "What does the bishop do, with the exception of ordination, which the priest does not do?" [3] He states: "The fact that Aaron and his sons, as well as the Levites, were in the Temple

this the bishops, priests, and deacons claim in the Church."

[11.42] [C] *Other positions of the holy Doctor.* [1] He teaches that the bishops were *ordained* by the Apostles themselves: "Which the *Apostles* also did, ordaining in each province both priests and bishops." (*In Matth.* XXV: 26-28) [2] that all the bishops are *successors* of the Apostles. (*Ep.* 146); "Among us the bishops hold the place of the Apostles." (*Ep.* 41) [3] in *Adv. Jovin.*, I, he writes: "the bishop, the priest, and the deacon are not the names of three merits, but are offices." In the same work II, he writes: "In the Old Testament and in the New the bishop has one order, the priest another, and the levites another." [4] He sees a peculiar charism of the Holy Ghost in the episcopacy: "if we ask why someone who is baptized does not receive the *Holy Ghost* except through the hands of the bishop, understand that this observance descends from that authority, *because* the Holy Ghost descended upon the Apostles." (*Dial. adv. Luciferianos*, IX, 5) Finally the holy Doctor says in *Adv. Joan. Hieros.*, XXXVII: "No difference is made between a priest and a bishop; the same dignity belongs to the sender and the sent; this is lame enough; the ship, as the saying goes; is wrecked in harbor."

[11.43] *INSTANCE.* St. Jerome shows that a bishop is constituted by election, and not by ordination. In his *Epistle to Evangelus*, he says: "For even at Alexandria from the time of Mark the Evangelist until the episcopates of Heraclas and Dionysius the presbyters always named as bishop one of their own number chosen by themselves and set in a more exalted position, just as an army elects a general, or as deacons appoint one of themselves whom they know to be diligent and call him archdeacon."

[11.44] *RESPONSE.* *I distinguish* the antecedent. The quotation of St. Jerome excludes ordination, *I deny*; narrates the practice of election, *I subdistinguish*: peculiar to Alexandria, *let it pass*; common, *I deny*. [1] The holy Doctor in his epistle to Evangelus, in order to protect the dignity of priests, which had been neglected by some for a time, treated of those things by which priests and bishops are more alike. But that he does not deny

²⁶ Colluthus is a schismatic presbyter in Alexandria during the episcopate of Alexander (312-326), nineteenth patriarch of the See of Saint Mark. In 324 the council convened by Hosius to quell the growing Arian controversy deposed Colluthus for taking upon himself the episcopal function of conferring orders. Ancient sources indicate that Colluthus was not a supporter of Arius, but was himself the leader of a schismatic group.

²⁷ Acrius was a priest and a friend and fellow ascetic of Eustathius of Sebaste. Eustathius became bishop of Sebaste in the year 355 and would later ordain Acrius and put him in charge of the hospital in Sebaste. Acrius fell out with Eustathius, due to the bishop having deserted ascetic practices. [1] Acrius soon began to teach new doctrines, insisting that there was no sacred character distinguishing bishop or priest from laymen, that the observance of the feast of Easter was a Jewish superstition, and that it was wrong to prescribe fasts or abstinences by law, and useless to pray for the dead. His followers, known as Acrians, fasted on Sundays and would not do so on the appointed fast-days, even during Holy Week.

For a time, he had many followers in Sebaste, but he could not make his teachings widely popular. The Acrians, who followed his teachings, may have been Arians as well. Epiphanius of Salamis believed they were. In his best-known book *Panarion*, he attacked the Acrians and their founder. Written between 374 and 377, the work was a handbook for dealing with heretics. The author listed 80 heretical doctrines, some of which, like the teachings of Acrius, are not described in any other surviving documents from the time.

ordination is clear, which we have just written about for the purpose of clarifying the ideas of the Doctor about the subject. It is also clear from that which the holy Doctor says in the text which is objected: "What does the bishop do, with the exception of ordination, which the priest does not do?" The comparison, moreover, between the election of a bishop and that of an archdeacon is one of *similitude* and not of *equality*. [2] What things are said concerning the practice of the Church of Alexandria, if they appear very obscure,

must be explained from the history of the Church of Alexandria. But the histories attest to the fact that the bishops of Alexandria before Heracla (†247) and Dionysius (†265) were ordained in no way different from that of the bishops of Jerusalem and Rome. Cf. Eusebius *H.E.* III, 14, 21; IV, 1, etc.; Athanasius *Apol.* III; *Constitut. Apostol.* VIII, 45. [3] Even if Saint Jerome occasionally wrote things by which he seems to approach the position of our adversaries, the consent of antiquity overcomes Jerome, and not the Church.

ARTICLE VIII
[12]
WHETHER THE FORM OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL
GOVERNMENT IS MONARCHICAL

[12.1] I. MANY FORMS OF GOVERNMENT. The matter which we are now discussing will be confirmed by arguments which are proper to it, when it is necessary to treat of the primacy of Saint Peter and of the Roman Pontiffs. But in order that we progress step by step and by reason, the form of the ecclesiastical government must be here explained. By so doing, the entire constitution of the Church can be placed in a single view.

[12.2] The first kind of government is democracy or the government of the people; the second is aristocracy, or the principality of the leading men; the third is monarchy, which is the rule of one person. It is possible to have a mixture of these diverse forms of government. Cf. St. Thomas Ia IIæ q. 90, art. 4; *De regimine princ.* lib. I, 1.

[12.3] II. FOURFOLD FORM OF MONARCHY. We call a monarchy that which is the *government of one person*. Therefore in any monarchy which is true to the name, the supreme social power is in one person. But the supreme power is either total and undivided, or held collectively and by division. In the first case, there is a *simple* monarchy, in the second case, there is a *mixed* monarchy.

[12.4] The simple monarchy is subdivided into *absolute* and *temperate*. Absolute is that in which the ruler alone has the supreme power and in such a way that his power is not in any way limited by fundamental laws proper to a determined society. A temperate monarchy is one which commands with the power of legislation, but within the limits of fundamental laws which the society has beforehand, which the ruler presupposes, and which therefore the social authority cannot abolish or contradict, but according to them to make laws for the society

which is committed to him. The ruler and the people can change the fundamental laws by mutual consent, if these laws have been made by them, but not if they have not been made by them alone, as in the case of the natural law. Cf. Zigliara, *Propædæutica*, lib. IV. II.

[12.5] A mixed monarchy is divided into that which is commonly called mixed and representative. In the mixed monarchy, the king governs, but not alone, because the total legislative power resides in the political body, of which the king is a part only, although the principal part. (Zigliara, *loc. cit.*) A representative monarchy is improperly called a monarchy. In it, the social authority is given not to the ruler, but to the people, who elect deputies, who in the name and authority of the people, which is delegated to them, make laws.

[12.6] III. THE NOTION OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL MONARCHY. Because monarchy consists in the government of one person, it does not matter if that one person who governs is called a king or emperor a consul or a ruler. For this reason, in the ecclesiastical order, as well, we can consider the monarchy, *which is the plenitude of the supreme ecclesiastical power in the Roman Pontiff alone*. We will understand clearly the notion of this monarchy, if we fix our attention on the following things.

[12.7] [1] The ecclesiastical monarchy is *simple*. For whatever power pertains to the episcopacy pertains to the Roman Pontiff in a more eminent manner, who therefore has supreme, total, and undivided power. [2] The ecclesiastical monarchy is *temperate* in the sense in which we have explained the word "temperate." The power of the Roman Pontiff is limited by the law of the

1A Gospel and by the laws fixed by Christ. [3] The ecclesiastical monarchy was divinely instituted in Peter and by his successors. It thus happens that no other form of government may be used in the Church.

[12.8] One might ask whether the Church has an aristocratic and democratic form. I respond The Church, improperly speaking, and in a broad sense, has a mixture of aristocracy and of democracy. "For the form of the Church is aristocratic, to the extent that the Vicar of Christ is bound to use bishops in the care and government of the Church; of democracy... because the Roman Pontiff is elected, and does not possess the office by hereditary title, and because both he and the bishops can be taken from any people, language, or condition of life." *Philos. element.* III. sect. II.1.

[12.9] IV. ERRORS CONCERNING THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH. [1] *Democratic errors.* [A] At the beginning of the 14th century, Marsilius Menandrinus, called Petavius, and John of Jaduno, professors in Paris, wrote a book entitled *Defensorium Padis.* In it they defended the thesis that ecclesiastical power resides in the community of the faithful. The reformers of the 16th century rejected the hierarchy and concocted a universal priesthood, together with a completely democratic church. [B] Others said that the ecclesiastical power resides in the people, but that it must be transferred necessarily to pastors, whose grades were determined by Christ. [C] It is an error to assert that the ecclesiastical power cannot be exercised independently of the people. This dependency could be juridical, which demands the consent of the people either antecedently in selecting pastors, or consequently in approving laws, or it could be a moral dependency, which means that if laws are made without consulting the people, they are valid, but nevertheless an injury is done to the people.

[12.10] [2] *Aristocratic errors.* [A] The Presbyterians exaggerated the grade and power of priests, setting aside the office of bishops. (We talked about this in Article 7) [B] The errors condemned by Pope Pius VI: "The doctrine which

states, that 'the reformation of abuses in regard to ecclesiastical discipline ought equally to depend upon and be established by the bishop and the parish priests in diocesan synods, and that without the freedom of decision, obedience would not be due to the suggestions and orders of the bishops,' — false, rash, harmful to episcopal authority, subversive of hierarchical government, favoring the heresy of Aerius, which was renewed by Calvin. Likewise, the doctrine by which parish priests and other priests gathered in a synod are declared judges of faith together with the bishop, and at the same time it is intimated that they are qualified for judgment in matters of faith by their own right and have indeed received it by ordination — false, rash, subversive of hierarchical order, detracting from the strength of dogmatic definitions or judgments of the Church, at least erroneous." (*Auctorem Fidei*, prop. 9 & 10) [Denz. 1509 & 1510] [C] the third error is similar to the second, namely that the power of pastors comes immediately from Christ, and that the authority of bishops is extraordinary in parish affairs. [D] The error of the Gallicans is that the plenitude of supreme power resides not in the Roman Pontiff alone, but in him with the body of bishops or at least with a smaller part of them.²⁸

[12.11] [3] The following errors combine the aristocratic error and the democratic error: [A] that of Edmund Richer, who asserted in 1611 in his book entitled *De ecclesiastica et politica potestate*, that jurisdiction properly, primarily, and essentially belongs to the people, and ministerially to the Roman Pontiff and the bishops; [2] that the ministerial power of the Roman Pontiff is limited by the ministerial power of the bishops; [3] that laws, whether made by councils or outside of councils require the acceptance of the people; [4] that the organs of the people in relation to the bishop are priests who are pastors. Richer was condemned and then repented. He died in 1631. [B] There is the error of *Markus Antonius de*

²⁸ Compare Vatican II: "The order of bishops, which succeeds to the college of apostles and gives this apostolic body continued existence, is also the subject of supreme and full power over the universal Church, provided we understand this body together with its head the Roman Pontiff and never without this head." (*Lumen Gentium*, 22)

Dominis (1566-1624) who in his work entitled *De republica ecclesiastica contra primatum Papæ* [1] asserted that the right of electing the ministers of the Church pertained by divine right to the people; [2] asserted that the bishops were not subject to the power of the pope; [c] In 1763 a yet worse error broke out when a book appeared entitled: *Justini Febronii Jurisconsulti de statu Ecclesiæ, et de legitima potestate Romani Pontificis liber singularis, ad reuniendos dissidentes in religione Christianos compositos*. Nicholas de Hontheim, the suffragan bishop of Trier, under the false name of Febronius bitterly attacked the true doctrine concerning the constitution of the Church, and under the false names of Joannes Clericus and Aulus Jordanus, defended his errors which had been refuted very diligently by the most learned men. Febronius asserts [1] that the people participate in the ecclesiastical power; [2] ~~who~~ extolled beyond measure the power of the bishops; [3] diminished the power of the Roman Pontiff. From this source, the evil of Febronianism rose up, by which many tried to subvert the ecclesiastical constitution and hand over the Church to the civil power.



FEBRONIUS

[12.12] *Thesis*: THE FORM OF ECCLESIASTICAL GOVERNMENT IS MONARCHY.

[12.13] ARGUMENT I. Monarchy is said to be that form of government by which the whole power resides in one person. But the plenitude of spiritual power was given to St. Peter and his successors in the primacy, the Roman Pontiffs. Ergo. The proof of the minor will be done in Question XVI.

OBJECTIONS

[12.14] OBJECTION I. In the council of Jerusalem, held by the Apostles, a decree was sanctioned ~~also by~~ lay people. Therefore in this period of the Church there was a democratic order. *Proof of the antecedent* is found in Acts XV: 22: "Then it pleased the apostles and ancients, with the whole church, to choose men of their own company, and to send to Antioch, with Paul and Barnabas, namely, Judas, who was surnamed Barsabas, and Silas, chief men among the brethren."

[12.15] RESPONSE. I deny the antecedent and the proof of it *by distinguishing*: the decree ~~was~~ ^{was} sent with the *applause* of all the Church, that is, the lay people, I concede; that it was sanctioned by the lay people, I deny. That the sanctioning of the decree was attributed to the Apostles and ancients (*presbyters*) is proved [A] from the title of the decree: "The apostles and ancients, brethren, to the brethren of the Gentiles that are at Antioch, and in Syria and Cilicia, greeting." (verse 23) [B] Likewise in chapter XV, v. 2 & 6, a question to be decided is attributed to the Apostles and the ancients.

[12.16] INSTANCE. In the received Greek text, we read that the "Apostles and ancients *and the brothers* (*kai oi adelfoi*)" wrote to Antioch. Therefore the laypeople had no small part in sanctioning the decree.

[12.17] RESPONSE. Given the reading of the received text, nothing follows. For since the multitude or lay people in this case were at the council *materially*, and not *formally*, that is, they were there as *witnesses*, and not as *judges*, it was possible that a certain mention be made of the multitude in letters to the Churches. That the sanction pertained only to the Apostles and the ancients, is indicated three times. For (a) Paul and

Barnabas ascended to the "apostles and priests to Jerusalem about this question." (XV: verse 2); (b) in the same chapter, v. 6, Saint Luke writes: "And the apostles and ancients assembled to consider of this matter."; Likewise (c) in XVI: 4, dogmas are commemorated which were "decreed by the Apostles and ancients." But if any doubt should remain, the many texts which I adduced in Article IV concerning the hierarchical constitution of the Church, should remove all doubt.

[12.18] We did not deny the received text, "and the brethren," although five very ancient and very reliable manuscripts, κ ABCD, that is, the Codex Sinaiticus (St. Petersburg) from the 5th century, the Alexandrinus (London) from the 5th century, the Vaticanus from the 4th century, the Ephræm Syrus rescript (Paris) from the 5th century, and the Beza Cantabrigdensis, both Greek and Latin, from the 6th century, all omit *the brethren*. It is also omitted in the Itala, the Vulgate, and the Armenian versions. It is also omitted by the protestants Mill, Griesbach, Lachmann, Bornemann, Buttermann, and Tischendorf in their eighth critical edition.

[12.19] OBJECTION II. If it is the law that those who are set over the Church must be elected by the faithful, then you have a democratic constitution. But we see Matthias elected as an Apostle and the seven deacons elected by the multitude in Acts. I: 15-26 and VI: 3-5. Therefore the constitution of the primitive Church was democratic.

10/14/10
[12.20] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. If the law of electing is divine, *I concede*; if it is by apostolic ^{concession} ~~succession~~, *I deny*. And *I distinguish* the minor: The multitude elected Matthias and the deacons by divine law, *I deny*, by apostolic concession, *I subdistinguish*, by a consultative vote, *I concede*; by a decisive vote, *I deny*. Indeed that the right to any vote has been given by God to the people is a gratuitous assertion. In our case there is discerned a special reason to seek the advice of the faithful. For it was necessary that one man succeed to Judas' place who had been with the Apostles at all times, as Sacred Scripture states: "Wherefore of these men who have companied with us all the time

that the Lord Jesus came in and went out among us, beginning from the baptism of John, until the day wherein he was taken up from us, one of these must be made a witness with us of his resurrection." (Acts I: 21, 22) The idea of constituting deacons was the occasion of murmuring which needed to be quieted. For this reason the Twelve prudently said to the multitude: "Wherefore, brethren, look ye out among you seven men of good reputation, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business." (Acts VI: 3) Today proclamations are customarily done, in order that the suitability of those being promoted to orders become more apparent.

[12.21] INSTANCE. St. Paul writes to the Corinthians: "For what have I to do to judge them that are without? Do not you judge them that are within? ~~For~~ For them that are without, God will judge. Put away the evil one from among yourselves." (I Cor. V: 12-13) Therefore the power of judging and expelling a man did not belong to a superior, but to a community, in a clearly democratic manner.

[12.22] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. Saint Paul in the quotation was establishing the strict norm of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, *I deny*; that he was speaking in a general way of avoiding Christians ^{who} were criminals openly, *I concede*. For this reason Weizsäcker²⁹ and others from this text and from analogous texts were unable to prove that the primeval condition of the Church was essentially democratic. The Apostle, in speaking about evils to be judged, does not distinguish between those who exercise judgement

²⁹ Karl Heinrich Weizsäcker (December 11, 1822 – August 13, 1899) was a German Protestant theologian. Weizsäcker was born in Öhringen near Heilbronn in Württemberg, and studied at Tübingen and Berlin. After studying at the University of Tübingen and the Frederick William University of Berlin, he became *Privatdozent* at Tübingen in 1847 and professor of ecclesiastical and dogmatic history in 1861. From 1856 to 1878 he helped to edit the *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*; and his elaborate studies *Untersuchungen über die evangelische Geschichte, ihre Quellen und den Gang ihrer Entwicklung* (1864) and *Das apostolische Zeitalter der christliche Kirche* (1886; Engl. trans. 1894-1895) made him widely known and respected. Weizsäcker's other works include *Zur Kritik des Barnabas-Briefs* (1863) and *Ferdinand Christian Baur* (1892). In 1861 he succeeded Ferdinand Christian Baur as professor for history of church and dogma at Tübingen. Later, he became chancellor of the university.

in the strict sense, and those who, by a certain accidental reason, and by extension, participate in the judgment or add something to the execution of the sentence, in the case of the *vitandi*. Who would say that texts such as these empty out the clear testimonies of Sacred Scripture concerning the sacred principality? (Cf. Saint Thomas, *In I Cor.* V, lect. 3)

[12.23] **OBJECTION III.** It is found in St. Cyprian: "We see that this descends from the divine authority, that the priest, in the presence of the people, is selected under the eyes of all, and is approved by public judgement and testimony." [The reference to Epistle 68 seems to be incorrect].

[12.24] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the antecedent: the participation of the people is said by St. Cyprian "to descend from divine authority" as a precept, *I deny*; as an example, *I subdistinguish*: a participation of testimony, *I concede*; of election,

I deny. The holy Doctor wants that the election happen in the presence of the people, but not by the people, in order that the presence of the people serve as a *testimony*. This practice, moreover, is presented as having descended from divine authority *in the broad sense*, inasmuch as through the *example* in the Old Testament, and by the consecration of Eleazar, the son of Aaron (Num. XX), it is seen as commendable. But the approval of clerics can be done suitably in other ways as well. Nor in Saint Cyprian's time was the presence of the people always used, but, if I may use the saint's words, "almost throughout all the provinces." The Third Council of Carthage decreed: "Let no cleric be ordained unless approved either by the examination of the bishops or by the testimony of the people." Can. XXVII. Cf. St. Leo the Great, *ep.* 6 (in other places 10), no. 4.

QUESTION IV

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH

ARTICLE I

[13]

WHETHER THE CHURCH IS A PERFECT SOCIETY

[13.1] I. NOTION OF A SOCIETY. St. Thomas says: "A society means a union of men, assembled together for one and the same purpose. Hence as everything ought to be judged with regard to the end for which it is ordained, the different societies which exist ought to be distinguished and judged according to the purpose for which they are formed. Aristotle, (VIII Ethics) classifies different communications. By this term he means associations formed for diverse objects, wherein the members hold communication one with the other. The Philosopher distinguishes friendships according to these communications. He refers to the friendship of those brought up together, or that based on commercial transactions, or the friendship of men engaged in the same business. Hence arises the distinction between public and private societies." (*Contra Impugnantes*, chapter 3) From these words three things are clear.

[1] There are three elements of every society properly so called: (a) the multitude; (b) the common end; (c) the authority, from which arises the "joining together" and the motion to the common good.

[2] According as there are diverse ends there can be diverse societies, e.g., for business, for education, or for embracing the evangelical counsels.

[3] Just as the human body is a physical organism, so a society is a moral organism. The perfection of this organism is greater the more completely it contains within itself the necessities for life. Hence St. Thomas distinguishes three societies, the *home*, the *city*, and the *kingdom*, which he called the *community of consummation*.

[13.2] II. THE NOTION OF A PERFECT SOCIETY. The perfection of a society can be considered [1] in the individual perfection of its members; [2] in the use of their rights, which is peaceful and firm according to the various grades; [3] in the very social quality. We are here proposing to investigate whether the Church is perfect or complete in the very notion of society. Society is a certain moral *organism*. But a complete organism in the physical order is perfect if the organism of this type is not a *part*, and is not *insufficient per se in its own order*, but is in itself a whole and has *sufficiency for life in its own order*. This can be said of a moral organism, which is called a society. But an organism of this type is not perfect if it is a *part* of a society, e.g., the good of a single home, which is ordered to the good of one city (Cf. St. Thom. I^a II^{ae} q. 90, art 3, ad 3), or if it is *insufficient in its own order*, e.g., religious orders which obtain the sufficiency of supernatural life from the Church. Since these things are so, this

rule can be easily understood, which St. Thomas set down: "that the perfection of a society must be greater to that same extent that it is in itself more sufficient for the necessities of life." (*De regimine principum*, book I, 1) And because this sufficiency in the strict sense is found in the State, in the temporal order only the State is the perfect society. For this reason, St. Thomas calls it the *community of consummation*. Finally this sufficiency or intrinsic independence necessarily requires an *extrinsic independence*. It follows that a society is perfect if it is sufficient per se in its own order and depends on no other.

[13.3] III. STATUS QUÆSTIONIS. It is asked whether the Church of Christ is a perfect society, i.e., whether it is a society which is sufficient by itself in its own order and depends on no other. Its own order is the order of spiritual and supernatural life. By *sufficient in itself* we ask whether it has the means, both necessary and useful, for obtaining eternal salvation. By the words, "depending on no other," we mean that it is completely *sui juris* and subordinated to no other society either in *esse* or in operation. This sufficiency in itself, which is *intrinsic independence*, is connected to *extrinsic independence*. Therefore, once the existence of intrinsic independence is proved, the extrinsic follows, which is founded upon the intrinsic. When the right to extrinsic independence is manifested, then the intrinsic independence is known, since the extrinsic cannot exist without the intrinsic. Finally the organism of the Church or its intrinsic perfection in the genus of society is known most certainly from the end of the Church. For both nature and organism correspond to the end. Therefore does this all the more apply to the Church: quod "Christ loved the church, and delivered himself up for it." (Eph. V: 25).

[13.4] IV. THE GREAT IMPORTANCE OF THIS QUESTION FOR THE PURPOSE OF DEFENDING THE LIBERTY OF THE CHURCH. He who proves that a society is completely perfect, by that very fact demonstrates the *liberty* of the Church. For the concept of a perfect society is such that it contains explicitly independence from any other society of the same order. He who forbids, therefore, the

Church to exist, or to use its property without the approval of the civil power, violates the divine law. Nor can any law ever be made justly which either annuls or impedes the liberty of the Church. For this reason, among the principal duties of Christian states, Leo XIII has placed these precepts: [1] the name of public ^{power} is sacred to Christians...but if the laws of a nation openly contradict the divine law, if they involve any injury to the Church or should contradict those things which pertain to religion or duties, or if they should violate the authority of Jesus Christ in the Roman Pontiff, then ⁱⁿ such a case it is one's duty to resist, and to obey would be a crime. [2] It furthermore is apparent how unjust the accusation of sedition is: for ^{regimen} due obedience which is owed to the ruler and legislators is not rejected, but it is withheld only with regard to those precepts of which there is no power to legislate, because they inflict injury upon God, and therefore are void of justice, and are anything but laws.

[13.5] V. THE TEACHING OF THE CHURCH. Pius IX condemns the following proposition in the Syllabus of Errors: [Denz. 1719] "The Church is not a true and perfect society absolutely free, nor does it operate by its own fixed and proper rights conferred on it by its divine founder; but it belongs to the civil power to define which are the rights of the Church, and the limits within which it may exercise these rights." Leo XIII (*Immortale Dei*) "Hence, it [the Church] is distinguished and differs from civil society, and, what is of highest moment, it is a society chartered as of right divine, perfect in its nature and in its title, to possess in itself and by itself, through the will and loving kindness of its Founder, all needful provision for its maintenance and action." Cf. Encyclical *Libertas*, 20 June 1888; *Sapientie christane*, 10 January 1890; apost. epistle *Praclara*, 20 June 1894; encyclical *Satis Cognitum*, 29 June 1896.

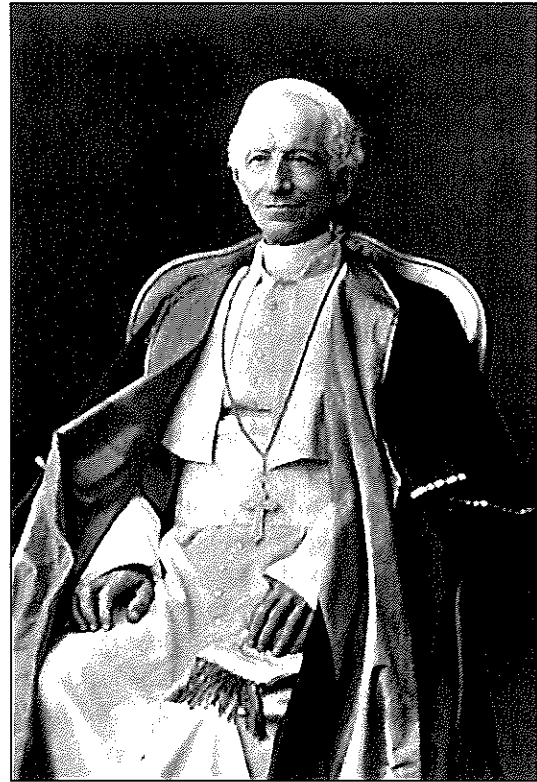
[13.6] Thesis: THE CHURCH IS A PERFECT SOCIETY.

[13.7] ARGUMENT I. That society is perfect which is *per se* sufficient in its own order, and is dependent on no other. But such is the Church of Christ. Therefore the Church of Christ is a perfect society. *Proof of the minor.* [A] *It is sufficient in its own spiritual order.* For if Christ gave to the Church its end, then He also gave it all the means to the end. But by the will of Jesus Christ, the end of the Church is that all men be sanctified in her and through her. (Q. II., art 3) Therefore the Church possesses all the means necessary to this end, and in herself and by herself. For this reason, St. Thomas, explaining Ps. XLV: 3, *Fluminis impetus latificat civitatem Dei*, says: "This city is the Church. Ps. LXXXVI: *Gloriosa dicta sunt de te civitas Dei*, etc. There are three things in that city which are of this *ratio*. The first is that in it is a multitude of free people...The second is that it have sufficiency *per se*. For in a village there is not found all things necessary for human life, both for the healthy and the infirm. But in a city it is necessary to find all things which are necessary for human life. And *this sufficiency is in the Church: because whatever is necessary for spiritual life is found in it.* Ps. LXIV: *Replebimur in bonis domus tuae*. The third is the unity of the citizens."

[13.8] [B] *She depends on no other.* If the Church depended on another society, it would be subordinated to that society either as an inferior to a superior or as a part to a whole. But neither can be admitted.

[13.9] It is not subordinated as an inferior, because the end of the Church is the highest of all ends, namely the eternal salvation of souls. It is not a part of any other society, since the end of the Church is the most universal, since it is its proper function given to it by God, that it bring sanctity to all in one flock of the Church. "In addition to what has been laid down, it is necessary to enter more fully into the nature of the Church. She is not an association of Christians brought together by chance, but is a divinely established and admirably constituted society, having for its direct and proximate purpose to lead minds to peace and holiness. And since the Church alone has, through the grace of God, received the means necessary to realize such end, she has her

fixed laws, special duties, and a certain method, fixed and conformable to her nature, of governing Christian peoples." (Leo XIII, *Sapientiae Christianae*)



POPE LEO XIII (1878-1903)

[13.10] ARGUMENT II. Sacred Scripture teaches: [A] that all the helps to eternal salvation have been committed to the Church *alone*; [B] that the activity of the Church is completely independent. Therefore the Church is a perfect society. The antecedent is proved.

[13.11] [A] All the helps to eternal salvation have been committed to the Church *alone*. "Going therefore teach ye all nations, baptizing them..." (Matth. XXVIII: 19) "Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them..." (John XX: 22, 23); only to Peter did Our Lord say: "I give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven," and "Feed my sheep." (John XXI: 17)

[13.12] [B] *The action of the Church is completely independent.* That the Church is a

distinct and independent society is clear from these words: "*Render therefore unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's.*" (Matth. XXII: 21) It is shown that the power of the Church is received and to be exercised neither by the princes nor by their mediation, but even against their will: "*For they shall deliver you up to councils, and in the synagogues you shall be beaten, and you shall stand before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony unto them.*" (Mark XIII: 9) Peter and John, when they were ~~they were~~ told that they should neither speak nor teach any more in the name of Jesus, they answered: "*If it be just in the sight of God, to hear you rather than God, judge ye.*" (Acts IV: 19) When the Apostles were again apprehended, they responded to the chief priest interrogating them, saying: "*Commanding we commanded you, that you should not teach in this name; and behold, you have filled Jerusalem with your doctrine, and you have a mind to bring the blood of this man upon us.*" But Peter and the apostles answering, said: "*We ought to obey God, rather than men.*" (Acts V: 29) But the Apostles did not cease to preach even after they were chastised: "*And every day they ceased not in the temple, and from house to house, to teach and preach Christ Jesus.*" (Acts V: 42)

[13.12] ARGUMENT III. FROM TRADITION. [A] That all the means necessary to salvation have been given to the Church alone is easily understood from those testimonies by which we have proved

the end (Q. II art. 3) of the Church and her hierarchical constitution. (Q. III) Nor is there lacking doctrine from the Fathers for those who contend that spiritual things have not been fully and integrally handed over to the Church.

[13.13] [B] St. Justin says concerning the independence of the Church: "Now it is evident that no one can terrify or subdue us who have believed in Jesus over all the world." (*Dial. cum Tryphone*, CX) St. Ambrose: "The Emperor is within the Church, but is not above the Church." (*Ep.* 21) St. Gregory Nazienzen: "We bishops also bear power, but I add that it is more excellently and more perfectly, unless one would admit that the spirit is equal to the flesh, and that terrestrial things are equal to heavenly things." (*Orat.* XVII) St. John Chrysostom: "To the ruler have been committed those things where are here, but to me celestial things, and when I say 'to me' I understand the priest." (*In Is.* VI, 1, hom. IV: 4) Finally there were never lacking those who were either captives or exiles or tortured who did not profess the same truth. "It is established by God that all things which pertain to the nature and rights of a society that is legitimate, supreme, and perfect in all its parts exist in the Church." (*Encyc. Libertas*, no. 40)

[13.14] Therefore it is certain "*that it is divinely constituted that all things are in the Church which pertain to the nature and rights of a legitimate, sovereign society, perfect in all its parts.*"

Article X [14], *Whether the Church is everywhere a legal society, is skipped.*

ARTICLE III

[15]

WHETHER THE CHURCH IS A NECESSARY SOCIETY

[15.1] I. STATUS QUESTIONIS. I speak of that necessity by which men are held to be in the society of the Church if they wish to attain the

end, which is eternal salvation. We recall that first principle, that something is ordered to the end of salvation either by necessity of *means* or *precept*. If

it is ordered by necessity of means, the end cannot be obtained in any other way; if it is necessary by necessity of precept, then those who are invincibly ignorant can obtain salvation without it. To be a member of the Church *in voto* is seen to be required by necessity of means, whether that desire should be *explicit*, as in him who doubts concerning the truth of his sect, decides to embrace the true Church, wherever it should be found, or *implicit*, as in the case of someone who is in error but in good faith, and who has a firm purpose of obeying the laws of God. It seems, however, that the implicit desire to belong to the Church is required in those cases, "in which," Patrick Murray says, "in such a way it is required by necessity that there be the purpose of observing all serious divine commands and not in other things, and not in another way." (*De Eccl.* Part I, ch. 6)

[15.2] It is necessary by necessity of precept that men belong to the Church *in re*. For this reason, those who remain *culpably* in schism, heresy, or unbelief, are *outside of the path of salvation*. In other words, those who remain *formally* in their error are not on the road to salvation. A formal error is that which is able to be overcome; a material error is that which cannot be overcome. And since the Church denies, against Baius, that the purely negative unbelief of him, to whom the Gospel has not been preached, is a sin, and since St. Thomas teaches that those, who are unfaithful according to pure negation, as in the case of those who have never heard of the Faith, are damned because of other sins which cannot be forgiven without faith, but are not damned because of the sin of infidelity, our question consists in this: Is it necessary for salvation to belong to the Church *in re*, except for those who labor under invincible ignorance of the true Church? This necessity can be summed up in the axiom *Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus*. *Anti-Feeney*

[15.3] We call it *necessity*. Obviously the society of the Church, even if it had no necessity, would nevertheless be something to be greatly desired and sought for because of its most excellent goods, which the holy City of God supplies for the purpose of preserving innocence, expiating sin, for

the fullness of the supernatural life, and for solace and strength. Anyone who possesses this help will be safe.

[15.4] **ADVERSARIES.** When the minds of men were darkened in the sixteenth century, when the reformers suggested an altered concept of the Church, men gradually abandoned a love of the Christian truth. Then *tolerance* was born, which is called *theological* or *dogmatic*, as well as *indifferentism*, whether moderate, which is called *latitudinarism*, which holds that not all religions are the way of salvation, but denies that the Church is the unique means of truth and salvation, or *radical*, which holds that all religions are equally probable and acceptable to God. The indifferentists teach that *religion* and *confession* are two different things. They favor a certain indeterminate religion, but they give no importance to confessions. Some become angry when we say that such an attitude leads to atheism. But they have no right to be angry. For Leo XIII said with utmost certitude: "To hold, therefore, that there is no difference in matters of religion between forms which are unlike each other, and even contrary to each other, most clearly leads in the end to the rejection of all religion in both theory and practice. And this is the same thing as atheism, however it may differ from it in name. Men who really believe in the existence of God must, in order to be consistent with themselves and to avoid absurd conclusions, understand that differing modes of divine worship, involving dissimilarity and conflict even on the most important points cannot all be equally probable, equally good, and equally acceptable to God." (*Encycl. Immortale Dei*) Moreover Pius IX in the *Syllabus* noted the following propositions. *Prop. XVI*: "Man may, in the observance of any religion whatsoever, find the way of eternal salvation, and find eternal salvation." [From the encyclical *Qui pluribus*, Nov. 9, 1846] *Prop. XVII*: "Good hope is at least to be entertained of the eternal salvation of all those who are not at all in the true Church of Christ." [From the encyclical *Quanto conficiamur*, August 10, 1863 etc.] *Prop. XVIII*: "Protestantism is nothing more than a form of the same true

Christian religion, ¹⁶ which form it is given to please God equally as in the Catholic Church." [From the encyclical *Noscitis*, Dec. 8, 1849]

[15.5] *Thesis: THE CHURCH IS A NECESSARY SOCIETY.*

[15.6] *ARGUMENT I. From Sacred Scripture.* It is necessary to follow the one religion which Christ founded. But Christ entrusted His religion to the Church alone. Therefore there is no salvation for those who voluntarily either do not embrace the Church or who leave it. The *major* is easily seen from the divine mission of Christ. "*There is salvation in no other;*" (Act. IV) "*He that believeth in the Son, hath life everlasting; but he that believeth not the Son, shall not see life; but the wrath of God abideth on him.*" (John III: 36)

[15.7] *Proof of the minor.* [A] Christ said to the Apostles and to His successors, that is, to the teaching and ruling Church: "*He that receiveth you, receiveth me; and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me.*" (Matth. X: 40) Likewise: "*He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me.*" (Luke X: 16) Again: "*And if he will not hear the church, let him be to thee as the heathen and publican.*" (Matth. XVIII: 17) [B] Christ teaches that all the sheep must be brought into a single fold, the Church: "*And other sheep I have, that are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one fold and one shepherd.*" (John: X: 16) [C] We have shown that the Church was instituted by Christ in order that *all peoples* achieve in it and through it truth and salvation. But from this most lofty end of the Church, it follows that it is necessary to belong to the Church.

[15.8] *ARGUMENT II. From the Fathers.* [A] That the Fathers held that the Church was a necessary society is sufficiently evident from the testimonies which were adduced in Question 2, art. 3 concerning the end of the Church. It is also evident from their very ardent zeal for unity, of which we will speak in Q. 5, art. 3. Furthermore, it is evident from their horror for heresy. *St. Irenaeus:*

"The Apostles and their disciples had a great fear lest they communicate by word with any of those who had altered the truth." (*Adv. her.* III. 3) *St. Irenaeus concerning St. Polycarp:* "Polycarp on one occasion met Marcion who said to him: Do you know us? Polycarp responded: I know you as the first-born of Satan." (b) The Fathers say that those Christians who are outside the Church cannot attain salvation. *St. Irenaeus:* "It is necessary to flee from the ideas of those [heretics]...and to take refuge in the Church and to be nurtured in its womb." (*Adv. her.* V. 20). *Tertullian:* "Heretics are not Christians." (*Præscript.* XXXVII) *St. Cyprian:* "Whoever he is, and whatever he should be like, he is not a Christian, who is not in the Church of Christ." (*Ep.* 52. ad Antonian.) *St. Jerome:* "We say that everyone who is saved is saved in the Church, that is in the celestial Jerusalem." (*In Joel*, cap. II) Again: "If someone should not be in the ark of Noe, he will perish when the Flood comes." (*Ep.* 14. ad Damasum) *St. Augustine*, speaking about a certain Donatist: "Outside of the Church you can have everything except salvation. You can have honor, you can respond Amen, you can hold the Gospel, you can have faith in the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, but nowhere except in the Catholic Church can salvation be found." (*Sermon to the people of Caesarea*)

[15.9] *Corollary.* Since the Church is a necessary society, and since God has ordered that all belong to that society, it is a crime to leave it, and it is a duty to belong to it, and to persevere in it until death.

OBJECTIONS

[15.10] *OBJECTION I.* It is unworthy of God that He should exclude the innocent from eternal salvation, who are certainly excluded, if the Church is a necessary society.

[15.11] *RESPONSE.* I deny what is supposed, that the Church be considered necessary in that sense that men who labor under invincible ignorance of the true Church should be ~~should be~~ faulted in this regard in the eyes of God. This is in open conflict with the teaching of the Church as

Anti-Heretic

St. Thomas clearly teaches in II^a II^e q. 10, art. 1³⁰, and what Pius IX declared. [Anti-Feeney]

↓ [15.12] OBJECTION II. God begot us for the purpose of tolerance. But the necessity of the Church engenders intolerance. Therefore the Church is not a necessary society. *Proof of the minor.* This doctrine has as its purpose that we reprove those who are outside of the Church.

[15.13] RESPONSE. *I distinguish:* God begot us for Christian tolerance, *I concede*, for dogmatic tolerance, *I deny*. Christian tolerance teaches us to have a meek and humble heart, and sincere charity towards those who are erring. But dogmatic tolerance puts the truth on the same level as the false, and the good on the same level as evil. *I deny* the minor, and the proof of the minor. Pope Pius IX said: "For when we are separated from these corporeal bonds we will see God as He is, and we will understand indeed, by what a tight and beautiful link the divine justice and mercy are connected; but for as long as we are weighed down on earth by this mortal mass, which dulls the souls, let us most firmly hold by Catholic doctrine that there is one God, one faith, one baptism; *it is not permitted to progress by seeking beyond this.*" (Pius IX, allocution of 9 Dec. 1854)

[15.14] INSTANCE. No one is held to the impossible. But in all of the multitude of sects no one could perceive which is the true Church without the greatest difficulty.

[15.15] RESPONSE. *I distinguish.* That no one could perceive without the greatest difficulty which is the true Church, if indications of its truth were lacking, *I concede*; if these indications are clearly

manifest, *I deny*. Here it is helpful to cite Leo XIII: "And if it be asked which of the many conflicting religions it is necessary to adopt, reason and the natural law unhesitatingly tell us to practice that one which God enjoins, and which men can easily recognize by certain exterior notes, whereby Divine Providence has willed that it should be distinguished, because, in a matter of such moment, the most terrible loss would be the consequence of error." (Encyc. *Libertas*)

³⁰ "Unbelief may be taken in two ways: first, by way of pure negation, so that a man be called an unbeliever, merely because he has not the faith. Secondly, unbelief may be taken by way of opposition to the faith; in which sense a man refuses to hear the faith, or despises it, according to Isaiah 53:1: 'Who hath believed our report?' It is this that completes the notion of unbelief, and it is in this sense that unbelief is a sin. If, however, we take it by way of pure negation, as we find it in those who have heard nothing about the faith, it bears the character, not of sin, but of punishment, because such like ignorance of Divine things is a result of the sin of our first parent. If such like unbelievers are damned, it is on account of other sins, which cannot be taken away without faith, but not on account of their sin of unbelief. Hence Our Lord said (John 15:22) 'If I had not come, and spoken to them, they would not have sin'; which Augustine expounds (Tract. lxxxix in Joan.) as 'referring to the sin whereby they believed not in Christ.'"

QUESTION V

THE MARKS OF THE CHURCH

Not a sentence

Now that we have discovered that the Church was founded by Christ, and have demonstrated what elements constitute this outstanding institution of the Savior, and have considered those things by which we must measure its perfection and loftiness, especially inasmuch as it is a society. By defending the *visibility* and *necessity* of the Church, we have prepared the way for the question concerning the marks of the Church. For if it is visible and necessary in the sense in which we said, it follows that there are certain signs *by which* it is discerned as the true Church among all religious groups.

There are three things to consider:

[1] Leo XIII said in his encyclical *Immortale Dei*: "Now, it cannot be difficult to find out which is the true religion, if only it be sought with an earnest and unbiased mind; for proofs are abundant and striking. We have, for example, the fulfilment of prophecies, miracles in great numbers, the rapid spread of the faith in the midst of enemies and in face of overwhelming obstacles, the witness of the martyrs, and the like. From all these it is evident that the only true religion is the one established by Jesus Christ Himself, and which He committed to His Church to protect and to propagate." And so, if you show that Christ confided the religion instituted by Him to the Church, the very signs by which the divinity of the religion of Christ is proved, would point out that Church as true, to which this divine religion has been confided.

[2] More directly the indications of this truth correspond to our question, which are sought not only from ancient but also from present-day signs of the divine mission and which are every day available to the eyes of all. This is the judgement of the Fathers of the Vatican Council, who said: "But even the Church itself by itself, because of its marvelous propagation, its exceptional holiness, and inexhaustible fruitfulness in all good works; because of its catholic unity and invincible stability, is a very great and perpetual motive of credibility, and an incontestable witness of its own divine mission." [Denz. 1794] — It is a lengthy task to contemplate the supernatural life of the Church either through the many elapsed centuries or in the immense amount of events which have taken place. But those signs seem to pertain to the purpose of this book which have always been considered to be a certain compendium of the radiant divine power in the Church. These are called the *marks*. We will now speak of these.

[3] What should be the order of this discussion is determined by the matter itself. First, we will investigate the Scriptures, indeed considered *historically*, as well as the monuments of the ancients, to determine by what signs of His divine mission the very Author of the Church wanted His work to shine forth. Then we must look at what groups lack these signs, and finally in what organization they are found. It is easily seen that the second and third part of this discussion is concerned with the consideration of *facts*, whether one prefers to look at the ancient ones or the more recent ones. The strength of the argument is augmented when that Church which shines forth through all ages until the present day, is the same Church preached by Jesus Christ, and is adorned by these same signs.

In this question, we will discuss five things:

- [1] THE CHARACTER AND NUMBER OF THE MARKS;
- [2] WHETHER THE CHURCH IS ONE;
- [3] WHETHER THE CHURCH IS HOLY;
- [4] WHETHER THE CHURCH IS CATHOLIC;
- [5] WHETHER THE CHURCH IS APOSTOLIC.

ARTICLE I

[16]

THE CHARACTER AND NUMBER OF THE MARKS

[16.1] I. WHAT A MARK IS. A mark is a *property of the Church, showing the truth of it extrinsically*. It is said to be a *property*. Properties flow from the essence of things as from a principle and are connected with them in such a way that when the properties are known, the thing is also known. Marks *show the thing extrinsically*, for a property would not be a mark or sign unless it appeared externally. It manifests the *truth*, not in the sense that it makes known to us truths of the Faith in particular, but demonstrates to men where the true Church of Christ is to be found. It is, therefore a property which is at once *internal* and *extrinsic*. One should recall the principles regarding a subject and its proper accident. [1] "The subject is both the final cause, and in a way the active cause, of its proper accident. It is also as it were the material cause, inasmuch as it is receptive of the accident. From this we may gather that the essence of the soul is the cause of all its powers, as their end, and as their active principle; and of some as

receptive thereof. [2] The emanation of proper accidents from their subject is not by way of transmutation, but by a certain natural resultance; thus one thing results naturally from another, as color from light." (Ia, q. 77, a. 6, ad 2 & 3)

[16.2] II. THE END AND PROPERTIES OF THE MARKS. The end of the marks is that the true Church through its marks, as if *signed by the seal of Christ*, be a perpetual motive of credibility. From which end it is apparent that there are four properties of these marks: [1] *they must be connected to the Church by a necessary connection*, lest there be any doubt. [2] *that by them the Church becomes more easily known*, in order that from things which are more known, things less known be manifested. [3] *that they be obvious*, so that all, with due proportion, can sufficiently see them. [4] *that they be positive* and not merely negative, so that a positive judgement concerning the truth of the Church can be made.

10/15/10

[16.3] III. THE FOUR NOTES OF THE COUNCILS OF NICEA AND CONSTANTINOPLE I. The marks, which we profess in the creed of Nicea and Constantinople, are *unity, sanctity, catholicity, and apostolicity*. All theologians agree about the marks in principle, but some give either a broader or more restricted interpretation. St. Thomas says: "The holy Church has four conditions: that it is one, that it is holy, that it is catholic, that is, universal, and that it is strong and stable." (*Opusuc. in Symb. art. 9*) In this place the word *firm* means the same thing as *apostolic*. By the word *firm*, St. Thomas expressed Christ, who is the principal foundation of the Church, the Apostles, who are the secondary foundation of the Church, and the indefectibility of the Church. St. Robert Bellarmine, in *de ecclesie milit. lib. IV, 3*, proposes fifteen marks, but which can easily be reduced to four.

[16.4] *Unity, sanctity, catholicity, and apostolicity* [1] are marks of the Church necessarily connected to the Church by the institution of Christ, as will be evident later; [2] are marks which are more known than the intrinsic essence of the Church; [3] are obvious marks of the Church; [4] are positive marks of the Church — indeed they are *facts*, and are *maximally public*. The Council of Constantinople I in 381 professed its faith in the *one, holy, catholic, and apostolic Church*.³¹ The Council of Chalcedon (451) and subsequent councils assent to these marks. By these marks the Church is recognized not merely *ontologically* and *in se*, but also *logically*, that is, with regard to us and in the *order of cognition*.

IV. —

[16.7] V. CERTAIN THINGS WHICH MUST BE UNDERSTOOD CONCERNING THE NATURE OF THE MARKS. [1] The marks proceed from Christ Himself as the author of the Church. The *first cause* must be held to be the will of Christ and the operation of the Holy Ghost. For this reason, St. Thomas says: "Christ Himself the Son of God consecrates His Church and seals it with the Holy Ghost as if with His own mark and seal." (*Contra*

errores Græcorum, chap. XXXIII). According to this connection with its root, which is Christ ordering and operating in the marks, let us contemplate the true Church, which is the *spiritual vine*, (1a IIæ, q. 102, art. 6, ad 9) *which is discerned from every plant, which the celestial Father has not planted*. (Matth. XV. 13) [2] The four marks are joined together in such a way in their ultimate principle, which is the Holy Ghost, that if one should exist, the other must also be present. [3] Since the marks are *essential* properties of the Church, it is necessary that it have each of them *positively*, and it is never possible that an essential mark of the Church be found *really* and *formally* in a false church. [4] We always understand the marks in a proper and Christian sense. For this reason, they are apt for the discernment of the Church of Christ from sects. Other false religions, which cannot be called Christian, such as the error of Buddhism or Mohammedanism, are attacked by other arguments. For example, the expansion of those forms of pantheism, which are contained under the vague and common name of Buddhism, since it does not even have a likeness materially to the mark of catholicity, cannot even be compared to the Church's mark of catholicity. [5] For a prudent judgement concerning the truth of the Church, it is not necessary that there be a complete knowledge of all the marks, but a knowledge which is founded and which is very simple in ignorant people is sufficient. [6] Nevertheless, in order to defend the Faith, a scientific tract is necessary. Cf. St. Thomas, Ia IIæ, q. 1, art. 4, ad 3; art. 5, ad 1; *Quodl. II, art. 6*. Recall what was said in Question I, art. 2 & 3 of this work.

[16.8] VI. THE FALSE OPINION OF THE PROTESTANTS CONCERNING THE MARKS. The Protestants, although they disagree with the Catholic Church on this matter, nevertheless boast their marks. Luther proposed seven marks, about which Saint Robert Bellarmine treats in his *De eccl. milit.*, lib. IV, 2. Calvin said: "Wherever we see the word of God ~~X~~ sincerely preached and heard, where the sacraments instituted by Christ administered, there is no doubt that in that place there is a church of God." *Instit.* lib. IV. cap. 1. n. 9. Luther and other Protestants expressed

³¹ Εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν

themselves similarly. In England the Protestant authors proposed as the unique or radical marks of the church *the preaching of the pure word of God and the right preaching of the sacraments, with regard to those things which are necessarily required according to the institutions of Christ*. Therefore, having rejected the marks of the Council of Constantinople, they substitute two marks for the Catholic marks, namely [1] the preaching of the pure word of God [1] the correct administration of the sacraments. [2]

[16.9] VII. THE TWO MARKS OF PROTESTANTISM ARE FALSE. For [1] in them that thing is held to be a principle when in fact it is the very thing being sought. The "pure word" is known through the Church. When the question is

put to Protestants, which church preaches the "pure word," that is, the true doctrine of Christ, they would respond nothing, except that the true doctrine of Christ is preached in that Church which preaches the "pure word." This is not to point out marks, but to fall into a vicious circle. The same is true concerning the other mark. [2] Neither of the marks is *obvious*. For it is easier to know the *fact* of the true Church, than the "pure word" of the highest truths and the correct administration of the sacraments *in themselves and in particular*. [3] Each note, proposed against the doctrine of the old Church, seems to be excogitated more for the purpose of protecting the false church than of investigating the true one.

ARTICLE II

[17]

WHETHER THE CHURCH OF CHRIST IS ONE

[17.1] I. WHAT THE MARK OF UNITY IS. The mark of unity can be defined: *the property of the Church, by which in the profession of faith, in government, and in worship it is undivided in itself and divided from any other*. [1] It is said to be a *property*, since we are speaking here not about a merely *accidental* unity, one that is merely *material* and *extrinsic*, but an *essential* and *formal* unity, which arises naturally from the constitutive elements of the Church. [2] We say *in the profession of faith*, since merely internal faith does not manifest the Church. [3] *In government*, since the faithful, who are a *physical* multitude are made into a *moral* unity only through authority. [4] *In worship*, that is, primarily in the sacraments, in which the *essential* worship is contained, and secondarily in the *accidental* worship, inasmuch as in the variety of ceremonies *one* doctrine is expressed. [5] These three things must be taken *together* and *formally: together*, since ~~they~~ only together do they manifest the one and entire Church; *formally*, since it is necessary that the

material fact be joined to the firm, stable, and constitutive principle of unity. In its unity of *creed*, *hierarchy*, and *liturgy* the Church is undivided in itself and divided from any other.

[17.2] Leo XIII said: "Amongst these [the lineaments of the Church] the most worthy of Our chief consideration is Unity. This the Divine Author impressed on it as a lasting sign of truth and of unconquerable strength." (*Satis cognitum*, June 29th, 1896)

[17.3] II. The true notion of the unity of faith. By faith we do not mean *confidence*, but the assent of the intellect to truths revealed by God. The faith can be considered either as a habit, by which we believe and in this way faith is one in species, and differs by number in diverse people. It can also be considered objectively, and in this way there is one Faith. "The formal object of faith is first truth, and by adhering to this we believe whatever is contained under faith." (II^a II^e, q. 4 art. 6. *Expos. in Ephes. IV*, lect. 2.)

[17.4] The unity of faith is manifested inasmuch as all the faithful profess their adherence to one and the same object of faith. For this reason, if we want to discern the mark of unity in faith correctly, these two things must be understood. [1] Although one person, according to his conditions and circumstances might believe explicitly more truths than another, nevertheless it is necessary that each one believe implicitly all things, and be prepared to believe explicitly all things, if he knew all things. [2] This implicit faith is manifested *externally* as an element of the *mark of unity*, if all explicitly admit a certain evident principle, to which they adhere to the whole faith. [3] This principle is none other than the supreme authority. For this reason, St. Thomas teaches: "The unity of the Church is found in two things, namely in the connection of the members of the Church with one another, or communion, and secondly in the order of all the members of the Church to one head." (II^a II^e q. 39, art. 1; cf. II^a II^e q. 5, a. 4; *De regimine principum* lib. I. c. 1.) From this it can be understood that there is an indissoluble link between the unity of the faith and the authority of the Roman Pontiff.

[17.5] III. THE FICTITIOUS UNITY OF THE FUNDAMENTAL ARTICLES. Jurieu³², a Calvinist minister, concocted the system of the *fundamental articles*. (*Le vrai système de l'Église*, 1686) Since the Protestants do not have any principle of unity, not even in articles of faith, Jurieu proposed this type

³² PIERRE JURIEU (December 24, 1637 – January 11, 1713) was a French Protestant leader. He was born at Mer, in Orléanais, where his father was a Protestant pastor. He studied at the Academy of Saumur and the Academy of Sedan under his grandfather, Pierre Du Moulin, and under Leblanc de Beaulieu. After completing his studies in the Netherlands and England, Jurieu was ordained as an Anglican priest; returning to France he was ordained again and succeeded his father as pastor of the church at Mer. Soon after this he published his first work, *Examen de livre de la reunion du Christianisme* (1671). In 1674 his *Traité de la dévotion* led to his appointment as professor of theology and Hebrew at Sedan, where he soon became pastor. A year later he published his *Apologie pour la morale des Réformés*. His reputation was damaged by his argumentative nature, which sometimes descended into fanaticism, despite his sincerity. He was called by his adversaries "the Goliath of the Protestants." On the suppression of the academy of Sedan in 1681, Jurieu received an invitation to a church at Rouen, but, afraid to remain in France on account of his forthcoming work, *La Politique du clergé de France*, he went to Holland and was pastor of the Walloon church of Rotterdam till his death. He was also professor at the "école illustre".

of unity of faith, that the faithful believe only in those articles of faith which he calls fundamental. He thought that these articles were professed by any of the Christian societies which embraced fundamental dogmas. This distinction, however, of *fundamentals* and *non-fundamentals* differs from the Catholic doctrine of ^{believing} truths *explicitly* and *implicitly*. The Catholic distinction is based on the greater or lesser *knowledge* of the Faith, whereas Jurieu places his distinction in the very truths of the Faith. Catholics affirm that all the articles of faith must be at least *implicitly* believed, and pertain to the one faith of the Church. Jurieu contends that those articles which are not fundamental do not pertain to the one faith of the Church *in any way*, and that ^{the} faithful are not required in any way to believe them. Cf. S. Thom. II^a II^e, q. 2. a. 5 to 7; S. Bona. *Comment. in III. Sent.*, dist. 25, 1, q. 3.

[17.6] IV. THE UNITY OF THE FUNDAMENTAL ARTICLES IS REJECTED. [1] The faith is *indivisible* in its *formal object*, which is God, and in its *source*, which is Christ. And so it would be necessary that they at the same time both repudiate and worship Christ, who hold that truths, which depend equally upon the authority of God, are in part obligatory to believe, and in part not obligatory. [2] The principle of Jurieu is so incapable of producing and conserving unity, that it was a cause of the greatest dissension. For in fact there was no one who could determine what the fundamental articles were. Hobbes, Locke, and Bayle broadened the license of belief; modern Protestants have gone so far as to say that it is sufficient for the unity of faith that there be some vague idea of a *good God*, and some very vague love. Harnack said that the division of faith should not be lamented, but that one thing should be maintained, that liberty should be increased as well as the individuality of opinions and doctrines. [3] Sacred Scripture and the Fathers prescribe unity of faith *in all the revealed truths*. The principle of Jurieu therefore collapses, since it is a rule of unity which is [1] contrary to faith, [2] uncertain, and [3] completely arbitrary.

[17.7] Thesis: The Church of Christ is one.

[17.8] ARGUMENT I. *From the institution of Christ in general.* Many things prove that Christ wanted His Church to be conspicuous by unity.

A [a] The Church is similar to *a flock, a body, a kingdom.* Concerning a *flock* it is said: "*that there be one fold and one shepherd.*" (John X: 16) Concerning the *body* it is said: "*We have all been baptized into one body,*" (I Cor. XII: 13) and "*For as in one body we have many members, but all the members have not the same office: So we being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another.*" (Rom. XII: 4, 5) Concerning the *kingdom* it says: "*Every kingdom divided against itself shall be laid waste.*" (Matth. XII: 25)

[17.9] B Christ, when He was about to suffer, left behind this outstanding testimony concerning the unity of the Church: "*Holy Father, keep them in thy name whom thou hast given me; that they may be one, as we also are. And not for them only do I pray, but for them also who through their word shall believe in me; That they all may be one, as thou, Father, in me, and I in thee; that they also may be one in us; that the world may believe that thou hast sent me. And the glory which thou hast given me, I have given to them; that they may be one, as we also are one: I in them, and thou in me; that they may be made perfect in one: and the world may know that thou hast sent me, and hast loved them, as thou hast also loved me.*" (John XVII: 11, 20 – 23) The unity of the Church, however, by which *the world believes*, by which *the world knows* the divine mission of Christ, must be conspicuous and very resplendent.

[17.10] ARGUMENT II. The note of unity is a property of the Church, by which *in the profession of faith*, *in government*, and *in worship* it is undivided in itself and divided from any other church. The following are things which demonstrate that the Church was divinely constituted in this lack of division.

[17.11] A One profession of faith is proved [1] by the efficient principle of the faith of the Church, which is the Holy Ghost. (Matth. XXVIII: 20; John XIV: 16; XVI: 13). [2] From the

firmness of the Church; for it is founded upon a rock (Matth. XVI: 18); it is the *column and foundation of truth*. (I Tim. III: 15). [3] From the direct mind of Christ and the Apostles. For Christ enjoined: "*Teach ye all nations...to observe all things, whatsoever I have commanded you.*" (Matth. XXVIII: 19, 20); St. Paul, in chapter 4 of his epistle to the Ephesians, urges the faithful to unity by these words: "*One Lord, one faith.*" [4] From the horror of heresy. For this reason St. Paul wrote to Titus: "*A man that is a heretic, after the first and second admonition, avoid.*" (Tit. III: 10. Cf. II. Petr. II, Jud. etc).

[17.12] B One government. [1] St. Paul teaches that unity is the goal of the authority of the ecclesiastical ministry. "*And he gave some apostles, and some prophets, and other some evangelists, and other some pastors and doctors, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ...From whom the whole body, being compacted and fitly joined together, by what every joint supplieth, according to the operation in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body, unto the edifying of itself in charity.*" (Eph. IV: 11, 12, 16). [2] It is necessary that many rulers be joined into one. For this reason he says to the Corinthians: "*Now this I say, that every one of you saith: I indeed am of Paul; and I am of Apollo; and I am of Cephas; and I of Christ. Is Christ divided? Was Paul then crucified for you? or were you baptized in the name of Paul?*" (I Cor. I: 12, 13). [3] One government is founded upon one man, who is in charge. For it is written: *Thou art Peter — I give to Thee the keys — Feed my sheep.* (Matth. XVI: 18, 19; John XXI: 17).

[17.13] [c] One worship. Christian worship is known by baptism, the principle of the sacraments, and from the Holy Eucharist, which is the end of the sacraments. But in that beginning and end of worship, the greatest unity has been divinely constituted. Ergo. *Proof of the minor.* [1] Christ, establishing one baptism for all said: "*Baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*" (Matth. XXVIII: 19). St. Paul: "*One faith, one baptism.*" (Ephes. IV: 5). Moreover Christ taught that there was one Eucharist, when he said: "*Do this in commemoration of Me.*" (Luke

XXII: 19). St. Paul preaches (I Cor. XI: 24) the same thing when he urges the whole unity of the Church from the unity of the Eucharist: "For we, being many, are one bread, one body, all that partake of one bread."

[17.14] **Argument III.** The apostolic Fathers and other Fathers teach that unity is a visible property of the Church.

[17.15] **The apostolic Fathers.** St. Clement of Rome in his first epistle to the Corinthians, occasionally supposes or teaches the unity of the Church: "Have we not [all] one God and one Christ? Is there not one Spirit of grace poured out upon us? And have we not one calling in Christ? Why do we divide and tear in pieces the members of Christ, and raise up strife against our own body, and have reached such a height of madness as to forget that 'we are members one of another?'" (Ep. I. cap. XLVI. n. 6, 7). St. Ignatius of Antioch, when writing about many other ideas concerning the unity of the Church, begs the faithful that they "use only the Christian food, and to abstain from the alien plant, which is heresy." (Ad Trall. VI. 1). Again: "As many as return to the unity of the Church, these same will be of God." (Ad Philad. III. 2). He exhorts the faithful that "the union be both carnal and spiritual." (Ad Magn. XIII. 2). Furthermore, that holy martyr clearly indicates the unity of government, faith, and worship when he says: "If any man follows him that makes a schism in the Church, he shall not inherit the kingdom of God. If any one walks according to a strange doctrine, he agrees not with the passion [of Christ]. Take heed, then, to have but one Eucharist. For there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup to [show forth] the unity of His blood; one altar; as there is one bishop, along with the presbytery and deacons, my fellow-servants: that so, whatsoever you do, you may do it according to [the will of] God." (Ad Philad. III. 3.; IV. 1). The *Pastor of Hermas* (Simil. IX, 13, 5) says: "For this reason you see that the tower became of one stone with the rock. So also they who have believed in the Lord through His Son, and are clothed with these spirits, shall become one spirit, one body, and the color of their garments shall be

one." Likewise the *Didache* IX, 4 and 5 seems to indicate the unity of the Church.

[17.16] **The other testimonies of the Fathers.**
 [1] **Concerning the single profession of Faith.** St. Justin says that they are heretics who "profess to be Christians, and profess Jesus, who was crucified as their Lord, but who do not hold his doctrine." Again St. Justin: "Some are called Marcians, others Valentinians, others Basilidians, others Saturninians, and others by another name which they have from the leader of their sect." *Dial. cum Tryphone*, cap. XXXV et LXIII. But true Christians are the "disciples of the true and pure doctrine of Jesus Christ." They are "one soul, and one congregation, and one Church." (In Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* lib. IV. 21.) S. Irenaeus: *Hegesippus* calls heretics those who "separately have each introduced his own opinion." "who, introducing a changed doctrine against God and against His Christ, have torn apart the unity of the Church." (In Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* lib. IV. 21) St. Irenaeus says: "As I have already observed, the Church, having received this preaching and this faith, although scattered throughout the whole world, yet, as if occupying but one house, carefully preserves it. She also believes these points [of doctrine] just as if she had but one soul, and one and the same heart, and she proclaims them, and teaches them, and hands them down, with perfect harmony, as if she possessed only one mouth. For, although the languages of the world are dissimilar, yet the import of the tradition is one and the same. For the Churches which have been planted in Germany do not believe or hand down anything different, nor do those in Spain, nor those in Gaul, nor those in the East, nor those in Egypt, nor those in Libya, nor those which have been established in the central regions of the world. But as the sun, that creature of God, is one and the same throughout the whole world, so also the preaching of the truth shines everywhere, and enlightens all men that are willing to come to a knowledge of the truth. Nor will any one of the rulers in the Churches, however highly gifted he may be in point of eloquence, teach doctrines different from these (for no one is greater than the Master); nor, on the other hand, will he who is deficient in

missing

power of expression inflict injury on the tradition. For the faith being ever one and the same, neither does one who is able at great length to discourse regarding it, make any addition to it, nor does one, who can say but little diminish it." (*Adv. her. lib. I. 10.*) St. Cyprian: "God is one and Christ is one, and His Church is one, and His faith is one. Unity cannot be torn asunder." (*De unit. eccl. Cf. S. Aug. Contra Cresc. II. 42.; S. Cyrill. Alex. In ps. XLIV. 10. etc.*).

[17.17] (2) *Concerning the unity of government and worship.* This unity is included in the unity of faith. For faith concerning government and concerning worship proposes one truth: nor are testimonies lacking, whereby the unity of one or both are explicitly proposed. *St. Clement of Rome* in the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians urges the unity of government. *St. Ignatius of Antioch* joins repeatedly the unity of the altar and of the episcopate. *St. Cyprian* said: "One baptism, one God." (*De eccles. unit. cap. IV.*) In another place he says: "To establish another altar or a new priesthood cannot happen outside of the one altar and the one priesthood." (*Ep. 40. 15.*) He strongly defends the unity of the Church against Novatus, Felicissimus, and Novatian in his golden work entitled *De Catholica Ecclesia Unitate*. Finally in his epistle 52, 24 he says: "Since the one Church was divided up by Christ into many members through the whole world, likewise there is a single episcopacy which is spread about the world with a harmonious plurality." *St. Jerome*: "There is one altar in the Church, and one faith, and one baptism, the Apostle teaches, because the dissident heretics have built for themselves many altars." (*In Osee, cap. VIII.*) [See supplement for other quotations]

OBJECTIONS

[17.18] **OBJECTION I.** It cannot happen, that in a great multitude of men discord and rebellion not arise. Therefore the note of unity is absurd.

[17.19] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the antecedent: it cannot happen that discord not arise, by which some individuals are divided, *I concede*, by which the Church is divided, *I deny*.

The Church is a society and an organic institution, whose unity must be such that a principle inhere in this society *by which* the discord of some is taken away, or that rebels are expelled, but where the very society is preserved in unity.

[17.19] **INSTANCE.** But for the unity of the Church, the unity of charity is necessary. But this cannot be had on earth.

[17.20] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the major: for the unity of the Church it is necessary that there be the unity of charity of communion, *I concede*, of private charity, *I deny*. And the minor is likewise distinguished. *I deny* the conclusion. Although faith should be perfected by charity, from this it does not follow that sinners or the sins of individuals against charity are excluded from the Church. But the unity of the charity of communion is seen in the organic connection of the members and the ministers. For this reason, St. Thomas said, "Love of this type is manifested it is true, when the members are solicitous of one another and when they are compassionate with one another,"³³ (*Eph. IV: 15-16*) because everyone ought to serve his neighbor by using the grace conferred on him by God. For this reason no one ought to despise nor even ~~bring thrown~~ *bring thrown* out or expelled from the Church, for there is only one Church in which men are saved, just as outside of the ark of Noe no one was able to be saved." (*In symbol. art IX*)

[17.21] **INSTANCE.** What is merely ideal cannot be a mark. But unity is *ideal* and is not fact. Ergo. *Proof of the minor.* The command of Christ in Matthew V 48, "*Be you therefore perfect, as also your heavenly Father is perfect,*" does not show a fact, but an ideal toward which we tend. Therefore the texts concerning the unity of the Church by analogy with these things which have been said ought to be taken in the same sense.

[17.22] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the minor. The unity of the Church is ideal, which is expressed in the concrete fact, *I concede*, existing only abstractly, *I deny*. For the proof of the minor *I*

³³ "But doing the truth in charity, we may in all things grow up in him who is the head, even Christ: From whom the whole body, being compacted and fitly joined together, by what every joint supplieth, according to the operation in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body, unto the edifying of itself in charity."

distinguish the antecedent: *Be you perfect* is ideal by reason of the subjective perfection of each man, *I concede*, by reason of the objective perfection of the Church as such, *I deny*. There is a difference between the condition of the Church and that of the individual. For the Church, as an institution, has come forth from Christ the divine Founder as perfect, and all of the perfections and constitutive elements of the Church are always in act; the personal perfection of each man, however, proposed to his free will, is obtained only gradually.

[17.23] **OBJECTION II.** In the age of the Apostles many of the converted Jews, although they observed the Mosaic law, were nonetheless considered to be members of the Church. Therefore we do not see a determinate unity in the early Church. The antecedent is evident from Acts XXI: 20. "*But they hearing it, glorified God, and said to him: Thou seest, brother, how many thousands there are among the Jews that have believed: and they are all zealous for the law.*"

[17.24] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the antecedent. These faithful erred through pertinacity, *I deny*; through ignorance, *I concede*. In fact, James indicates to Paul, with what religious observance the Palestinians, despite the decree of the Council of Jerusalem, practice the Jewish *legalia*. But St. Augustine and St. Thomas distinguish three periods in respect to the *legalia*. St. Thomas writes: "Therefore Augustine (*Epist. lxxxii*) more fittingly distinguished three periods of time. One was the time that preceded the Passion of Christ, during which the legal ceremonies were neither deadly nor dead: another period was after the publication of the Gospel, during which the legal ceremonies are both dead and deadly. The third is a middle period, viz. from the Passion of Christ until the publication of the Gospel, during which the legal ceremonies were dead indeed, because they had neither effect nor binding force; but were not deadly, because it was lawful for the Jewish converts to Christianity to observe them, provided they did not put their trust in them so as to hold them to be necessary unto salvation, as though faith in Christ could not justify without

the legal observances. On the other hand, there was no reason why those who were converted from heathendom to Christianity should observe them. Hence Paul circumcised Timothy, who was born of a Jewish mother; but was unwilling to circumcise Titus, who was of heathen nationality." (I^a II^{ae}, q. 103, art. 4) For this reason, it happened that the mother synagogue, once dead, was buried with honor.

[17.25] **INSTANCE.** Even after the decree of the Council of Jerusalem, it was preached in the Church of Galatia that the judaic observance pertained to faith. But Saint Paul wrote an epistle to this Church, as if it had never been cut off. From this it follows that the unity of faith was not required of the members of the Church.

[17.26] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the minor. Paul did not think that that Church was cut off with regard to those who erroneously professed that opinion concerning the *legalia*, *I concede*; pertinaciously, *I deny*. Formal heresy, and not material, cuts off from the Church those who are in error.³⁴ [Anti-Feeney] If, however, among the Galatians there were some who were pertinacious in error, it is certain that they defected from the unity of the Church. [Therefore formal heresy automatically detaches someone from the Church] For St. Paul condemned the error as *another gospel*. He calls the apostles of error *false brethren*,³⁵ who want to subvert the gospel of Christ, and he says twice: *anathema sit*. "*I wonder that you are so soon removed from him that called you into the grace of*

³⁴ This principle is very important in order to understand the ecclesiastical status of members of the Novus Ordo, who accept the heresies of Vatican II through invincible ignorance. Those who are in invincible ignorance are members of the Church *materialiter* (i.e., *legaliter*) and *formaliter*. Those who accept them and are at the same time knowledgeable of the Church's teaching, are cut off from the Church *formaliter*, but not *materialiter*, i.e., not legally. This was the state of Nestorius between 428 and 431, and of Luther between 1517 and 1521. Formal heretics who adhere to non-Catholic sects are outside the Church both *formaliter* and *materialiter*. Material heretics who are in non-Catholic sects may belong to the Church *formaliter* by desire, even implicit, but not *materialiter*. Canon Law presumes that those who are of the age of reason, and who belong to non-Catholic sects, are formal in their heresy.

³⁵ *False brethren* means that they are not true Catholics, although they obviously have the appearance of being so. (Otherwise he would not refer to them as *brethren* at all). This applies perfectly to the Vatican II hierarchy, who are apostles of error, and indeed are false brethren, and for an ever greater reason, false bishops and false popes.

Christ, unto another gospel. Which is not another, only there are some that trouble you, and would pervert the gospel of Christ. But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach a gospel to you besides that which we have preached to you, let him be anathema. As we said before, so now I say again: If any one preach to you a gospel, besides that which you have received, let him be anathema. For do I now persuade men, or God? Or do I seek to please men? If I yet pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ. For I give you to understand, brethren, that the gospel which was preached by me is not according to man. For neither did I receive it of man, nor did I learn it; but by the revelation of Jesus Christ. (Gal I: 6-12)³⁶ In II: 4-5, Saint Paul says: "But because of false brethren unawares brought in, who came in privately to spy our liberty, which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into servitude. To whom we yielded not by subjection, no not for an hour, that the truth of the gospel might continue with you."

[17.27] OBJECTION III. The unity of the fundamental articles is rejected by Catholics since it is uncertain. But this would not be uncertain if those things were taken as fundamental which Sacred Scripture explicitly teaches. Therefore the unity of fundamentals is sufficient.

[17.28] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the minor. This unity would not be uncertain if it were certain what Sacred Scripture explicitly teaches, *let it pass*; but if this should be uncertain, *I deny*. Although we pass over all the other defects of this system, this one single thing is asked: Where is the certain norm of what is explicitly taught? The Socinians deny that the divinity of Christ is explicitly taught in the Scriptures. The Lutherans affirm it. The Catholics believe that the Real

³⁶ This text is extremely important in the battle against the Modernists. For the Modernist argument typically is: Vatican II has been promulgated by apostolic authority. Therefore it is Catholic and you must accept it. The response to them is: This doctrine contradicts what has been previously taught. So the question arises: Which comes first? Faith or apostolic authority? Saint Paul here clearly indicates the Faith, for he explicitly mentions the possibility of his own defection from the Faith, and of his preaching a gospel different from that which has been preached. See in the Appendix the article: "Faith or Apostolic Authority: Which Comes First?"

the Presence of Christ is explicitly proposed, but the Calvinists do not believe this. Where is the judge?

[17.29] INSTANCE. What the Scriptures explicitly teach is known by the common consent of Christians. Therefore there is not lacking a certain norm of fundamental truths.

[17.30] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. This common consent is valid if the true organization of Christians is already known with certitude, *I concede*; if this true organization is not previously known with certitude, *I deny*. The adversaries take those things in order to conclude to precisely what is sought; for the very question is where the norm is by which the true organization of Christians can be recognized.

[17.31] INSTANCE. It is sufficient to believe that truth by which eternal life is obtained. But the truth of this type is faith in Christ, the Son of God. "But these are written, that you may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God: and that believing, you may have life in his name." (John XX: 31) Therefore no unity of faith is required besides faith in the Son of God.

[17.32] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the minor. Eternal life is obtained through faith in Christ, the Son of God, including the doctrine of Christ, *I concede*; excluding it, *I deny*. St. John in the quoted text commends faith in Christ, which is a summary of the whole *(gospel)*. But this exalted truth does not exclude other truths. Cf. St. Thomas II^a II^e, q. 1, art. 8.

[17.33] INSTANCE. If it is necessary to believe all truths, we must conclude to implicit faith. But implicit faith is only the crassest ignorance.

[17.34] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. We conclude to implicit faith in all of the articles, *I deny*, in some, *I subdistinguish*, given the proportion of condition and status, *I concede*, otherwise, *I deny*. Calvin in his *Instit.* book III, chap. II, n. 2 attacks implicit faith [as the Feeneyites do], as if no explicit faith is necessary for Catholics. But he is positing something as certain *what is* in fact clearly false. Besides, implicit faith, by which someone is prepared to explicitly believe those things which the Church proposes, but which he does not yet know explicitly. This implicit faith is of supreme importance and is very

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apt for the preservation of unity. For through it, all the faithful adhere to one fixed, stable, and

objective rule of faith.

ARTICLE III

[18]

WHETHER THE CHURCH OF CHRIST IS HOLY

[18.1] I. DEFINITION OF THE MARK OF HOLINESS. Holiness is a *property of the Church, by which in doctrine, sacraments, and members it is perfectly ordered to the divine good.* [1] It is said to be a *property of the Church, by which it is perfectly ordered to the divine good.* Such a state of order excludes the false and the evil, and includes firmness in the true and the good. This is explained by St. Thomas in these words: "The word *sanctity* seems to have two significations. In one way it denotes purity; and this signification fits in with the Greek, for *hagios* means "unsoiled." In another way it denotes firmness, wherefore in olden times the term "sancta" was applied to such things as were upheld by law and were not to be violated.... For purity is necessary in order that the mind be applied to God, since the human mind is soiled by contact with inferior things, even as all things depreciate by admixture with baser things, for instance, silver by being mixed with lead. Now in order for the mind to be united to the Supreme Being it must be withdrawn from inferior things: and hence it is that without purity the mind cannot be applied to God... Again, firmness is required for the mind to be applied to God, for it is applied to Him as its last end and first beginning, and such things must needs be most immovable." (II² II², q. 81, a. 8)

[18.2] It is necessary, therefore, that this holiness shine forth from the internal life of the Church, in things which are consecrated to God or sanctified by the presence of God, and this is *real sanctity*, and in persons, and this is *personal sanctity*.

[18.3] [2] The order of the Church to God shines forth in its *doctrine*, and for this very same cause, there can be nothing either in dogma or morals which turns man away from God, but it is necessary that all things be suitable to apply the

mind and actions of men to God; — *in sacraments*, that is, in the principal means of sanctification, and principally in the sacrifice, which has always been offered in the Church; *in its members*, inasmuch as there is never a time in which outstanding sanctity of life is not evident in a least some of its members, but not to the point of excluding sinners from membership in the Church. Sanctity in the means of sanctification, that is in doctrine and sacraments, is called *active sanctity*, and sanctity in the members is called *passive sanctity*.

[18.4] [3] In the members of the Church *three grades of sanctity* are distinguished. Some are merely free from mortal sin. Others are innocent of most venial sins; others, finally, arrive at such a height of perfection that they operate above the common mode of activity and perform celestial things, with the help of God. In fact, however, there are numberless grades of holiness. "It is obvious," St. Thomas says, "that charity inasmuch as it orders man to his ultimate end, is the principle of all good works, which can be ordered to the ultimate end." But there is no end to the augmentation of charity in the state of wayfarer. For charity itself according to the *ratio* of its proper species has no end to its increase. For it is a certain participation in infinite charity, which is the Holy Ghost. Similarly the cause which gives increase to charity is of infinite power, namely God. Nor is there on the part of the subject any term to charity, since as charity grows, the capacity for more charity also grows. (II² II² q. 24, art. 7.)

[18.5] [4] The *charisms* and most of all *miracles* can pertain to the mark of sanctity. For the gifts, which are called *gratie gratis date*, are not given "in order that man through it be justified, but instead that he cooperate in the justification of

another." I^a II^a, q. III. Indeed, if many miracles manifest equally the sanctity of the person acting, *all of them* manifest the sanctity of the doctrine of the preacher: "because God works them [miracles] for man's benefit, and this in two ways: in one way for the confirmation of truth declared, in another way in proof of a person's holiness, which God desires to propose as an example of virtue. In the first way miracles can be wrought by any one who preaches the true faith and calls upon Christ's name, as even the wicked do sometimes... In the second way miracles are not wrought except by the saints, since it is in proof of their holiness that miracles are wrought during their lifetime or after death, either by themselves or by others. For we read (Acts XIX: 11, 12) that 'God wrought by the hand of Paul . . . miracles' and 'even there were brought from his body to the sick, handkerchiefs . . . and the diseases departed from them.'" (II^a II^a, q. 178, art. 2).

[18.6] [5] Because miracles by their nature are *extraordinary deeds* and *deeds of the Church*, not promised to every one of its members, it is by itself evident: [A] that miracles are performed only at intervals, less often or more often at it appears suitable to the Head of the Church; [B] that the miracles performed demonstrate the sanctity of that Church which is found to be one that same as that *in which* and *for which* those miraculous deeds are known.

[18.7] THE IDEAS OF THE ADVERSARIES. [1] The Protestants, since they admitted either a confused or completely false doctrine concerning the unity and intimate conjunction of the visible and invisible church, were induced to deny the mark of holiness in part, and in part to falsely interpret it.

[18.8] Many taught that the Church consists of the just alone, and even of the predestined alone. Once you assert this, the visibility of the Church is taken away, and the holiness of the Church, as it is an *objective institution*, cannot no longer survive. Others say that the Church, as it is an *institution*, was completely evil, at least for a time. This is the same thing as to assert that there is no necessary sanctity of the Church, but only a

contingent one.

[18.9] Naturalists and rationalists admitted a notion of Christian sanctity, but completely strip from it the notions of morality, dogma and sacraments, and restrict it to the duties of *humanity*, as they say, that is, to duties toward man, while the duties toward God are neglected.

[18.10] *Thesis: THE CHURCH OF GOD IS HOLY.*

ARGUMENTS

[18.11] ARGUMENT I. *From Sacred Scripture in general.* The Church has the mark of sanctity, if the holy mission of Christ is continued in it and through it. But Christ's mission is continued in it and through it. Ergo. The *major* is certain from the intrinsic and extrinsic indications of sanctity by which Christ manifested his holy mission. *Proof of the minor.* [A] From the *end* of the Church. Cf. Question II, article 3. [B] From the fact that the Church is the *Mystical Body of Christ*. For "*Christ is the head of the church. He is the savior of his body...Husbands, love your wives, as Christ also loved the church, and delivered himself up for it: That he might sanctify it, cleansing it by the laver of water in the word of life: That he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy, and without blemish.*" (Eph. V: 23-28) [C] From the fact that the *heart* of the Church is the Holy Ghost, who remains with it forever (John XIV: 16); and "the Holy Ghost is compared to the heart, who invisibly *vivifies* and unites the Church." IIIa, quæst. VIII. art. 1 ad 3um. [D] From the fact that the Church is the *kingdom of Christ*, which is a kingdom of sanctification, as it is written: "*And the nations shall know that I am the Lord the sanctifier of Israel, when my sanctuary shall be in the midst of them for ever.*" (Ezech. XXXVII: 28) Cf. Dan. IX: 24.; Is. LXII. 3 - 6. Cf. Bartmann, *Das Himmelreich und sein König* (1904).

[18.12] ARGUMENT II. The mark of sanctity is that property of the Church by which it is perfectly ordered in doctrine, sacraments and its members

toward the divine good. But the Church is a society perfectly ordered to the divine good in doctrine, sacraments, and members. Ergo. The *major* is evident. For in these three things the intrinsic sanctity is externally obvious. *Proof of the minor.*

[18.13] [A] *In doctrine.* It is necessary that the Church be holy *in doctrine*, [1] because the doctrine of the Church is *from Christ*, who said: "Amen, amen I say unto you, that he who heareth my word, and believeth him that sent me, hath life everlasting; and cometh not into judgment, but is passed from death to life." (John. V: 24). [2] The Church teaches *through Christ*, who promised: "I am with you all days." (Matth. XXVIII: 20). [3] The Church has the Holy Ghost: "another Paraclete He [the Father] will give to you, that He remain with you forever, the Spirit of truth." (John XIV: 16). [4] Christ prayed: "Sanctify them in truth," (John XVII: 17) that is, St. Thomas says, "in the knowledge of the truth of the faith and of Thy commandments." (*In Joannem* XVII. Lect. 34ff).

[18.14] [B] *In the sacraments.* For sacramental grace seems to be ordered to two things principally: namely to the taking away of the defect of past sins, inasmuch as they are transient by act, but permanent by guilt, and also *for the perfection of the soul in those things which pertain to the worship of God* according to the religion of the Christian life. But the sacraments have this power especially from the passion of Christ, the power of which is in a certain way coupled to us through the reception of the sacraments, as St. Thomas teaches in IIIa q. 62, art 5. The *ministers* of the Church and of the sacraments are called the *dispensers of the mysteries of God* (I Cor. IV: 1), to whom a *ministry of reconciliation* (II Cor. V: 18) has been committed as well as a peculiar grace. (I Tim. IV: 14).

[18.15] [C] *In the members.* Just as the Church has the means of salvation, so it produces the fruit of sanctification. The following things prove it: [1] the *very nature of the thing*, for the Savior taught that *from the fruit the tree is known*, Matth. XII: 33; and that *every good tree bears good fruit*. Matth. VII: 17.

[18.16] [2] *The mission of Christ.* The Savior said: "I am come to cast fire on the earth; and what

will I, but that it be kindled?" (Luke. XII: 49) He also said: "And for them do I sanctify myself, that they also may be sanctified in truth." (John. XVII: 19) St. Paul said: "Who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and might cleanse to himself a people acceptable, a pursuer of good works." (Tit. II: 14). [3] *The mission of the Apostles and ministers of the Church.* For Our Lord said: "You have not chosen me; but I have chosen you; and have appointed you, that you should go, and should bring forth fruit, and your fruit should remain." (John XV: 16). Then St. Paul says that the ministers of the Church have been given *for the consummation of the saints*. Eph. IV: 12. [4] *The parables*, in which we showed above that even sinners were members of the Church. For the husbandman said in the parable of the *wheat and the cockle*: "Let them both grow until the harvest." (Matth. XIII: 30) Therefore there will be both cockle and good seed in the field of the Church until the harvest, that is, until the end of the world. [d] *The charisms and miracles of Christ* are promised to the Church. Mark XVI: 15 – 19; John XIV: 12. Cf. I Cor. XII: 28.

[18.17] ARGUMENT III. *From the testimonies of the Fathers.* Holiness is a mark of the Church, if the Fathers affirm [A] that the Church is obvious by its means of sanctification; [B] by its holy members, and [C] by its miracles. But this is the case. *Proof of the minor.*

[18.18] [A] *Means of sanctification.* [1] St. Ignatius of Antioch calls the Church the *bearer of holiness*. Cf. *Proem.* ad Smyrn., Ephes., Magn., Trall., Rom., By others it is called *paradise, the mother of the living, the journey to heaven, a spiritual bath, an area* in which the saints are kept. Iren. *Adv. her. lib.* V. 25; Tert. *De anima*, XLIII.; Hilar. *In ps.* CXXXIII.; Joan Chrys. *In II. Cor. hom.* XV.; August. *Enarrat. in ps.* XXVIII. 10. [2] Concerning sanctifying doctrine, many apologists have given testimony who from the first decades of the second century promote the Christian religion to the Emperors because of the sanctity of doctrine, and in general *all antiquity*, which denies that the faith of the Church can ever be stained. Cf. *quæst.* VIII. art. 3. et seqq.

[18.19] [3] Concerning the *sanctifying sacraments*, the Fathers have left documents in the *tracts on baptism* and in the *rites* used in administering this sacrament. There are also the laudatory texts concerning the excellent sanctity of the Eucharist. Ignat. Antioch. *Eph.* V. XX.; *Rom.* VII.; *Smyrn.* VII. etc.; Justin. *Apol.* I. 65, 66.; Iren. *Adv. her.* lib. IV. 18; V, 2 and others. concerning the ineffable sanctity of the *Sacrifice of the Mass*, see Justin. *Dialog.* LXI.; Iren. *l.c.*; Cyprian. *Ep ad Cæcilium*; Augustin. *De civit. Dei*, lib. XVI. 22; XVII. 20; Chrysost. *De sacerdotio*, lib. IV. 4; *Hom.* XXI. in Act. Apost. n. 4. Chrysostom calls the Mass *a wonderful sacrifice, unspeakable mysteries* Augustine in *Confess.* lib. IX cap. 11 — 12. *the sacrifice of our price* — I omit many things v.g. ex S. Ephræm, *De sacerdotio*.

[18.20] [8] *Holy members*. Hermas, about to show that the just must always be seen in the Church, proposes the parable of the *tower*, *Past. Vision* III, 5 — 6 into the structure of which both the just and penitent sinners come. In another place, he thinks very highly of the holiness of the Church. *Vision* I, 1, 6; 3, 4 et IV, 1, 3. Finally the author of the *Epistle to Diogenes* says: "through whom [Christ] the Church is enriched and the grace poured out upon the saints is augmented." Then, after pointing out the sanctity of the members, he indicates the truth of the Christian faith with these words: "These things do not seem to be done by man, these are by the power of God; these are an argument of His coming." Cap. V—VII. Similarly S. Justinus in *Apologia* I, 14 — 15 ad Antoninum Pium et Athanagoras in *Legatione pro Christianis* ad Marcum Aurelium et Commodum, cap. XXII. XXXI — XXXV. prove the truth of the Christian religion and the sanctity of the members; St. Theophilus used the same argument. Antiochenus († 181) *Ad Autolyicum*, lib. III. 15. Cf. Iren. *Adv. her.* lib. III, 24; Cyprian. *De catholica ecclesie unitate*, Cap. IX. X.; Augustin. *De moribus eccl. cathol.* cap. XXX, XXXI.; Joan Chrysost. *In ps.* XLIV. 12.

[c] Finally the Fathers thought that the true Church could be distinguished from the heresies by means of *miracles*. St. Irenæus says: "For they [the

heretics] can neither confer sight on the blind, etc; And so far are they from being able to raise the dead, as the Lord raised them, and the apostles did by means of prayer, and as has been frequently done in the brotherhood on account of some necessity—the entire Church in that particular locality entreating [the boon] with much fasting and prayer, the spirit of the dead man has returned, and he has been bestowed in answer to the prayers of the saints—that they do not even believe this can be possibly ~~be~~ done, [and hold] that the resurrection from the dead is simply an acquaintance with that truth which they proclaim." *Adv. her.* Lib. II. 31. St. Augustine teaches that the Church "obtained the height of authority, the heretics having been damned partially because of the majesty of the miracles." *De utilit. credendi*, cap. XVII. Cf. Tertull. *Apol.* cap. XXIII; S. Chrysost. *Hom.* IV. in Matth. etc.

OBJECTIONS

[18.21] OBJECTION I. The mark of sanctity is proven from Ephesians V: 27, where Saint Paul says "*That he might present it to himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy, and without blemish.*" But such a perfect sanctity cannot be ascribed to a visible Church. Therefore one cannot speak of a mark of sanctity.

[18.22] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. The mark of sanctity is proved from this text, *I concede*; from this text alone, *I deny*. And *I distinguish* the minor: This sanctity of the Church cannot be attributed to a visible Church adequately, *I concede*; inadequately, *I deny*. For the grace of being the mystical Spouse of Christ is given in the fullest manner to the Church triumphant, that is, in the final term of redemption. But in an incomplete sense the grace of the Church militant is *perfect*, since it possesses holy doctrine and immaculate institutions, and the faithful, whom Christ prepares for the triumphant Church, are sanctified in the militant Church.

[18.23] INSTANCE. What is merely internal is not a mark. But the sanctity of the members is internal.

[18.24] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the minor: The sanctity of the members is principally internal, *I concede*; exclusively, *I deny*. Despite the hypocrisy of many, nevertheless the sanctity of the sincere is manifested by the virtues, heroic acts, and grace of miracles. For *from the fruit the tree is known*.

[18.25] INSTANCE. Denomination is taken from the greater part. But there can be more evil people in the Church than good.

[18.26] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. Denomination is taken from the greater part when it concerns an extended quality, *I concede*, a non-extended quality, *I deny*. A wall which is mostly white is called a white wall; in other things, however, a name is taken not from its greater part but from its more important part, or as St. Thomas says: "Denomination is done from form, which gives the species to the thing." (*Peri hermeneias*, book I, lect. VIII, no. 9)

[18.27] OBJECTION II. That which is common does not distinguish. But miracles are not proper to the true Church. Therefore they do not distinguish. *Proof of the minor*. There are miracles of Satan and of idolatry. Saint Paul admonishes that the reign of Antichrist "*Whose coming is according to the working of Satan, in all power, and signs, and lying wonders.*" (II Thess. II: 9). Even Christ cautions us with these words in Matth. XXIV: 24: "*For there shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders, insomuch as to deceive (if possible) even the elect.*" In the Apocalypse we read: "*And he did great signs, so that he made also fire to come down from heaven unto the earth in the sight of men. And he seduced them that dwell on the earth, for the signs, which were given him to do in the sight of the beast, saying to them that dwell on the earth, that they should make the image of the beast, which had the wound by the sword, and lived.*" (XIII: 13, 14)

[18.28] RESPONSE. [A] The argument proves too much, and inclines toward the abrogation of faith in the miracles of Christ and of the Apostles. Their miracles can be distinguished from the

operation of Satan, or they cannot. If they can, then why not other miracles which have been performed in subsequent centuries? If they cannot, they Christ would have said absurdly: "If you do not want to believe me, then believe the works." (John X: 38)

[18.29] [B] *I distinguish* the proof of the minor. Miracles can be performed by evil people in testimony of the truth, *I concede*; ⁱⁿ confirmation of error, *I subdistinguish*: false miracles, *I concede*; true ones, *I deny*. The true miracle, since it transcends the whole order of created nature, is done by God alone, who cannot be a witness to falsehood. Indeed the signs of the false prophets in Sacred Scripture are called *lies*.

[18.30] INSTANCE. Saint Augustine said of miracles: "Whatever such things happen in the Catholic Church are to be approved, because they happen in the Catholic Church; the church is not therefore manifested because these things happen in it." (*De unitate Eccles.* cap. XIX) Therefore sanctity cannot be one of the marks.

[18.31] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. St. Augustine speaks in such a way respectively, *I concede*; absolutely, *I deny*. Since the Donatists were boasting of their Fathers, their councils, and their miracles, St. Augustine, in order to close off their escape, said that even if all these are taken away, one must look at the catholicity and universality of the Church. For in such a way the Donatists were most evidently confounded, asserting that the Church of Christ was founded "in Africa alone." Furthermore, Augustine held the charism of miracles to be so important that in *Retract*, book I, 13, he believes that he must very explicitly declare that miracles were not confined to the early Church, but that they would continue in subsequent centuries.

Needs
to be
fixed

ARTICLE IV
[19]
WHETHER THE CHURCH OF CHRIST IS CATHOLIC

[19.1] I. DEFINITION OF THE NOTION OF CATHOLICITY. The mark of catholicity is that *property of the Church, by which it flows out to the whole world as conspicuously numerous and everywhere one.*

[19.2] [1] The word "catholic" is taken from the Greek *kath holon*, which means "according to the whole" or universal. For the Church can be said to be catholic or universal (a) by catholicity of *place*, because it is throughout the whole world; (b) by catholicity of *persons*, because it embraces many and rejects no one; (c) by catholicity of *time*, because according to its present state it will endure from the time of Christ until the end of the world; (d) by catholicity of *doctrine*, by which the whole Church preserves the doctrine of Christ. Cf. St. Thom. *In Bæt. De Trin.* III, 3; *In Symbol. art. IX. et In decret. I. ad archdiac. Trident.* I; likewise Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cateches.* XVIII, 23. Nevertheless, catholicity of time does not seem to pertain to the mark of catholicity, as it is a *mark* in the strict sense, since it refers partially to the Church's perpetuity and partly to its apostolicity; the same must be said for catholicity of doctrine, since it is precisely by means of the marks that it is made known *where* the integral totality of Christian doctrine can be found.

[19.3] [2] It is said to be a *property of the Church*; for it does not concern just any kind of universality, e.g., that of Buddhism or Mohammedanism, but of that catholicity which Christ promised to His Church.

[19.4] [3] The words *conspicuously numerous* are added, in order to signify not that all men will join the Church, but that that multitude is required by which the Church of Christ by its fecundity and majesty of its numbers can be discerned from sects.

[19.5] [4] *Flows out into the whole world.* This means not an expansion which is *physically* universal, but *morally*, that is an expansion which

corresponds to the nature of the Church and to divine institutions. For the Church did not immediately penetrate the whole world, but growing like a *mustard seed* (Luke XIII: 19), has filled and still fills the world more and more with a wondrous fecundity.

[19.6] [5] It is of the greatest importance when we say: *and everywhere one.* Indeed, if unity is lacking, then a Catholic Church is not seen, but *churches*, condemned to a counterfeit catholicity. For *material* catholicity is of no use, but *formal* is required. For this reason, St. Thomas (*In Ephes.* IV. lect. II) says: "*One* and the same thing is that which is believed *by all* the faithful: therefore it is said to be one or universal." And because the unity of faith cannot even be conceived of if you take away a single ruler, it is as clear as day that the mark of catholicity depends on a certain center of ecclesiastical unity.

[19.7] [6] From what has been said, it is apparent that catholicity does not consist simply in the *right* to preach everywhere, but in the *fact* of this outpouring. But beware not to take this *fact* too mechanically or mathematically, as if the expansive vitality of the Church would not be subject to the movements of ups and downs, which correspond to divine help and the attacks of the gates of hell.

[19.8] II. THE REQUIREMENTS FOR CATHOLICITY. It seems that three things pertain to catholicity: [A] *a conspicuous number* of faithful, both *absolutely*, that is, in itself, and relatively, that is, in comparison with other groups, to whom we attribute the name of Christian church; [B] *a real expansion* into the whole world, and *simultaneous*, by which the Church at the same time attains all people *morally*; *successive* expansion is not sufficient, by which the Church would be called catholic, not because of being in many nations at once, but by adding to the nations in which it

once was the nations in which it now exists. [c] a *vitality* which does not defect, by which the Church, expelled from one region, is born in another, and is so inexhaustible that the group is ever obvious to which Christ committed the propagation of His faith.

[19.9] I said in [A] a *conspicuous number of the faithful*. What of the hypothesis of a greater number of schismatics and heretics than of Catholics? I respond that it is not certain that it could not happen, if one is speaking about the *material* multitude or of catholicity without the true *modes* of catholicity; but I would deny the possibility, if the hypothesis is extended to *formal* and *true* catholicity, for example, that heresy or schism be *everywhere* and *one*. cf. G. Wilmers, *De Christi ecclesia* (1897), p. 554 — 560.

[19.10] [2] It does not seem that all men of all peoples will come to the true faith, or that there will never be a combination of grain and cockle in the field of the Church. Cf. St. Thom. *Caten. aur. et Expos.* in Matth. XXIV. 14; in Rom. X. lect. VII. For this reason St. Thomas says that the Church is called catholic "not because of the members of each people, but because of the people of each of the members." (*In Bæst. De Trin.* q. III. art. 3 ad 5.)

[19.11] [3] But it is not absurd to hope that the Church will obtain a greater victory over sin and error, since its power is divine, if now it has come to all nations; it will always be able to gain more for Christ from each of these peoples. There are even some who say that at the end of the expansion, there will be a complete conversion of the world to Christ. (Monsabré)

[19.12] III. THE HYPOTHESIS OF MELCHIOR CANUS CONCERNING CATHOLICITY. Melchior Canus (*De locis theol.* IV, 6 ad 13) and St. Robert Bellarmine (*De conc. et eccles.* IV, 7), although they do not affirm that it is possible that merely one province retain the Catholic Faith, owing to the rise of heresies and persecutions, nevertheless they state the following regarding the hypothesis that the Christian Faith be reduced to the limits of merely one province: "It would be sufficient," says Canus, "that the Church was diffused throughout the whole world at one time, in order that it be

considered truly catholic." But the common opinion denies this. Whatever may be said about it, a hypothesis of this kind in no way favors the sects, "which could never show communion with the Church, which at one time occupied the whole world." (Perrone *De loc. theol.* P. I. sect I. cap. III. n. 224.)

[19.13] IV. THE SYSTEM OF THE RATIONALISM OF TÜBINGEN CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF CATHOLICITY. Baur († 1860), a professor at Tübingen, invented a new system, which excluded the divine origin of the Christian religion. Furthermore, the School of Tübingen, following Baur, declared that a certain religious evolution took place in the first century, which quite consistently corresponds to the Hegelian laws. Among other things, it was necessary to assign a cause for the Christian church, precisely *as it is catholic*. Two things, therefore, were sought, from the conflict of which a third thing would arise: thesis, antithesis, synthesis. But supernatural facts, since mysteries and miracles are contrary to pantheistic philosophy, were repudiated by the school *a priori*.



CHRISTIAN BAUR

[19.14] And so when Christ died two factions arose, one of which made use of the gospel of circumcision, and the other the gospel of the foreskin: the latter believed that men were justified through faith in Christ without the works of the judaic law; the former contended that observance of the Mosaic Law was necessary for the justification of men. The sect of those who stood for the Mosaic Law, or the Judaizing Christians, is called *Petrinism* from their leader Peter. The sect which was the paganizers was called *Paulinism*, from its leader, Paul. These sects progressed thereafter into Ebionitism and Marcionism.

[19.15] Around the middle of the second century, *Johannism* prevailed. Men who were eager for peace congregated most of the followers of each sect by the use of the formula "*faith with works*." Petrinism had as its principle the *works* of the judaic law, perfected by Christ; Paulinism had for its principle *faith* in the redemption which was procured by the death of Christ. Under the common and conciliatory formula of *faith with works*, the catholic church emerged.

[19.16] V. MORE RECENT HYPOTHESIS OF RATIONALISM CONCERNING CATHOLICITY. —

[19.17] Thesis: THE CHURCH OF CHRIST IS CATHOLIC.

[19.18] ARGUMENT I. FROM THE PURPOSE OF THE CHURCH. The purpose of the Church is that men be sanctified in it and through it. But it is necessary that all men be sanctified. From this it follows that the Church must be diffused to all peoples. The *major* is evident from what has been said above in q. II, art. 3. The conclusion is obvious, for although God is able to use extraordinary means, nevertheless He ordinarily uses the ordinary means, that is, He leads men to true faith and life through the Church.

[19.19] ARGUMENT II. FROM SACRED SCRIPTURE. In both the Old and the New Testament, the *right* and the *fact* of the diffusion of the Church throughout the whole world is

indicated. Therefore catholicity is a mark of the Church.

[19.20] [A] *In the Old Testament.* [1] The Lord promised to Abraham: "*All the peoples of the earth shall be blessed in thy name.*" (Gen. XXII: 18. Cf. Gen. XII: 3.; XXVI: 4.; XXVIII: 14) [2] In the psalms we read: "*The Lord hath said to me: Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I will give thee the Gentiles for thy inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession.*" (Ps. II: 7, 8. Cf. Ps. XVIII: 5; XXI: 28, 29.; LXXI: 8, 11) [3] The prophet Isaias says: "*Lift up thy eyes round about, and see: all these are gathered together, they are come to thee: thy sons shall come from afar, and thy daughters shall rise up at thy side. Then shalt thou see, and abound, and thy heart shall wonder and be enlarged, when the multitude of the sea shall be converted to thee, the strength of the Gentiles shall come to thee.*" (LX: 4, 5. Cf. II: 2 – 4 and Mich. IV: 1–8). The prophet Daniel says that the kingdom of heaven appears under the figure of a stone which "*became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth.*" (II: 35, 44) Malachias (I: 11) foretells the reign of Christ with these words: "*For from the rising of the sun even to the going down, my name is great among the Gentiles, and in every place there is sacrifice, and there is offered to my name a clean oblation: for my name is great among the Gentiles, saith the Lord of hosts.*" The same messianic hope of a universal reign is found in the apocryphal literature before Christ, e.g., in the *Psalms of Salomon* (50 B.C.), and was most firm in the pious Israelites at the beginning of the first century.

[19.21] Would it not seem strange if the synoptics did not know this consciousness of universality? We have in this matter an *a priori* proof for the New Testament.

[19.22] [B] *In the New Testament.* [1] The universality of the kingdom of Christ or the Church is supposed splendidly in the life of Christ. Simeon, receiving the child Jesus in his arms, said: "*My eyes have seen Thy salvation, which Thou hast prepared before the face of all peoples, a light of revelation to the Gentiles.*" (Luke. II: 30 – 32) Compare as well the *Magnificat* and the *Benedictus* in Luke I. The Savior predicts that the woman who pours the pitcher of ointment upon His head,

will be worthy of praise "wherever this gospel shall be preached throughout the whole world." (Matth. XXVI: 13) [2] The same thing is apparent from the acts of Christ. He wished that the title of the Cross be inscribed in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, which signified the universality of peoples. He ordered the Apostles to teach to preach and to baptize "all nations." (Matth. XXVIII: 19.; Luke XXIV: 47) When the Holy Ghost was sent on the day of Pentecost, the disciples "began to speak in diverse tongues." (Act. II: 4, 8) Many nations heard their own tongue. For Our Lord had said: "*But you shall receive the power of the Holy Ghost coming upon you, and you shall be witnesses unto me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and Samaria, and even to the uttermost part of the earth.*" (Act. I: 8) [3] The Apostles spoke about the catholicity of the Church in various ways. St. Peter said: "*Men, brethren, you know, that in former days God made choice among us, that by my mouth the Gentiles should hear the word of the gospel, and believe.*" (Act. XV: 7) St. Paul teaches that the promise made to Abraham concerning the blessing of all peoples is fulfilled in the religion of Christ. (Gal. III: 8 - 14) In the same way he explains the words of David: "*But I say: Have they not heard? Yes, verily, their sound hath gone forth into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the whole world.*" Rom. X: 18. Concerning Christ St. Paul says: "*For he is our peace, who hath made both one, and breaking down the middle wall of partition, the enmities in his flesh.*" (Ephes. II: 14. Cf. Col. I: 6) St. John heard a new song: "*And they sung a new canticle, saying: Thou art worthy, O Lord, to take the book, and to open the seals thereof; because thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God, in thy blood, out of every tribe, and tongue, and people, and nation.*" (Apoc. V: 9) And he saw "*a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and tribes, and peoples, and tongues, standing before the throne, and in sight of the Lamb.*" (VII: 9) Finally, I will use the words of St. Augustine: "Nearly every page [of Sacred Scripture] sounds nothing else than Christ and His Church spread out over the whole world." (Serm. XLVI: 33. Cf. Rev. Bibl. 1898, p. 343-369).

[19.23] **Argument III. FROM TRADITION.** Since the *idea* existed from the beginning, St. Ignatius of Antioch was the first to use the word *catholic*, writing "*Wherever the bishop shall appear, there let the multitude [of the people] also be; even as, wherever Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church.*" (Ad Smyrnaeos VIII: 2) In the inscription of *The Martyrdom of Polycarp* we read: "The Church of God which sojourns at Smyrna, to the Church of God sojourning in Philomelium, and to all the congregations of the Holy and Catholic Church in every place..." In the same document we also read: "Now, as soon as he had ceased praying, having made mention of all that had at any time come in contact with him, both small and great, illustrious and obscure, as well as the whole Catholic Church throughout the world..." (VIII: 1) And again: "For, having through patience overcome the unjust governor, and thus acquired the crown of immortality, he now, with the apostles and all the righteous [in heaven], rejoicingly glorifies God, even the Father, and blesses our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour of our souls, the Governor of our bodies, and the Shepherd of the Catholic Church throughout the world." (Ref.)

[19.24] St. Justin rebukes the Jews for the fact that the prophecy of Malachias concerning the oblation "*in every place*" is fulfilled only in the Christian religion. (Dial. cum Tryphone, cap. CXVII) St. Irenaeus says: "And undoubtedly the preaching of the Church is true and steadfast, in which one and the same way of salvation is shown throughout the whole world." (Adv. Hær. lib. V. 20) St. Pacianus says: "Christian is my first name, but Catholic is my last name. The first calls me by name, the second exposes to view." (Ep. I. ad Sympron) Saint Optatus and St. Augustine were accustomed to argue against the Donatists by means of the note of catholicity. This is the rule of Saint Augustine: "That religion and ecclesiastical communion must be held as Christian *which is catholic and is called catholic*, not only by its own adherents, but also by all its enemies." (De vera religione, 12) St. Cyril of Jerusalem: "This name [Catholic] is the *proper* name of this holy mother

of us all, who is the spouse of Our Lord Jesus Christ." (*Catech.* VIII)

OBJECTIONS

[19.25] **OBJECTION I:** The Church cannot ever lack a mark. But the Church of Jesus Christ was constrained to a few regions in the apostolic times. Therefore catholicity is not a mark.

[19.26] **RESPONSE:** *I distinguish* the minor: Therefore the Church lacked the catholicity of the adult Church, *I concede*; of a growing Church, *I deny*. For the Church, as soon as it began, was virtually catholic, not formally; for catholicity had to be built up by the Apostles. Nevertheless, that mark even then was brilliant, in the first place by the great expansive force, and secondly by the very diffusion of the faith in all regions, i.e., to the then known world. Cf. Rom. I: 8; X: 18; St. Thomas *In Rom.* X, lect. 3.

[19.27] **INSTANCE.** If catholicity were a mark of the Church, then Saint Peter would have received knowledge of this note from Christ. But Peter only after the vision of the animals could say: "*In very deed I perceive, that God is not a respecter of persons. But in every nation, he that feareth him, and worketh justice, is acceptable to him.*" (Acts X: 34, 35)

[19.28] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the major. Peter had received, *I concede*; that he immediately understood it practically, *I deny*. Having distinguished the minor in the same way, *I deny* the conclusion. Christ openly commanded that ~~Christ~~ ^{the apostles} teach *all nations*. (Matth. XXVIII; Mark XVI) But by what order of time and persons this precept ought to be executed, whether to the Jews first and Proselytes (Acts II: 11), or at the same time to the pagans, was perhaps hidden to Peter before the arrival of the men sent by Cornelius. But the vision put an end to all doubt.

[19.29] **INSTANCE.** Christians, having heard that the word of God had been received by the Gentiles, said to Peter: "*Why didst thou go in to men uncircumcised, and didst eat with them?*" (Acts XI: 3) Therefore a particularism was prevalent among the faithful.

[19.30] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the antecedent. That some of the faithful objected to Peter the

necessity of receiving the Gentiles *by their own feeling, I concede*; by doctrine of faith, *I deny*. Some "who were of the circumcision" (Acts XI: 2), namely some Jews of Jerusalem, having converted to the Faith, made objection to Peter owing to an excessive attachment to the old custom. But it is necessary to consider four genera of men in this place: There were (a) Jews, to whom it was permitted the stricter custom of not even eating with the Gentiles, as if polluted; (b) the proselytes of justice, that is, the Gentiles who were circumcised, and who observed the universal law of Moses with the exception of the eunuchs and some others, who were inserted into the Jewish people; (c) the proselytes of the gate, who were not circumcised and who did not observe the Mosaic Law, but did recognize one God and observed certain precepts which were called Noachian; (d) the Gentiles with whom it was forbidden to the Jews to have any contact. Hence there was aversion of some of the faithful who were boastful of their own Jewish origin and that of Peter. But once they heard Peter, then "*they held their peace, and glorified God, saying: God then hath also to the Gentiles given repentance unto life.*" (Acts XI: 18)

[19.31] **OBJECTION II.** The hypothesis of Tübingen holds that the idea of catholicity is wrongly attributed to Christ, since Christ said to the Canaanite woman: "*I was not sent but to the sheep that are lost of the house of Israel.*" (Matth. XV: 24) From this it is clear that Christ did not even think of a church that would extend to all peoples.

[19.32] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the adduced text. Christ was not sent but to the sheep of Israel *proximately, I concede; simpliciter, I deny*. Christ, St. Thomas Aquinas says in his *In Matthaeum* was given as a "light of the Gentiles" according to Isaia XLIX: 6, but was first sent to the Jews in order to direct the Jews to the Gentiles. In this sense Saint Paul (Rom. XV: 8) says: "*For I say that Christ Jesus was minister of the circumcision for the truth of God, to confirm the promises made unto the fathers.*" First the children had to be satisfied, as Saint Mark says in a parallel passage (VII: 27). Nevertheless the definitive preaching to the

Gentiles and its universality is found in the prophets. It is found explicitly and implicitly in the four gospels, and in Saint Paul, repeating the command of the Lord. Finally in Luke II: 32, we read: "*A light to the revelation of the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel.*" In this verse, the glory of Israel and a light of revelation to the Gentiles are one and the same.

[19.33] INSTANCE. In Antioch Paul resists Peter to the face, because he was reprehensible. (Gal II: 11) But the source of this discrepancy was the stricter opinion of Peter concerning universality. The concept, therefore, of catholicity had not yet entered the mind of Peter.

[19.34] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. Peter was reprehensible by a defect of prudence, *I concede*; by a defect of doctrine, *I deny*. For Saint Peter, eating with the Gentiles, segregated himself when some came from James, fearing those who were of the circumcision. Tertullian states with absolute accuracy: "There was a fault of behavior, but not of preaching." (*De præscrip.* XXII) In fact, Peter himself lived according to the manner of the Gentiles (Gal. II: 14), that is, he did not observe the *legalia*. Therefore *per se* it was permitted exactly as Paul believed. [This is a good argument against the Society of Saint Pius X and other "Recognize and Resist" groups who frequently cite this case in their own defense.]

[19.35] INSTANCE. We read in Saint Paul: "*And when they had known the grace that was given to me, James and Cephas and John, who seemed to be pillars, gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship: that we should go unto the Gentiles, and they unto the circumcision.*" (Gal. II: 9) "*And I went up according to revelation; and communicated to them the gospel, which I preach among the Gentiles, but apart to them who seemed to be some thing: lest perhaps I should run, or had run in vain.*" (Gal. II: 2) "*But of them who seemed to be some thing, (what they were some time, it is nothing to me, God accepteth not the person of man,) for to me they that seemed to be some thing added nothing.*" (Gal. II: 6) Therefore there was acrimony between Paul on the one hand, and Peter, James, and John on the other. But this acrimony indicates a conflict of doctrine.

[19.36] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the minor. That acrimony, if there was any, denoted a doctrinal conflict between St. Peter and St. Paul, *I deny*; between St. Paul and the false brethren, *I concede*. Some of the seducers, extolling the other Apostles with praise to the heavens, were criticizing St. Paul. These are the false brethren who charmed the Galatians into "not obeying the truth." (Gal III: 1) Paul, therefore, in defending his apostolate, used the word "seem" or "are seen" concerning the other Apostles, but not against them. If these words seem to be said with some bitterness, this bitterness castigates those whom Saint Paul very clearly separates from Saint Peter and the other Apostles, as false brethren who were brought in. "*But because of false brethren unawares brought in, who came in privately to spy our liberty, which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into servitude.*" (Gal II: 4) It should be added that in the very same chapter II, 7 & 8, a perfect agreement of doctrine is apparent between each Apostle. "*But contrariwise, when they had seen that to me was committed the gospel of the uncircumcision, as to Peter was that of the circumcision. (For he who wrought in Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, wrought in me also among the Gentiles.)*"

[19.37] INSTANCE. That is Catholic which is everywhere one. But the gospel was twofold: Saint Paul says "*But contrariwise, when they had seen that to me was committed the gospel of the uncircumcision, as to Peter was that of the circumcision.*" (Gal. II: 7)

[19.38] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the minor. That Saint Paul is speaking about the distribution of duty, *I concede*; the separation of the gospel, *I deny*. It should be added that distribution of this type is not exclusive. For Sacred Scripture and the Fathers attest to the fact that St. Paul did not preach exclusively to the Gentiles, nor St. Peter to the Jews. Cf. I Cor. IX: 19-22; Rom. I: 14; *passim* in the Acts of the Apostles; St. Justin Martyr, *Dialog.* LIII; Irenaeus, *Adv. har.* book III, 3, 4; Eusebius *Eccl. Hist.* book II, 23, 25; book V, 3.

ARTICLE IV
[20]
WHETHER THE CHURCH OF CHRIST IS APOSTOLIC

[20.1] I. THE DEFINITION OF APOSTOLICITY. Apostolicity is *the property of the Church, by which, through a legitimate, public, and never interrupted succession of pastors from the Apostles, it continues in the identity of doctrine, sacraments, and government.*

[20.2] [1] Apostolicity in the definition is proposed in its concise sense and as it is a *mark*. In its broader sense, apostolicity is the *identity* of the Church with the Church of the Apostles, and is the *origin* of the Church from the Apostles. Cf. St. Thom. *In symb.* art IX.

[20.3] [2] *In identity of doctrine, sacraments, and government.* If these three principal things, of which the Church of Christ is composed, are not identical with what Christ instituted and gave to the Apostles, then it is necessary that these things be derived from *human* authority, that is, their *divine* origin must be denied.

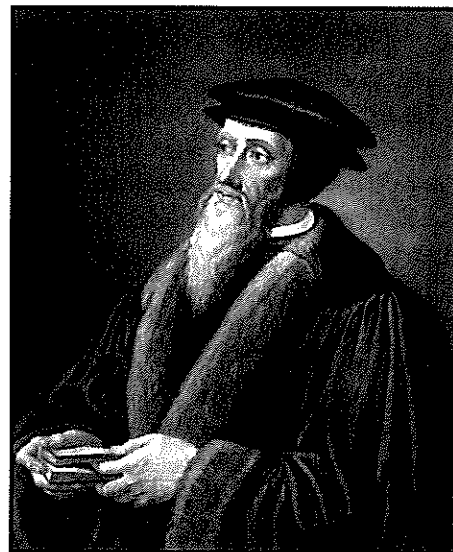
[20.4] [3] *Through a legitimate, public, and never interrupted succession of pastors.* In other words, in order that the property of identity with the Church of the Apostles be *known*, it is required that there be a public and certain testimony of this identity. The witnesses, however, are those to whom Christ committed the government of His Church. But the Church has been committed to the pastors of the hierarchy. Therefore through the succession of *pastors* the Church is continued. For this succession it is necessary:

[20.5] [A] that it be *legitimate*, that there be a *formal* succession, and not merely *material*. *Formal* succession is that which happens according to the precepts of Christ; *material* succession is that which consists in the mere occupation of a pastoral see, without heed to the precepts of Christ.

[20.6] [B] that it be *public*, both because the succession of visible pastors is public by its very nature, and because hidden succession would provide no means of discerning the true Church nor a mark.

[20.7] [C] that it be *never interrupted*, because, if the ~~line~~ is interrupted, the *old*, apostolic, and divine line is *not* continued. A *new* one would have to be founded. But if it is new, it would be *human*.

[20.8] [4] The succession which we have here explained, is considered *immediate* in those Churches which one of the Apostles established; it is considered *mediate*, if the Church is a genuine offshoot of one of the Churches founded by an Apostle.



JOHN CALVIN

[20.9] II. THE *status questionis* AGAINST THE PROTESTANTS. The Protestants claim that their churches are in a certain sense apostolic. But we ask in what sense are these churches apostolic? There are two responses. [1] Some Protestants say that the truth of doctrine must be preserved, and that the pretext of succession is vain unless the truth has been retained in an uncorrupted state. Cf. Calvin. *Instit.* lib. IV. cap. II. n. 2. [2] In

England the greater part of the *established* church and the Puseyites do not deny that the succession of pastors pertains to apostolicity; but they err inasmuch as they do not consider the difference between material and formal succession. What is *formal* in succession is *right* and legitimate mission, without which there can be no *jurisdiction*. Therefore it must be proved whether or not Christ constituted that His Church be apostolic in that manner which we have described above, and that it be always *numerically* the same as that which existed under the Apostles.

[20.10] *Thesis: THE CHURCH OF CHRIST IS APOSTOLIC.*

[20.11] ARGUMENT I. Apostolicity is that property of the Church by which, through a legitimate, public, and never interrupted succession of pastors from the Apostles, it continues in the identity of doctrine, sacraments, and government. But Christ decreed that His Church continue in such a manner. Therefore the Church of Christ is apostolic. *Proof of the minor.*

[20.12] [A] The Protestants affirm with us the necessary apostolic origin of the doctrine and the sacraments. St. Paul says: "*Built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets...*" (Ephes. II: 20) St. John says in the Apocalypse: "*And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and in the room, the twelve names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.*" (Apoc. XXI: 14)

[20.13] [B] *An uninterrupted succession of pastors.* [I] The examples of the Apostles demonstrate such a succession. Sts. Paul and Barnabas are seen in the Acts of the Apostles to have established priests in each of the Churches. (Acts XIV: 22) Likewise St. Paul wrote to Titus: "*For this cause I left thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and shouldest ordain priests in every city, as I also appointed thee.*" (Titus I: 5) And so the series was continued. [2] There is no *legitimate mission* in the Church, if there is no *legitimate succession*. Therefore legitimate succession is required for apostolicity. The *consequent* is obvious. *Proof of the antecedent.* A legitimate mission is had either *per se* in each

person, *or* through a merely internal vocation, *or* through a legitimate transmission from those who were legitimately sent to others who are to be sent. But that the *first* is obviously false is clear from the arguments by which we proved that a mission from God pertains to a sacred principality, and not to all, taken either separately or together; the *second* is refuted by the same arguments, and militates against the visibility of the Church, and gives rise to a great variety of sects, and not to an ordered church. Therefore the *third* must be admitted, that is, the succession of pastors. We said: *uninterrupted*, because the mission, which ceases to be, cannot be *continued*.

[20.14] ARGUMENT II. *From the testimonies of the Fathers.* It is superfluous to adduce the ideas of the Fathers concerning the apostolicity of *doctrine* and *sacraments*, which the Protestants do not deny. But what must be proven is the question of *where* the true doctrine and sacraments are found. *This was* solved by the Fathers through the *legitimate succession of pastors*.

[20.15] [A] St. Irenaeus (*Adv. her. lib. III. 3*) affirms that the doctrine of the apostles is proved *by the succession of bishops*. He speaks in this way: "It is within the power of all, therefore, in every Church, who may wish to see the truth, to contemplate clearly the tradition of the apostles manifested throughout the whole world; and we are in a position to reckon up those who were by the apostles instituted bishops in the Churches, and [to demonstrate] the succession of these men to our own times; those who neither taught nor knew of anything like what these [heretics] rave about." In another place he says: "It is necessary that those who are in the Church obey the priests, *those who have succession from the Apostles*, as we have shown who *with the succession of the episcopacy*, have received that certain charism of truth, according to the good pleasure of the Father... *those who stand apart from the princely succession... these fall from the truth.* (Book IV, 43)

[20.16] [B] Tertullian, in the work entitled *Against the prescriptions of the heretics*, showing that no claim of the heretics concerning the true Church has merit, proposes very firmly the *fact of*

succession. [1] He establishes this principle: "what Christ revealed to them [the Apostles], and I here prescribe, must not be proved otherwise than *through the same Churches, which the Apostles themselves founded.* (Chap. XXI) [2] Addressing the heretics, he says: "*Let them produce the original records of their churches; let them unfold the roll of their bishops, running down in due succession from the beginning in such a manner that [that first bishop of theirs] bishop shall be able to show for his ordainer and predecessor some one of the apostles or of apostolic men, — a man, moreover, who continued steadfast with the apostles.*" (Chap. XXXII) [3] He concludes against the heretics: "Who are you? When and whence did you come? As you are none of mine, what have you to do with that which is mine... This (I say) is my property. I have long possessed it; I possessed it before you. I hold sure title-deeds from the original owners themselves, to whom the estate belonged. I am the heir of the apostles." (Chap. XXXVII)

[20.17] [c] *Origen*: "Let the ecclesiastical preaching be preserved through the order of succession handed down by the Apostles." (*De principiis*, præf. n. 2) *St. Cyprian* confounds Novatian with these words: "Novatian is not in the Church; nor can he be reckoned as a bishop, who, succeeding to no one, and despising the evangelical and apostolic tradition, sprang from himself. For he who has not been ordained in the Church can neither have nor hold to the Church in any way." (Ep. 76) *Saint Optatus* said against the Donatists: "Bring yourselves back to the origin of your see, you who would like to claim for yourselves the holy Church." (*De schism. Donatistarum*, lib. II. cap II) *St. Augustine* said: "From where did Donatus appear? From what ground did he spring? From what sea did he emerge? From what sky did he fall?" He furthermore accuses the Manicheans of contradicting "the authority from the times of the Apostles preserved and handed down to these times through certain successions." (*Contra Faustum*, lib. XXXII. 21)

OBJECTIONS

[20.18] **OBJECTION I.** By no suitable argument is it proved that the entire revealed doctrine was handed down by the Apostles to the churches. But if they did not hand down the whole doctrine, it is possible that some of the doctrines of the Christian Faith, although they are true, nevertheless were not transferred by the Apostles to the Church. Therefore apostolicity is not a mark of *all* the truth.

[20.19] **RESPONSE.** It is not proved that all the doctrines were handed down to each and every church, *I concede*; to the churches taken collectively, *I deny*. The Holy Ghost taught the Apostles all things... (John XIV: 26; XVI: 13; I^a II^a, q. 106, a. 4, ad 2um; II^a II^a, q. 176, a. 1, ad 1um) The Apostles handed down the deposit of revealed truths to the *universal* Church. But in what pertains to the Roman church, decorated by a special prerogative of faith, we will not here speak.

[20.20] **INSTANCE.** In order that the apostolicity of doctrine be perceived, a great amount of work and intelligence is required. But this is available only to a few. Therefore apostolicity, since it is not obvious, cannot be a mark.

[20.21] **RESPONSE.** This work and intelligence is necessary if you investigate the *apostolicity* of the faith through a *certain succession* of pastors, *I deny*; through doctrine itself, *I subdistinguish*: if you inquire into each doctrine singly, *I concede*; if you inquire generally through the way of prescription, *I deny*. God teaches truth to men through the pastors of His Church. From this it follows that it is necessary to discern a clear apostolic origin of the doctrine through the successions. Nor does this knowledge require a lot of work, since we are dealing in a *public fact*, from which the argument of prescription is drawn without much labor.

[20.22] **INSTANCE.** The doctrine of the Church is either true or false. If it is true, then the succession of pastors is superfluous; if it is false, then the succession of pastors does not cure it. Therefore the apostolicity of doctrine through the succession of pastors is not known.

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[20.23] RESPONSE. The second part of the minor is conceded.³⁷ *I distinguish* the first. Succession is superfluous, in order that the doctrine be true, *I concede*; in order that it be known, *I deny*. In the Church the marks exist not in order that the truth be made, but in order that it be known. The succession of pastors is constituted for this reason, not that they make true doctrine, but that true doctrine be known. Besides, just as the doctrine is derived from the Apostles, so is the hierarchy commanded by God to teach all nations.

[20.24] OBJECTION II. The Roman, the Greek, and the Russian Churches all claim to have apostolic succession. This is therefore not a mark proper to the true Church.

[20.25] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent: Those churches claim material succession, let it pass; formal, *I subdistinguish*, all with merit, *I deny*; one with merit, *I concede*. There is no need in the investigation of the legitimate succession of any church to traverse the series of all the churches coming down from the apostolic age. In false churches, "there appears and will always appear a *plâce*, something like a bloody wound, at which they were cut off from the body of the Church, and cast off." (Regnier, *Tract. de Ecclesia*, p. I, sect. II, art. 4, prop. 4) But there shines forth in the Church a true *priority*. It smites, however, all schisms and heresies, according to what Tertullian says: "Where was Marcion then, that shipmaster of Pontus, the zealous student of Stoicism? Where was Valentinus then, the disciple of Platonism? For it is evident that those men lived not so long ago—in the reign of Antoninus for the most part, — and that they at first were believers in the doctrine of the Catholic Church, in the church of Rome under the episcopate of the blessed Eleutherus, until on account of their ever

restless curiosity, with which they even infected the brethren, they were more than once expelled." (*De prescriptione*, chap. XXX)

[20.26] INSTANCE. A see which, cut off by the Roman Pontiff and previously considered schismatic, becomes apostolic as soon as it becomes obedient to the Roman Pontiff. But apostolicity, if it had been constituted by God in the Church, could not be lost and acquired in this manner. Therefore apostolicity is not a mark with which Christ distinguished His Church.

[20.27] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the minor: Apostolicity cannot be lost or acquired with regard to the universal Church, *I concede*; with regard to particular churches, *I deny*. The Church was constituted by the Apostles as *one body*. Partial churches, however many ~~churches~~ were joined to this one whole Church, constituted one Church. It is necessary that all remain in this one body. If churches are cut off, if they cease to live with the body with which they once lived, then certainly they cannot be called apostolic churches or living members. The branches are cut off in which the apostolic vine is not continued. There is one road to the recuperation of apostolicity: to return to the unity of the body which was before, and to remain in it. The center, moreover, of unity is the Roman Pontiff. But we will speak more about this later.

³⁷ The author concedes that the succession of pastors does not cure a deviation from apostolic doctrine. This is significant in the present situation, since the argument of many against sedevacantism is: "If he is in possession of legitimate apostolic succession, then he necessarily teaches apostolic doctrine." The author is conceding that legitimate succession does not cure a deviation from doctrine. In other words, making a heretic your pope does not save the apostolicity of the Catholic Church.

QUESTION VI

THE CHURCH TO WHICH THE MARK OF UNITY PERTAINS

Comment
Now that the existence of the marks has been proved, it is necessary to inquire concerning their *subject*, in order that we see the true Church of Christ in the concrete. Questions of this type, however, are usually treated both positively and negatively: *negatively*, in order that the groups, in which the marks are not found, be rejected; *positively*, in order that the true Church, marked by divine signs, is prudently defended. And first we will treat of unity. Any group, however, which boasts the Christian name pertains either to protestantism, schism, or to the Roman Church. For this reason, the following things are asked:

FIRST. WHETHER THE MARK OF UNITY IS FOUND IN PROTESTANTISM;

SECOND. WHETHER THE MARK OF UNITY IS FOUND IN THE SCHISMATIC CHURCHES;

THIRD. WHETHER THE MARK OF UNITY IS FOUND IN THE ROMAN CHURCH;

FOURTH. THE TRUE WAY OF PROCURING THE UNITY OF CHRISTENDOM.

ARTICLE I

[21]

WHETHER THE MARK OF UNITY IS FOUND IN PROTESTANTISM

[21.1] Those people are commonly called Protestants who profess the religion of Luther, Calvin and other reformers. The origin of the name comes from a diet held in Speyer in 1529. The reformers protested the decree which tolerated Catholics in the lands of the Lutherans. Calvin, Jurieu, Mosheim, Pusey and other Protestants claim *some* unity for their church. It is therefore very important to prove that the unity which Christ intended for His Church, is not found in Protestantism.

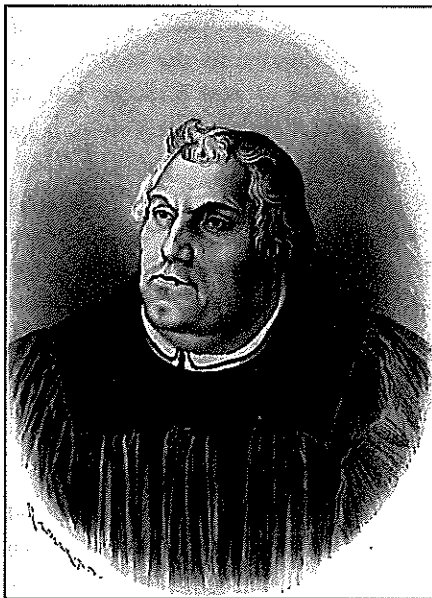
[21.2] *Thesis:* THE MARK OF UNITY IS NOT FOUND IN PROTESTANTISM.

[21.3] ARGUMENT I. *From principles.* In protestantism, there is no firm principle of unity. Therefore the mark of unity is not found in it. The *consequent* is evident. The *antecedent* is proved.

[21.4] The fundamental principle of protestantism is *the private spirit*. But the private spirit is the principle of division. Protestantism is therefore essentially opposed to unity. In fact, the private spirit, since it excludes authority, begets subjectivism and individualism. For this reason, for as many persons there are, there will be as many interpretations. Therefore protestantism, stripped

of any efficacious principle of unity, will dissipate, for : *Where there is no helmsman, the people become corrupt.* (Prov. XI: 14)

[21.5] ARGUMENT II. *From the facts.* Unity, as it is a mark, is a property of the Church, by which in the profession of faith, government, and worship it is an undivided society. However, protestantism is clearly divided in the profession of faith, in government, and in worship. Therefore it does not have the mark of unity. *Proof of the minor.*



MARTIN LUTHER

[21.6] [A] *In the profession of faith.* Protestantism involves infinite professions of faith and very contradictory ones. Therefore in the profession of faith it is not one. *Proof of the antecedent.* From the very beginnings of protestantism up to the present day variations have succeeded upon variations. The Lutherans, the Calvinists, the Anglicans, divided among themselves, have produced many, many sects, divided among themselves in the profession of faith. They have divided to such an extent that nothing seems to be firm in them except change. St. Augustine said: *"Those who have fallen from*

unity, into how many have they divided up in vain?" (Serm. IV. 21) — Furthermore, this division is *formal*, and is the very nature of protestantism. Since no efficacious and divine principle in it can be designated, by which those divided can be gathered together into one, the rebels are expelled, and the revealed doctrines are preserved unscathed. Relying on the private spirit, the words of Tertullian apply to any ecclesiastical authority, the names being changed: *What was permitted to Valentinus, is also permitted to the Valentinians, and what was permitted to Marcion, it also permitted to the Marcionites.* (De præs. XLII)

unclear

[21.7] [B] *In government.* The unity of government arises from one person whose law everyone obeys. But in Protestantism, there is no authentic authority. *Proof of the minor.* [1] The sects, which are clearly seen by all to be multiple and independent; [2] Even those who belong to the same sect, if they should belong to a different country, ~~they~~ give obedience to a different head. [3] Protestantism manifestly verges on anarchy. And indeed Luther and Henry VIII rejected the Roman Pontiff; then soon the bishops, priests, the "pastors" themselves and the "preachers" began to be rejected.

[21.8] [C] *In worship.* Protestantism has no agreement with regard to sacraments and ceremonies. *Proof of the antecedent.* [1] Luther professed Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and in a certain way Penance, writing: "Secret confession, which is now celebrated, although it cannot be proved from Scripture, is nevertheless pleasing in a wonderful way, and useful, even necessary." (De captiv. Babyl.) Melancthon said: "These are truly sacraments: baptism, the Lord's Supper, absolution, which is the sacrament of Penance." (Apol. art. VII.; cf. IV. et V) Some use Baptism and Supper, others Baptism only, and still others use no sacraments. The very words *Supper* and *Baptism* mean different things in different sects. [2] They do not agree about ceremonies, since the strife over faith and the division of the private spirit penetrate all the worship.

OBJECTIONS

[21.9] **OBJECTION I.** Sacred Scripture is the principle of unity. But the doctrine of the protestants is in accordance with Sacred Scripture. Therefore the protestants have their mark of unity.

[21.10] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the major. Sacred Scripture is the principle of unity in se, *I concede*; *quoad nos*, *I subdistinguish*: remotely, *I concede*; proximately, *I deny*. And *I distinguish* the minor: Modern protestants admit the authority of Sacred Scripture, *I deny*; orthodox protestants, *I subdistinguish*: they admit the Scriptures, *I concede*; they use them correctly, *I deny*. The following three things must be considered.

[21.11] [A] The Church is a *society*. But there is hardly anyone who would assert that social unity is proximately ^{placed in} a book. Therefore, *quoad nos* the divine books cannot be the principle of *ecclesiastical unity*. [B] *Private spirit* has produced the effect that six hundred sects propagate contrary dogmas by the authority of the Scriptures. [C] The protestants dispute among themselves the number, authenticity, and authority of the holy books. Nor do they have any rule whereby to put an end to the dispute.

[21.12] **INSTANCE.** The testimony of the Holy Ghost is a firm rule, by which we investigate the Scriptures. But the protestants scrutinize the Scriptures, illumined by the hidden testimony of the Holy Ghost. This is sufficient.

[21.13] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the major: This is valid concerning certain testimony, *I concede*; concerning a testimony which is asserted gratuitously, *I deny*. *I distinguish* the minor: the protestants have the testimony of the Spirit, *let it pass*; and this is the efficient principle of *one church*, *I deny*. That testimony of the Holy Ghost is asserted gratuitously; therefore it can be gratuitously denied. But even given this testimony, nothing follows. This testimony is entirely hidden and completely subjective. For this reason, not only is it powerless with regard to *ecclesiastical unity*, it is also powerless to establish even the slightest shadow of unity. For a visible and social

constitution of the Church demands an external and objective principle. Who will decide whether Luther is illuminated or a Quaker? Protestantism has fallen into a labyrinth.

[21.14] **INSTANCE.** It is necessary to have unity in fundamentals. But the protestants consent concerning the fundamentals. Therefore they do not lack unity.

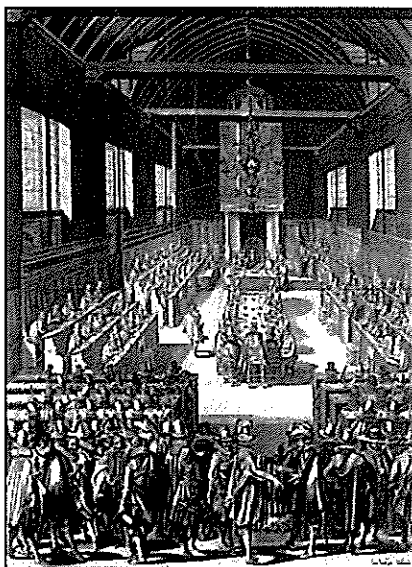
[21.15] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the major: It is necessary to have unity in fundamentals *inclusively*, *I concede*; *exclusively*, *I deny*. *I deny* the minor. We have already seen how false is the system of the fundamentals (Quest. V, art 2) That protestants are so incapable of agreeing on fundamentals is proven by the fact that this very question gave rise to new disputes. But what is capital is that it is evident that division is *essential* to protestantism. Faith alone and clear and sufficient Scripture as their twin principle of individualism and subjectivism disgorges the bowels of this heresy. Protestants protest in protestantism itself. They strive that the reformation be reformed in the future. But in the name of clear and sufficient Scripture each one rejects, receives, and changes his own fundamentals.

[21.16] **OBJECTION II.** The members of any church can come together in peace by means of *established articles*, such as creeds, councils, and consistories. But there is no sect which does not use means of this type. Therefore the protestants, e.g., in England, France, and Germany, are not deprived of unity.

[21.17] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the major: By creeds etc., peace and unity can be obtained, if there is admitted in them a divine authority, *I concede*; a merely human authority, *I deny*. And *I distinguish* the minor. Protestants have often used these means as a human authority, *I concede*; as a divine authority, *I subdistinguish*: At times without effect, *let it pass*; in a fixed and efficacious manner, *I deny*. The synods etc. of the protestants labor under two evils. [A] By their very nature, they do not include all protestant churches, as if one universal church. [B] The dissolving principle of private spirit which affects essentially each and

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every sect, excludes true unity. The interest in studying new things in the sixteenth century became an attack upon the authority of the Church, since it stood in the way of overthrowing things. Then Luther, who in 1517 had assailed the papacy, demanded especially from 1525 an obedience and faith in himself. Calvin dominated in Geneva and Elizabeth in England and the Synod of Dordrecht³⁸ in the Netherlands. But the principle of evangelical liberty, contrary to the infallible magisterium, was enclosed in the bowels of protestantism. It became bothersome to many that the private spirit should be bound by the handcuffs and shackles of human authority. For this reason the creeds and synods were spurned, and new sects were founded.



THE SYNOD OF DORDRECHT

[21.18] INSTANCE. The hierarchy is thought to be the principle of unity. But the High Church in

³⁸ The Synod of Dort (also known as the Synod of Dordt or the Synod of Dordrecht) was a National Synod held in Dordrecht in 1618-1619, by the Dutch Reformed Church, in order to settle a serious controversy in the Dutch churches initiated by the rise of Arminianism. The first meeting was on November 13, 1618, and the final meeting, the 154th, was on May 9, 1619. Voting representatives from the Reformed churches in eight foreign countries were also invited. Dort was a contemporary colloquial English term for the town of Dordrecht and it still is the local colloquial pronunciation of the name. (Wikipedia)

England professes to have a divinely constituted hierarchy.

[21.19] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major: A hierarchy, endowed with due conditions, is the principle of unity, *I concede*; deprived of these conditions, *I deny*. And I distinguish the minor: the High Church professes a hierarchy which is fictitiously divine, *I concede*; truly divine, *I deny*. And indeed [A] the Anglican hierarchy has no authority, for no legitimate title of succession can be assigned to them, who left the Roman Church under the leadership of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I. Add to this the fact that the orders of the Anglican clergy ~~are~~ ^{are} rightly and with merit considered invalid. But we will speak about this later. [B] This Anglican hierarchy is rejected by most protestants. [C] In this same hierarchy unity is lacking, since it lacks a supreme and universal head. [D] The very High Church is nothing more than a part of the established Church, which is considered to include the Low Church and the Broad Church and the subdivisions of other sects. [E] The Anglican Church by word and deed shows that it must be governed by the civil authority, its leader and head. But these things militate against a divinely established unity.

[21.20] INSTANCE. The sects, however many there are, are all united in their opposition to the pope. Therefore it is a bond of unity.

[21.21] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent: That this is ~~negative~~ ^{hardly} unity, *let it pass*; positive, *I deny*. It can ~~hard~~ ^{hardly} be said by how many diverse elements the hatred of the papacy comes together. This is nothing else than to present an absurd kind of unity, concerning which ~~Satin~~ ^{Saint} Jerome says: "They fight among themselves, they agree in their attack upon the Church, in the same way in which Herod and Pilate, who were at the time enemies, became friends in the Passion of Christ." (*In Isaiam*, VII)

ARTICLE II
[22]
WHETHER THE MARK OF UNITY IS FOUND
IN THE SCHISMATIC CHURCHES

[22.1] I. HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS. With St. Thomas we call schismatics those "who refuse to submit to the Roman Pontiff, and who refuse to be in communion with those who are subject to him" (IIa IIæ q. 39, art. 1.) The schismatic churches are principally the *Church of Constantinople* and the *Russian Church*, which is also called the *Ruthenian Church*. They are called *Photians* from their founder *Photius*. From these it seems that one ought to distinguish the oriental sects such as the Nestorians and the Jacobites, etc.

[22.2] [1] *The Church of Constantinople*. This church broke off from the Church of Rome through the machinations of Photius (820-891) and Michael Caerularius (died 1059). Photius, on Christmas Day of the year 857, was consecrated a bishop at the instigation of Michael the Emperor, who was young and fatuous, and Barda, who ruined the integrity of Michael's morals in order to obtain power. Photius was consecrated [A] against what was required by the canons, having been made a bishop only a few days from being a layman, without observance of the proper time intervals. [B] to the See of Constantinople, where Ignatius was the legitimate bishop and successor, who was not deposed, and did not validly abdicate; [C] by Gregory of Syracuse, a schismatic bishop, whom Ignatius had deposed.

[22.3] Photius, although Nicholas the Great, the Roman Pontiff was resisting this prevarication, managed to remain in the see of Ignatius by evil means. He rebuked the Latins about certain disciplines, such as fasting and celibacy. He criticized the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Ghost *ex Patre Filioque* as a dogmatic error. He even held that "when the Emperors transferred from the city of Rome to Constantinople, at that time the primacy of the Roman See transferred also to Constantinople, and with the royal

dignities the privileges of the Roman See were also transferred." Cf. Nicol. M. *Ep.* 70, et J. Roy, S. *Nicolas I.*

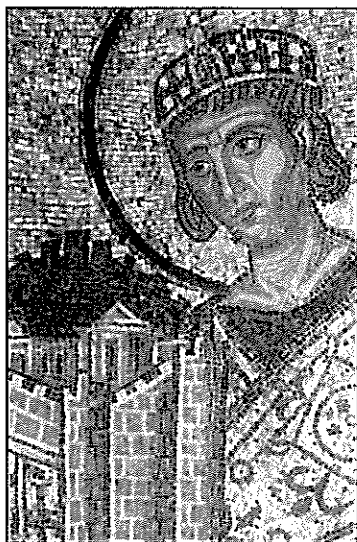
[22.4] Photius was deposed in the eighth ecumenical Council (869). When Ignatius died, John VIII, the Roman Pontiff, "for the peace and usefulness of the Church of God," admitted Photius again as the Patriarch of Constantinople, with certain conditions. But soon, as fraudulent behavior began to increase, he was deposed again, and ejected from his see, and he again fomented schism. He was exiled in the year 891, and it appears that he died in pertinacity.

[22.5] At the end of the ninth century, the union of the orientals with the Roman Church was restored under Antonius Caulea. But in the middle of the eleventh century, Michael Caerularius restored the schism. He too came from the lay state to the episcopacy and to the See of Constantinople without the canonical intervals. He conceived in his mind a hatred for the Latins. When this hatred erupted, he attacked the Latins for using unleavened bread in the Holy Eucharist, for eating suffocated meat, for having inserted *Filioque* in the creed, etc.

[22.6] He dared to have himself called *ecumenical patriarch*. By stirring up many minds which were implicated in the Photian cause, he led them into a schismatic spirit. In the year 1054 on the 16th of July, the legates of Leo IX placed the sentence of excommunication upon Caerularius on the altar of Santa Sophia in Constantinople.

[22.7] Caerularius in the year 1059 was sent into exile by Isaac Comnenus the Emperor, and he died shortly thereafter. He was praised by subsequent schismatics. The disaster of dissidence infected the entire East. Photius assigned ten crimes to the Latins, Caerularius twenty-two, and Nicetas Seidus, at the beginning of the twelfth

century, thirty-two. The accusations increased a great deal in the thirteenth century. In the fourteenth century, six hundred heresies of the Roman Church were brought up. Most of all the authority of the Roman Pontiff was repudiated.



MICHAEL CAERULARIUS, A CANONIZED "SAINT"
AMONG THE SCHISMATICS

[22.8] Many times the Supreme Pontiffs did everything they could in order to reconcile the schismatics, mostly in the Second Council of Lyons (1274) and the Council of Florence (1439). *Mark of Ephesus* by his instigations ruined the noble work of Eugene IV and Nicolas V. In the year 1453 Constantinople was captured by Mohamed II and the Greek church fell under the yoke of the infidels. The schismatic church, which is called by its own adherents the *Eastern Orthodox*, now principally remains within the limits of the Turkish Empire. [Turkey and the Middle East since 1919]

[22.9] [2] *The Russian Church*. We shall pass over the early attempts at evangelization. The Russian people heard the gospel from priests who belonged to the Patriarchate of Constantinople in those times when the Eastern church was joined to the Roman Church (866-1054). For this reason, Michael I, Leontius, John, and Theopemptus, who were the first Metropolitans of Kiev, were linked

peacefully with the Church of Rome. The same must be said of Hilarion, George I, John II, John III, and Ephrem (1090-1096), the successors of Theopemptus.

[22.10] Nikifor I (1104-1119), the metropolitan of Kiev, is considered to be the principal author of the Russian schism. In the end, the germs of the Greek schism ^{weve} was spread throughout Russia. But the schism was not approved by all. In 1439 Isidor signed the decrees of the Council of Florence as "*Metropolitan of Kiev and of All Russia*."

[22.11] In the year 1458 the metropolitan see of Kiev was divided into two parts, with the effect that the metropolitan of *Moscow* would rule northern Russia, and that of *Kiev* would rule southern Russia. The metropolitans of Moscow were inclined to union with the Church of Rome. Those of Kiev, from Isidore to Jonas II (1440-1519) were not opposed to the decrees of Florence. In fact, Isidore himself and Gregory II and Joseph II the Sultan labored in order that the union be propagated and confirmed. From Jonas II to the deposition of Onesiphorius, schism prevailed in the see of Kiev. Then finally the greater part of the Russians or Ruthenians, who gave obedience to the metropolitan of Kiev, sought union. Under Clement VIII, the Roman Pontiff, all the bishops who pertained to the metropolitan see of Kiev, except two, returned to unity. But the Uniates, to this day, have often undergone persecution.

[22.12] In the year 1589, when Jeremias II, the Patriarch of Constantinople, raised the see of Moscow to a patriarchate, Job, the metropolitan of Moscow was created the first patriarch of that see by Theodore I the Emperor. In the instrument of erection we see written that old Rome was infected with the heresy of Apollinaris, and that new Rome, or Constantinople, was under the yoke of the Turks, but that Moscow has become the *third Rome*. One discerns as well that the first patriarch is that of Constantinople, the second of Alexandria, the third of *Moscow*, the fourth of Antioch, the fifth of Jerusalem. The false pastor of the West, the Roman Pontiff, is spurned.

[22.13] In the year 1721, Peter I, called the Great, the Emperor, abolished the patriarchate of Moscow, and established the "spiritual college"

that is, the *permanent synod of St. Petersburg*, which institution is of such a nature, that all of the authority of ruling spiritual affairs devolves to the Russian Czar. I do not say this in such a way as to mean that they hold to the *doctrine* of caesaropapism, but I have merely pointed out the obstacles to liberty.



PETER THE GREAT

[22.14] From the year 1878 on, there were seven members of the synod: 3 metropolitans, 2 archbishops, 2 protopopes. There were also four assessors, of which 1 is an archbishop, 1 is a bishop, and 2 are laymen. There is always present at the synod a supreme procurator, or his vicar, who can render the decrees null by his veto, if the decrees should displease the Czar, who is the head of the synod. The Eastern schismatics and the Russians come under the common name of *Photians*.

[22.15] II. THERE IS ALMOST NO PURE SCHISM. Although we are accustomed to consider in the Photian churches *only their schism*, and although all of the evil of these churches takes its

origin in the fact that they refuse submission to the Roman Pontiff, in general the schismatic churches cannot be considered to be immune from the infection of error. For the Orientals and Russians [1] deny that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father *and from the Son* as from a unique principle and by a unique spiration. [2] They deny that by the pains of purgatory those souls who have truly satisfied for the sins which they have committed and omitted by the fruits of penance, are truly purged, and [3] they deny that the Roman Pontiff is the true vicar of Christ, and the head of the whole Church and the father and doctor of all Christians. [4] In what regards the *epiclesis*, that is, those prayers which follow the words of Our Lord, *This is My Body*, in the Photian liturgies, most err by holding that the *epiclesis* is necessary for the consecration of the Eucharist, although the Orientals in the decree of the Council of Florence professed that the words of Our Lord "have all the power of transubstantiation."

[22.16] In what regards worship, Clement VIII declares in his bull of union of the Ruthenian nation with the Roman Church: "All the sacred rites and ceremonies which the Ruthenian bishops and the clergy use according to the institutions of the Holy Greek Fathers in their Divine Offices, and in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, and in the administration of the rest of the sacraments, and in other functions, provided that they are not against the truth and doctrine of the Catholic Faith, and do not exclude communion with Rome, we permit, concede, and indulge to the same Ruthenian bishops and to the clergy from Our apostolic kindness." (Bulla *Magnus Dominus, et laudabilis*, 23 Decembr. 1595 — Cf. Leon XIII. encycl. *Orientalium dignitas*. Nov. 1894)

[22.17] *Thesis*: THE MARK OF UNITY DOES NOT PERTAIN TO THE SCHISMATIC CHURCHES.

ARGUMENTS

[22.18] ARGUMENT I. In the Photian churches, there is no principle of ecclesiastical unity. Therefore they lack the note of unity. *Proof of the antecedent*. The principle of unity among the

schismatics is either one of the patriarchs or all the patriarchs together, or the synods. But none of these can be considered to be an efficacious principle of unity.

[22.19] ~~A~~ *Not one of the patriarchs.* None of the patriarchs is the head of the *whole* Church by divine right. No Scripture, no Father teaches that the supreme authority lies with any of the Photian patriarchs.

[22.20] ~~b~~ *Not all the patriarchs together.* [1] Nowhere do we read in Sacred Scripture or in the Fathers that the Church has been confided to four or five patriarchs. [2] It is necessary that there be one, through whom all these patriarchs are united into one. Cf. S. Thom. C. *Gentes* lib. III. 64.

[22.21] ~~c~~ *Not synods.* [1] A synod, although it should be universal, because it rejects a visible supreme head, lacks its divine principle of unity. [2] It is necessary that the principle of unity be *permanent*. But the general councils are had only from time to time. More than a thousand years have elapsed since the last valid council recognized by the Photians [Nicea II in 787]. Now because of the growing number of *autonomous* schismatic churches, — there are fourteen — the difficulty of calling a synod increases every day. In the end, who will call the council? Who will preside over it? The majority of the Russian theologians think that an ecumenical council is morally impossible, if not absolutely impossible.

[22.22] [3] The councils which are truly ecumenical have very often declared that the supreme power rests with the Roman Pontiff. The councils which were held *before* Photius and Caerularius declare this more than once. I add the Council of Florence to the definition of which concerning the primacy of Rome the three legates of the patriarchs of Constantinople adhered, as well as Isidore of Kiev, the metropolitan of all Russia, 16 Greek metropolitans, as well as all the Orientals who were present, with the exception of Mark of Ephesus. Joseph, the Patriarch of Constantinople, who died during the Council, when he was near to death professed in a most dignified manner the Pope of old Rome to be the vicar of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

[22.23] ARGUMENT II. *From the facts.* The Photians in fact lack unity. This is apparent from what is said below.

[22.24] ~~A~~ *A divided kingdom.* [1] The *national* condition of the church is such, that the faithful are divided in the same way that the nations are divided. But national profession clearly prevails in the Photian churches, particularly the Russian church. [2] The *Russians*, however, having repudiated the jurisdiction of Constantinople, give obedience *only* to their synod since 1721. The *Greeks* at a Council of bishops in Nauplia in 1833 refused the jurisdiction of Constantinople. There are, then, at least four groups of Photians: those of Constantinople, those of Russia, those of Athens, and those of Bulgaria. All tolled, there are certainly 14 autonomous schismatic churches.

[22.25] ~~b~~ *Their faith is not truly one.* A group which lacks the *principle of unity* becomes divided when sects arise within themselves. But in Photianism, which lacks a principle of unity, many have produced a sect. Ergo. The *major* is evident. For only a principle of unity can have the effect that dissidents either repent, once the matter is defined, or be expelled from the body. The *minor* is proved. [1] There are about 12 million to 14 million adherents to the sect of the *Old Believers* in Russia, who themselves have divided up into many sects. [2] From the *quietism* (*hesychasm*) of the followers of Gregory Palamas (1296-1359) in the Greek Church, which has achieved a broad diffusion. The evil of heresy, therefore, since a legitimate and infallible authority cannot be indicated by the Photians, public^{ly} and formally adheres to the schism.

OBJECTIONS

[22.26] OBJECTION I. There is no firmer principle of unity than Christ. But the Greco-Russian church follows Christ as its head. Therefore they have a firm *principle of unity*.

[22.27] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major: Christ is the invisible head of the Church, *I concede*; the visible head, *I deny*. And *I distinguish* the minor. The Greco-Russian church asserts this

gratuitously, *I concede*; it proves it, *I deny*. Philaret, the Metropolitan of Moscow³⁹, in his *Catechism*, alleges that Christ and the Councils are the proof of the unity of the Church. But (a) the question here is not of an invisible head but of a visible head, which must be admitted even by the photians unless they want to take refuge in the invisibility of the protestants. (b) The question here is concerning the *mark* of unity by which the Church of Christ is known.

[22.28] INSTANCE. The Greco-Russian churches have general councils which are the center of unity. Therefore they have unity.

[22.29] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. They have imperfect general councils, *I concede*; apt to preserve true unity, *I deny*. (a) The truth of the response is evident from Argument I. (b) The schismatics recognize only the first seven councils and they sometimes oppose the "church of the first seven councils" to the papacy.

³⁹ FILARET (DROZDOV), METROPOLITAN OF MOSCOW (26 December 1782 – 1 December 1867) was the most influential figure in the Russian Orthodox Church for more than 40 years, from 1821 to 1867. He was canonized on 13 October 1994 and his feast day is celebrated on November 19.

He was born in Kolomna as Vasily Drozdov (Russian: Василий Михайлович Дроздов). He was educated at the seminaries of Kolomna and Troitse-Sergiyeva Lavra, and on the completion of his studies was at once appointed professor in the latter. He became preacher of the lavra in 1806, and four years later was appointed professor of theology in the ecclesiastical academy of Alexander Nevsky Lavra in St. Petersburg, becoming archimandrite in 1811 and director in 1812.

The Events of 1812 produced a strong impression on Filaret; he explained the success of the Russians by moral reason and read a lecture on this theme in the "Society of friends of the Russian word". In 1813 he declaimed his famous speech on Kutuzov's death.

He took monastic vows in 1817, and after being bishop of Reval and episcopal vicar of St. Petersburg, became, in 1819, archbishop of Tver and a member of the Holy Synod. In the following year he was archbishop of Yaroslavl, and in 1821 was translated to Moscow, also becoming metropolitan in 1826.

His daring utterances, however, brought him into imperial disfavor from 1845 until the accession of Alexander II. In 1855 he was restricted to the limits of his diocese. He is said to have prepared Alexander's proclamation freeing the serfs, and he enjoyed the reputation of being one of the leading pulpit orators of his time and country.

He was the spiritual father of missionary hieromonk Makarii Glukharev (1792-1847), canonized in 2000 for his role as "Apostle to the Altai".

Filaret was responsible for some of the worst offences towards the Old Believers, including the misappropriation of churches and the sealing of the altars at the churches of the Rogozhskoye Cemetery, which was the administrative and spiritual center of the Belokrinitskoe Soglasie Old Believers. Filaret was also directly involved in the imprisonment of Old Believer hierarchs and monastics. (Wikipedia)

[22.30] From this it is evident that such a principle of unity loses its vitality among them, and the corruption of schism erupts. (c) By their deeds, they deny the authority of the Councils. The Quinisext Council or the Council of Trullo⁴⁰ (692) was added by them to the Sixth Ecumenical Council (Constantinople III), and is added

⁴⁰ THE QUINISEXT COUNCIL was a church council held in 692 at Constantinople under Justinian II. It is often known as the COUNCIL IN TRULLO, because it was held in the same domed hall where the Sixth Ecumenical Council had met. Both the Fifth and the Sixth Ecumenical Councils had omitted to draw up disciplinary canons, and as this council was intended to complete both in this respect, it took the name of Quinisext (Latin: Concilium Quinisextum, Koine Greek: Penthekte Synodos), i.e. the Fifth-Sixth Council. It was attended by 215 bishops, all from the Eastern Roman Empire. Basil of Gortyna in Illyria, however, belonged to the Roman patriarchate and called himself papal legate, though no evidence is extant of his right to use that title.

Many of the canons were reiterations of previously passed canons. Several of the regulations passed were attempts at eliminating certain festivals and practices, in many cases because they were ascribed a pagan origin. [1] As a result, the proceedings of the Council give some insight to historians regarding the prevalence and nature of pre-Christian religious practices in the Eastern empire.[1]

In addition to recording earlier decisions and attempting to curb pagan practices, many of the new regulations were aimed at settling differences between the Eastern and Western church regarding ritual observance and clerical discipline.[1] Being held under Byzantine auspices, with an exclusively Eastern clergy, these regulations overwhelmingly regarded the customs of the Church of Constantinople as the orthodox practice.[1]

New practices in the Western Church that had got the attention of the other Patriarchates were condemned such as; the practice of celebrating Masses on weekdays in Lent (rather than having Pre-Sanctified Liturgies); of fasting on Saturdays throughout the year; of omitting the "Alleluia" in Lent; of depicting Christ as a lamb. Larger disputes were revealed regarding Eastern and Western attitudes toward celibacy for priests and deacons, with the Council affirming the right of married men to become priests and prescribing excommunication for anyone who attempted to separate a clergyman from his wife, or for any cleric who abandoned his wife.

Pope Sergius I protested the council, and refused to sign the canons. At Sergius's refusal, Justinian dispatched a military delegation to Rome to induce Sergius to sign; the imperial army at Ravenna, however, composed mainly of native Italians, rallied to support the Roman Pontiff, marching on Rome. Meanwhile, in Visigothic Spain, the council was ratified by the Eighteenth Council of Toledo at the urging of the king, Wittiza, who was vilified by later chroniclers for his decision.[2] Fruela I of Asturias reversed the decision of Toledo sometime during his reign (757-768).[2]

The Eastern Orthodox churches hold this council be part of the Fifth and Sixth Ecumenical Councils, adding its canons thereto. In the West, Bede calls it (De sexta mundi aetate) a "reprobate" synod, and Paul the Deacon an "erratic" one. [3] For the attitude of the Popes, in face of the various attempts to obtain their approval of these canons see Hefele. [4] However, Pope Hadrian I did write favourably of the canons of this council.[5]

without cause to the list of ecumenical councils. They reject the eighth Council (Constantinople IV in 869) arbitrarily condemned by Photius. They reject the Second Council of Lyons (1274), celebrated under blessed Gregory X and the Council of Florence (1438-39) held under Eugene IV, in which they took part and to which they adhered, but afterwards rejected.



POPE EUGENE IV

ARTICLE III

[23]

WHETHER THE MARK OF UNITY IS FOUND IN THE ROMAN CHURCH

[23.1] THE UNITY OF THE ROMAN CHURCH IN THE VARIETY OF ITS LITURGICAL LAWS AND DISCIPLINES. [1] It is necessary that faith, government and worship be one in themselves, but the faith can be expressed and government can be exercised by diverse means. But to the extent that exterior acts, by which one and the same truth is expressed, are usually found to be multiple in each kind of discipline, so there is no harm done to the unity of a sacrament, if in the performance of sacred functions various ceremonies be used to express and profess the one Faith. Therefore the varieties of the liturgies and ceremonies do not in any way hinder the unity of the Church; to the contrary, they suppose a single faith to be expressed and professed in the most perfect way. Cf. S. Thom. Ia IIæ q. 103, art. 4.

[23.1] [2] In what pertains to ecclesiastical discipline, there is one authority and legislative power and the principles of living correctly are one. But general principles are applied to particular cases, which are very diverse. For this reason it has come into use that disciplinary laws, by their very nature, were accommodated to the necessities of the

and
times, are diverse according to the diversity of time and place.

[23.3] *Thesis:* THE MARK OF UNITY PERTAINS TO THE CHURCH OF ROME.

ARGUMENTS

[23.4] ARGUMENT I. *From the principle of unity.* The Roman Church has an extrinsic efficient principle of unity in faith, government and worship. Therefore the Roman Church is one.

[23.5] [A] *In faith.* The efficient principle of one faith is the supreme magisterium which is in itself one, which must be admitted by all the members of the society. But such a principle is the authority of the Roman Pontiff and of the ecumenical councils under that one Roman Pontiff. For this authority is most apt for the purpose of settling disputes, resolving doubts, uniting the faithful, and of expelling rebels.

[23.6] [B] *In government.* There is one head of the whole Roman Church, the Roman Pontiff. This group, therefore, has a center of unity and

through the government of one all are united into one.

[23.7] [C] *In worship.* The efficient principle of one worship is one faith, which the worship expresses, and one government, which guards the worship. But in the Roman Church there is one faith and one Roman Pontiff, by whom the administration of the sacraments and all the rites of the liturgy are guarded.⁴¹

[23.8] There is a great variety in unity, which Leo XIII extolled among the Poles (April 21, 1888): "It is the most noble praise of the true Church of Christ, and one which is uniquely proper to her, to hold all peoples ^{unite} together in a single organization, and at the same ^{time} to cause all of them to think the same thing, and to want the same thing, even though the difference of customs and origins remains. With regard to the diverse rites of the ceremonies, indeed the Apostolic See, in the manner in which it has always been in fact perceived, does not only not forbid, but willingly and freely concedes that each people retain and protect the legitimate customs and mores which have been handed down to them by their ancestors. There is so great a variety in unity, that it is dressed like a king, conspicuous in diversity of appearance and form, by which the immaculate spouse of Christ is made more magnificent to behold."

[23.9] ARGUMENT II. *From deeds.* [A] *One faith* is seen in the creeds, in the professions of faith, which are published by prelates, in catechisms, in public speeches and in it most of all obedience is seen, by which each person is bound to subject his private opinions to the decrees of the Roman Pontiffs and the canons of the holy councils.

[23.10] [B] *One government.* The faithful cohere with the bishops, and the bishops cohere with the Roman Pontiff. All the particular

⁴¹ Therefore since the faith has been destroyed by Vatican II, the destruction of the liturgy follows. Once the worship is destroyed, there follows the absence of jurisdiction in Paul VI, since it is impossible that he who has charge of worship promulgate to the whole Church a rite which defects from the faith.

churches, joined by an ordered series of obedience to one head, make one body.

[23.11] This is the one army of Israel remaining in their tents according to their tribes. Balaam said: "*How beautiful are thy tabernacles, O Jacob, and thy tents, O Israel!*" (Num. XXIV. 5)

[23.12] [C] *One worship.* The seven sacraments are administered everywhere under a *single* supreme ruler through the ministers of the Roman Church. There is a single sacrifice throughout the whole world. There is no more clear monument than the expression of one worship in public practice: in the codices of Masses, no matter what language they should be in, in all the liturgical books of the Churches, whether in the East or West, finally in the custom of priests, that they offer the sacrifice in any Catholic church of the whole world.

[23.13] Confirmation. These arguments shine as clearly as the sun in our times. The sects have the saddest face of division. The schismatics are partly divided, and partly are unified only through the domination of the secular power. In the Catholic Church the unity of religion ^{has} been ^{reigns} illustrated with ever new splendors under the ^{reigns} of Pius IX, Leo XIII, and Pius X. Nor do we marvel at the fact that the dogged adversary of the Catholic Church (Bismarck) called the unity of the Roman Church "great and admirable."

[23.14] This unity is not mechanical, but living, by which the Mystical Body of Christ has never ceased, despite whatever causes sought to break it up, to be undivided in itself, and divided from anything else. St. Thomas says that the source of this unity is the faith which professes belief in "The Holy Ghost unifying the Church." *In Sent.* III. dist. 25. q. 1. art. 2 ad 5. Rursus III. 8, 1 ad 3

[23.15] The Holy Ghost is said to vivify and unite the Church. Charity unifies the whole Church in the unity of spirit. Cajetan comments on what the sense of the Angelic Doctor is in this place: "Anyone among the faithful considers himself to be a member of the Church, and as a member of the Church believes, hopes, administers the sacraments or receives them, teaches and learns. And because of the Church he does these

Picture
of
Bismarck

things as a part because of the whole to which pertains whatever is and whatever does these things according to the faith and tradition of the Church."⁴²

OBJECTIONS

[23.16] OBJECTION I. Among Catholics, e.g., among Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits, and among Gallican bishops and ultramontane bishops, some very bitter controversies have been fought over matters of faith. Therefore the Roman Church is not one.

[23.17] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. There have been fights about defined matters of faith, *I deny*; about doubtful things and matters which can be freely discussed, *I subdistinguish*: the Catholic people were willing to submit themselves in the case that the Church defined, *I concede*; otherwise, *let it pass*. This must be noted first, that there will be seen in the Church until the end of time both human infirmity and divine power. The latter is a remedy for the former, which is the cause of the fights and controversies. For there were not lacking controversies even among the Apostles, but through the magisterium of the Church unity was preserved. In this way the observance of the *legalia* was settled by the Council of Jerusalem.

[23.18] INSTANCE. The infallibility of the Roman Pontiff is considered to be an absolutely firm principle of unity. But the controversy concerning Pontifical infallibility was not settled until the 19th century. Therefore the Church of Rome lacked the principle of its unity for a long time.

[23.19] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the minor: that this controversy was not settled until the 19th century, understood in the sense that this infallibility was previously held to be doubtful by the whole Church, *I deny*; by some members of the Church, *I distinguish*; while erring materially, *I concede*, formally, *I deny*. The Church from the

beginning held the Roman Pontiff to be the supreme and absolutely certain teacher of the Faith. This is proven elsewhere. But those who before the Vatican Council thought otherwise, were not able to be Catholics unless they retained the Faith which all Catholics of all times professed, namely that the consent of the Pontiff with the bishops is subject to no error. Therefore at no time in the Church was there an absence of the principle of unity.

10/29/10

[23.20] OBJECTION II. In order to preserve unity, it is necessary to have authority which expels the rebellious. But we read that Polycarp and Polycrates and the Churches of Asia, although they disagreed with the rest of the regions of the world, as well as with the Popes Anicetus and Victor concerning the date of Easter, nevertheless remained in the communion of the Church.

[23.21] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the minor: This controversy was a matter of faith, *I deny*; a matter of discipline, *I subdistinguish*: the Church used its supreme authority at that time to settle the controversy, *I deny*; that the authority acted with clemency in order to establish peace, *I concede*.

[23.22] I will briefly explain the matter.

(a) There were two paschs: the *pasch of the crucifixion*, the character of which concerned principally the death of Christ, and the *pasch of the resurrection*, in which it was customary to celebrate the resurrection of Christ. The death of Christ was solemnly celebrated on the 14th of Nisan. The solemn fast was terminated, or as others think, was interrupted. Three days later they celebrated the feast of Easter, the pasch of the resurrection, on whatever day of the week it fell. The custom of the Roman Pontiffs, contrary to those who observed the 14th of Nisan, was contained in this rule: Let the mystery of Our Lord's Resurrection be celebrated on no other day than on Sunday, and let the fast be observed up to the day of Easter. (Euseb. *Eccl. Hist.* book V, 23). Therefore the question regarded discipline.

[23.23] (b) The princes of the Church were very gentle in settling the question. St. Peter and St. Paul established the Roman custom of celebrating. The custom of the Asians seems to

⁴² "Quilibet enim fidelis credit se membrum Ecclesiae et ut membrum Ecclesiae credit, sperat, ministrat sacramenta, suscipit, docet, discit. Et propter Ecclesiam haec facit ut pars propter totum, cujus est, quidquid est et secundum Ecclesiae fidem et traditionem haec operatur."

have been permitted by St. John and St. Philip, but without any command. Pope St. Anicetus (157-168?), when he saw that Polycarp, the bishop of Smyrna, was very attached ^{to} the tradition of the Asians, did not want to insist. Pope St. Soter (167?-175), the successor of Anicetus, merely ordered that the faithful were obliged to follow the Roman custom if it happened that they were in Rome for the festivities. But it was not illicit to celebrate the pasch according to the manner of the Asians in their own churches. Pope St. Victor, however, who reigned at the end of the second century (189-197?), fearing lest the Asians insert into their rites the errors of the Judaizers or Ebionites, strongly intervened in the matter. However, it is believed that there was no decree issued by that Pontiff *for full execution*, but that he used clemency against the Asians, who were very attached to their custom. This is so either because Victor tempered the decree at the advice and requests of St. Irenaeus and other bishops, and tolerated the attachment of the Asians to their rites, or because the successors of Victor thought that the matter ought not to be pressed further.

[23.24] **INSTANCE.** Eusebius says: "Victor...tried to cut off from communion all the churches of Asia and of the neighboring provinces as adhering to things contrary to true faith. (*Ecl. Hist.*, book V, 24) Therefore the faith itself came into discrepancy.

[23.25] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the antecedent. In this place the word *faith* is used in the broad sense, *I concede*; in the strict sense, *I deny*. The custom of the ^{Asians} was able to be called contrary to faith because the heretical Judaizers were abusing the custom, and the flourishing state of the faith was in danger. St. Irenaeus, however is recorded to have "admonished in a becoming manner" Pope St. Victor, "lest he cut off from communion entire churches of God who were keeping to a custom which was handed down by their ancestors. (Eusebius, *loc. cit.*)

[23.26] **OBJECTION III.** Saint Cyprian, condemned by the sentence of the Roman Pontiff, was nevertheless in communion with all the bishops in the Christian world. Therefore in the

time of Cyprian the Catholic Church had no fixed principle of truth.

[23.27] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the antecedent. Cyprian was condemned by a sentence which was not *simpliciter* definitive, *I concede*; *simpliciter* definitive, *I deny*.

[23.28] [A] The use of power admits of a threefold indulgence. (a) For it happens that (i) in applying the sentence, he mitigates the condemnation; (ii) after having applied the sentence, he tolerates the condemned for a certain time, both because of the good faith of the condemned, whom he understood to have been stirred up by the heat of controversy, and because of a hope of emendation, which appears to be imminent. Having said these things, we will now consider the fact.

[23.29] [B] This is the *fact*. The more common and older use of the Church was to not baptize again those heretics who were returning to the Church, if they had been correctly baptized previously. But in the third century the custom was so prevalent of rebaptizing any and all converted heretics in Africa and ^acertain part so Asia, that in the years 254-256 a great controversy arose between Pope St. Stephen and St. Cyprian, who was supported by Firmilianus, the bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, together with many other bishops of Asia and Africa. Cyprian in the second synod of Carthage decreed that heretics were dirtied with the "stain of profane water" and had to be baptized when they came to the Church "which is one." (Cyprian *ep.* 70 to Januar., etc.) Pope St. Stephen, however [1] did not admit the bishops sent from the second synod of Carthage (some say the third, where the decree of the second synod was confirmed) "for even a common conversation" and ordered that "the universal brotherhood should not permit them into its house." (Firmilianus, *letter* to Cyprian, among the *letters* of Cyprian, 75). [2] The same Roman Pontiff promulgated this decree: "If, therefore, ^{anyone} ~~nothing~~ from any heresy should come to you, let ~~nothing~~ be done again except that which was relinquished, in order that the hand be imposed for penance." (Cyprian, *ep.* 74 to Pompeius).

[23.30] [C] *Sentence*. The sentence of Stephen, since it is not *ex cathedra*, cannot be said to be *simpliciter* definitive. For such a sentence is not demonstrated even by the severity of the Roman Pontiff towards the legates, as is obvious; nor is it contained properly and truly in the words of the edict. For the Pontiff ordered that there should be no rebaptism. But he did not teach as explicitly *de fide* that heretics should not be rebaptized. Therefore the question of faith, although it is decided implicitly, nevertheless was not defined explicitly under a doctrinal aspect. For this reason, Saint Augustine said: "Although [Stephen and Cyprian] rather heatedly but nevertheless fraternally argued with each other, nevertheless the peace of Christ was victorious, so that in such a disagreement no evil of schism arose between them." (*De bapt. contra Donat.*, book V, 25; cf. *De unico baptismo contra Petil.*, no. 23)

[23.31] *INSTANCE*. In order that unity be preserved, it is necessary to obey even those decrees which are not definitive. However, Cyprian, together with many bishops who were in agreement with him, were never considered to be non-Catholic despite the fact that they did not obey the decree. Therefore the Roman Church is not one.

[23.32] *RESPONSE*. *I distinguish* the major: Decrees which are not definitive must be obeyed, *I concede*; and decrees must be always equally enforced, *I deny*. *I distinguish* the minor: Cyprian did not cease to be considered Catholic, *I concede*; was approved, *I deny*.

[23.33] Rulers, when they consider the efficacy of laws and the welfare of their subjects in the case where their subjects observe only little by little their counsel, will often consider this to be sufficient by necessity, especially when it concerns customs. Ballerini says: "Customs in practice among Catholics here and there are diverse in such a way, which, while unity is preserved, make the thing so obscure that although they concern the sacraments, it can appear uncertain whether they pertain to faith or discipline." (*De vi ac ratione primatus*, chapter XIII, 3) St. Augustine covers up the fault of Cyprian by saying this: "For how could a matter which was involved in such mists of

disputation even have been brought to the full illumination and authoritative decision of a plenary Council, had it not first been known to be discussed for some considerable time in the various districts of the world, with many discussions and comparisons of the views of the bishop on every side?" (*De baptismo*, book II, no. 4) Therefore Cyprian was tolerated, a bishop who excelled in doctrine and virtues. Stephen in fact, perhaps moved by the interventions of Saint Dionysius of Alexandria addressed to him in a letter, that he spare the rebaptizers and not pronounce an excommunication properly so called, if he did in fact threaten it against the Africans and the Asians. The Roman Pontiff was soon crowned with martyrdom (August, 257) and Cyprian († 258) made peace with Pope Sixtus.

[23.34] *INSTANCE*. St. Cyprian, although he dared to disagree with the head of the Church and its center of unity, is considered to be a saint by all.

[23.35] *RESPONSE*. St. Cyprian is considered to be a saint after his satisfaction was accepted, *I concede*; was approved, *I deny*. For this reason St. Augustine says: "Cyprian either did not hold at all the opinions which you ascribe to him, or did subsequently correct his mistake by the rule of truth, or covered this blemish, as we may call it, upon his otherwise spotless mind by the abundance of his love, in his most amply defending the unity of the Church growing throughout the whole world, and in his most steadfastly holding the bond of peace; for it is written, 'Charity covers a multitude of sins.' (1 Peter IV: 8) To this was also added, that in him, as a most fruitful branch, the Father removed by the pruning-knife of suffering whatever may have remained in him requiring correction." (*Ep.* 93 to Vincentius, no. 10) The Roman Church has always venerated him as a glorious martyr.

[23.36] *OBJECTION IV*. The unity of the Roman Church arises from one Supreme Pontiff. But in the 14th century three Pontiffs were fighting about the administration of the Catholic Church. Therefore at least during that storm the Roman Church lost its unity.

[23.37] RESPONSE. I distinguish the minor. Three legitimate and certain Roman Pontiffs were fighting about the administration of the Church, *I deny*; that one of them was legitimate and certain, *I subdistinguish*: in such a way that a *part* of the Church rejected this Pope materially through error, *I concede*; formally by denying the right of the papacy, *I deny*.

[23.38] *Fact*. After the Roman Pontiffs had made their residence for about seventy years in Avignon, for which reason it was called the Babylonian Captivity, from Clement V (1305-1314) to Urban V (1362-1370), Gregory XI (1370-1378) returned to Rome. In 1378, 16 cardinals elected Urban VI (1378-1389). A few months later, Clement VII (1378-1394) opposed him.

[23.39] Urban VI's legitimate successors were Boniface IX (1389-1404), Innocent VII (1404-1406), and Gregory XII (1406-1415) who abdicated. Clement's successor was Benedict XIII (1394-1417), or Peter de Luna, who was deposed.

[23.40] For six years (1409-1415) there were three priests who were fighting over the Pontificate. For the synod of Pisa in the year 1409

declared Gregory XII and Benedict XIII to be deprived of their right, but they did not want to abdicate. They elected Alexander V (1409-1410) who was succeeded by John XXIII (1410-1415).

Explanation. Most Catholics recognized the legitimate popes Urban VI, Boniface IX, Innocent VII, and Gregory XII. But many particular churches adhered to one or the other of the false popes. But all had a mind which was absolutely averse to schism, and was ready to obey whoever was considered to be the legitimate Roman Pontiff. They erred *in fact*, but the *right* was not harmed. And however much the sight of these evils during these troubled times causes sadness, the faith in one Roman Pontiff as the vital principle of unity overcame any division concerning his person. Cf. Christophe, *Hist. de la Papauté pendant le XVe siècle, tome 1*; Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters, Band 1*.

ARTICLE IV

[24]

THE TRUE WAY OF OBTAINING THE UNITY OF CHRISTENDOM

[24.1] I. ATTEMPTS AT UNION. Many times the Roman Pontiffs have tried to restore peace and union with the separated churches, such as Eugene IV and Leo XIII. Among non-Catholics Leibniz was very eager for union. When in the eighteenth century he had the idea of a formula which both the Lutherans and the Catholics could sign, Spinola, the bishop of Tinensis, together with Bossuet and Mulano, a Lutheran doctor, and Leibniz prepared to bring the Lutherans into unity with the Catholics. In our times Lord Halifax⁴³,

the leader of the Ritualists, and Spencer Jones, an Anglican pastor, labor much for the peace of the churches. What is most well known is the Association for the Promoting of Union of Christendom, which was founded in 1857 in London and whose purpose has been again expressed in the book called *England and the Holy See* (1902). Among the Catholics many men of the most excellent virtue throughout the whole world have thought about ways in which to more easily draw the dissidents back to Catholic unity. The Catholic Church, favors *in itself* all the labors for peace and union, but does not recognize any true

⁴³ CHARLES LINDLEY WOOD, 2ND VISCOUNT HALIFAX (7 June 1839 – 19 January 1934) was a British ecumenist who served as president of the English Church Union from 1868 to 1919, and from 1927 to 1934. (He was the father of the well-known Lord Halifax who was the British foreign secretary from 1938 to 1940,

one of the architects of the British policy of appeasement prior to World War II). (*Wikipedia*)

way of union which would be contrary to its essential constitutive elements, and therefore to its dogmas. For this reason, contrary to what Leibniz hoped for, the Catholics retained the position that all of the articles of faith were to be protected in their perfect entirety. The result was that the controversy ended, the peace having become impossible, when the Lutherans requested that the Council of Trent be suspended. And Leo XIII, writing to Card. Gibbons on the January 22, 1899, teaches that they are going down a path other than what Christ showed us, who think that it is "opportune for the purpose of attracting the wills of those who dissent, if certain doctrines, which are in a way of lesser importance, be passed over, or softened in such a way that they no longer retain the meaning which the Church has constantly held."

[24.2] The Roman Church follows this profound consciousness of its unity when it prohibits Catholics to join the *Society for Promoting the Union of Christendom*.

[24.3] In this very prohibition, we shall consider a little more diligently what is the true way of union.

[24.4] II. THE CHARACTER OF THE SAID SOCIETY AND THE SENTENCE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH CONCERNING IT. [A] The character is described by these words of the supreme Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition: "This society has been formed and is directed and stirred by that spirit, which it explicitly professes, that there are three Christian communions, namely the Roman Catholic, the Greek Schismatic, and the Anglican, and although they are separated from one another and divided, nevertheless claim the right to call themselves Catholic. Admission, therefore, into that society is open to all, wheresoever they may live, Catholics, Greek Schismatics, and Anglicans, under this condition, however, that no one is permitted to raise a question about the various forms of doctrine in which they disagree, and that it is right for each individual to follow with tranquil soul what is acceptable to his own religious creed. Indeed, the society itself indicates to all its members the prayers to be recited, and to

the priests the sacrifices to be celebrated according to its own intention; namely that the said three Christian communions, inasmuch as they, as it is alleged, together now constitute the Catholic Church, may at some time or other unite to form one body." (*Epistola S. Rom. et Univ. Inquis.* data die 16 Sept. 1864)

[24.5] [B] Through the letter of the Holy Office, on Sept. 16, 1864, which Card. Patrizi signed, the faithful were taught that they could not favor this society in any way, and "lest they, swept away by a false desire of a new Christian unity, cut themselves off from that perfect unity, which by a wondrous gift of the grace of God consists in the solidity of Peter." But when 198 deans, canons, pastors and other Anglican priests responded to Card. Patrizi, the head of the Holy Office, that he was speaking about a question of *fact* and not of *law*, and that they were asking nothing more from God than "that ecumenical intercommunion which existed before the schism of East and West," Card. Patrizi responding on November 8, 1865, said this among other things:

[24.6] "Furthermore the Sacred Congregation vehemently regrets that you happen to think that those Christian groups, which boast that they have the heredity of the Catholic priesthood and name, belong to the true Church of Jesus Christ as parts of it, although they are divided and separated from the Apostolic See of Peter. *There is nothing more opposed to the genuine notion of the Catholic Church than this opinion.* For the Catholic Church... is that which, built upon one Peter, grows into one body compacted and fitly joined together [Eph. IV: 16] by the unity of faith and charity."⁴⁴

⁴⁴ English translation of the letter of Card. Patrizi. This novelty is all the more dangerous in that it is presented under the appearances of piety and eager solicitude for the unity of Christian society. The foundation on which it is built is such that it destroys at one stroke the divine constitution of the Church.

It can be summed up in the proposition, that the true Church of Jesus Christ is made up of one part Roman Church, established and propagated throughout the world, and one part the schism of Photius, and the Anglican heresy, both of which have, with the Church of Rome, one same Lord, one same faith, and one same Baptism. To bring about the disappearance of the dissensions which rend these three Christian communions to the great scandal of all men and to the great harm of truth and charity, the Society [namely the *Association*

[24.7] For this reason, it is not true to say that any society of prayers for the purpose of the unity of Christendom is spurned, since Gregory XVI, Pius IX, and Leo XIII conceded indulgences to those who implored for the dissidents a reconciled peace with the Catholic Church. But that the faithful pray for Christian unity *according to the intention of the said society*, cannot be tolerated in any way.

for Promoting the Union of Christendom] orders prayers and sacrifices to obtain from God the grace of unity.

Surely Catholics desire nothing so much as the disappearance from among Christians of all schisms and dissensions, and that all should be eager to keep unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. That is why the Catholic Church prays and invites the faithful to pray to Almighty God that all those who have left the Roman Church may be converted to the true faith, may abjure their errors, and return in grace to her fold, outside of which there is no salvation. Moreover, she prays and orders prayers that all men may come, with the help of God's grace, to the knowledge of the truth. But that Christians and ecclesiastics should pray for Christian unity under the direction of heretics, and, what is worse, according to an intention which is radically impregnated and vitiated by heresy, this is absolutely impossible to tolerate.

The true Church of Jesus Christ is established by divine authority and is to be recognized by the four marks which we profess in the Creed; and each of these marks is so bound up with the others that they cannot be separated; hence it follows that the Church which is said to be and is truly catholic, must shine at the same time by reason of the prerogatives of unity, of holiness, and of apostolic succession. The Catholic Church is therefore *one*, with the visible and perfect unity which is worldwide and of all nations, *one* with that unity whose principle, the indefectible source and origin, is the supreme authority and preeminent primacy of Blessed Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and of his successors in the See of Rome. And there is no other Catholic Church than this one which built on Peter alone, rises as a compact body, united by bonds of faith and charity. This is what St. Cyprian professed in all sincerity when he addressed himself in these terms to Pope Cornelius: *in order that our colleagues firmly prove and adhere to you and your communion, which is the unity as well as the charity of the Catholic Church.*

Pope Hormisdas insisted that the same thing should be affirmed by the bishops abjuring the schism of Acacius in a formula approved by the whole of Christian antiquity, where it is said that "they are separated from the communion of the Church who are not in agreement with the Apostolic See." And far from it being the case that communions separated from the See of Rome have the right to call themselves and to be regarded as Catholic, it is rather by this separation and this want of agreement that one can recognize which are the societies, which are the Christians who do not keep the true Faith, nor the true teaching of Christ, as St. Irenaeus demonstrated in luminous fashion already in the second century of the Church. Let Christians be on guard, therefore, and with the greatest care avoid entering those societies which they cannot join without detriment to their faith. Let them hear St. Augustine teaching us that there can be neither truth nor piety where Christian unity and the charity of the Holy Ghost are lacking.

[24.8] III. FOR VERY GOOD REASONS THE ROMAN CHURCH FORBADE MEMBERSHIP IN THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTING OF THE UNION OF CHRISTIANS. [1] For the London Society was based on a foundation by which the divine constitution of the Church is subverted. That society assumed that the true Church of Christ consists partly of the Roman Church, partly of the Photian and Anglican groups. But all Catholics profess that the Photian group is schism, and the Anglican heresy. Besides, prayers and sacrifices are indicated by that society, that from God the grace of some unity be requested, which is not the unity of the Roman Church. This is the same thing as to deny the true unity of the Church, *or* to pray impiously that the Church abandon that unity. For this reason, Catholics are very correctly prohibited from joining the aforesaid society.

[24.9] [2] The Catholics who agree with this London society favor indifferentism and give scandal.

[24.10] *They favor indifferentism.* For the founders and rectors of that society assert that there are three forms of the true Christian religion. They assert that these forms of Christianity have one and the same faith, with the result that in Photianism and Anglicanism one can please God equally as in the Catholic Church. From this it is permitted to infer that those Catholics who join this society *give scandal* [1] to non-Catholics, since it could easily happen that they set aside their eagerness to be united with Rome from some vain expectation that the three communions make one whole, and each one persisting in its persuasion come together into one; [2] to Catholics, since it is to be feared that those who favor this society be swept away by a false desire of a new Christian unity.

IV. SOME DOUBTS ARE RESOLVED. [1] —

[24.11] [2] Many affirm that the London Society wants nothing more than that unity which existed before the breaking of East and West. They say that it is permitted to Catholics to help this effort. But it is impossible that the London society could desire such an intercommunion, without harming the Roman unity. But this idea is rejected

by the adversaries. For they suppose that three communions, *each persisting in its own persuasion, and without having abjured their errors, make up a single church*. But if these three communions, despite their errors, are considered to be the *true* Church, then each, no doubt, lacks infallibility, since infallibility excludes error. What follows from this is: (a) that the perfectly efficacious principle of unity of the Roman Church, infallibility, is removed; (b) that the communions, each persisting in its own persuasion, could come together into one, whereas an infallible judge, whose purpose it is to determine which persuasion of the communion is erroneous or not, cannot be found anywhere.

[24.12] Finally ecumenical intercommunion was in vigor in the whole Orient before the Photian schism, because the Orientals had not yet withdrawn their due obedience to the Apostolic See. Nor is it sufficient, for the purpose of restoring this much desired intercommunion, "that the feuds and hatred for the Roman Church be set aside, ^{but} by the precept and institution of Christ" ^{it} is necessary "that they embrace the faith and communion of the Roman Church." (Card. Patrizi in his letter of November 8, 1865 — Cf. Leo XIII, Apostolic Letter of April 14, 1895 *Ad Anglos regnum Christi in fidei unitate quarentes*)

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QUESTION VII

THE CHURCH TO WHICH THE MARKS OF SANCTITY, CATHOLICITY, AND APOSTOLICITY PERTAIN

The marks manifest that grace which flows forth from Christ the Head into the Church, His mystical Body. A religious group, if it is stripped of that grace, will shine with no mark; if it is not stripped of grace, the other marks cannot be absent where one of them is present. For the four marks are joined in the same *cause*, which is Christ. We have proved above, however, that both the protestants and the Photians lack the mark of unity, and that it is found in the Roman Church. From this it flows indirectly that sanctity, catholicity, and apostolicity, which cohere intimately with unity, pertain only to the Roman Church. It remains that we treat directly of these marks. In this way the truth of the Roman Church will be ever more evident. The following things are asked:

FIRST. WHETHER HOLINESS, CATHOLICITY, AND APOSTOLICITY PERTAIN TO THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

SECOND. WHETHER THOSE MARKS PERTAIN TO PHOTIANISM.

THIRD. WHETHER THE ROMAN CHURCH IS HOLY.

FOURTH. WHETHER THE ROMAN CHURCH IS CATHOLIC.

FIFTH. WHETHER THE ROMAN CHURCH IS APOSTOLIC.

ARTICLE I

[25]

WHETHER HOLINESS, CATHOLICITY, AND APOSTOLICITY PERTAIN TO THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

[25.1] FOUR GENERAL OBSERVATIONS. [1] We are understanding the marks of the Church as we have defined them above (Question V, art 1). Here we are looking at *facts* and *principles*, as well as the marks both *formally* and *materially*. [2] In speaking of holiness, we deny that this mark pertains to the

Protestant *churches*, but we never affirm that all, who follow these errors in good faith, displease God. [3] In what concerns the Anglo-Catholics or the *Established Church*, one cannot fail to point out that a hope of Catholicity without the center of unity is vain, and a title without any reality. [4] In order to

demonstrate apostolicity, it is not sufficient to collect all the heresies of all the ages from everywhere, but a public, uninterrupted, and legitimate succession is required.⁴⁵ One should recall what was disputed about the character of the individual marks.

[25.2] *Thesis: SANCTITY, CATHOLICITY, AND APOSTOLICITY DO NOT PERTAIN TO THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES.*

ARGUMENTS.

[25.3] A. SANCTITY DOES NOT PERTAIN TO THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

[25.4] ARGUMENT. I. *From the principles and some doctrines of Protestantism.* [A] the principles of Protestantism and [B] many of its doctrines are contrary to sanctity. Therefore Protestantism by reason of doctrine is not holy. *Proof of the antecedent.*

[25.5] [A] The fundamental principles are: *Scripture alone* and *faith alone*. But these are contrary to holiness of doctrine.

[25.6] [1] *Scripture alone.* This principle hands over the doctrine of Christ to the *private spirit*. But it is impossible that a doctrine which is so sublime, and which is so contrary to the corruption of morals, be preserved integral unless a legitimate authority corrects private opinions. Therefore Protestantism is essentially opposed to the holiness of doctrine. Add to this that the private spirit, because it despises authority, favors the pride of the mind.

[25.7] [2] *Faith alone.* This principle despises the excellence of charity, as is apparent from the book which Luther entitled *The Babylonian Captivity*, and from his letter in 1521 to Melancthon, in which we read: "*Be a sinner and sin strongly, but believe more strongly.*"⁴⁶ The same

⁴⁵ Luther said that all those who opposed the Catholic Church from the beginning were the true Church.

⁴⁶ OTHER QUOTATIONS FROM MARTIN LUTHER: "Christ committed adultery first of all with the woman at the well about whom St. John tells us. Was not everybody about Him saying: 'Whatever has he been doing with her?' Secondly, with Mary Magdalene, and thirdly with the woman taken in adultery whom he dismissed so lightly. Thus even Christ, who was so

righteous, must have been guilty of fornication before He died" (*Table Talk*, Weimar edition, vol. 2., no. 1472, April 7 - May 1, 1532; Wiener, p. 33).

"But Christ took upon Himself all of our sin, and thus He died upon the cross. Therefore he had to become that which we are, namely a sinner, a murderer, evildoer, etc....For insofar as he is a victim for the sins of the whole world, He is not now such a person as is innocent and without sin, is not God's Son in all glory, but a sinner, abandoned by God for a short time — Psalms 8:6" (*Detailed Explanation of the Epistle to the Galatians*, part 2, fourth argument, Walch edition, vol. 8, p. 2165, nos. 321-324).

"Then one should take him, the Pope, the cardinals, and lackeys of his idolatrous and papal Holiness, and, since they are blasphemers, tear their tongues out the back of their necks and hang them on the gallows in a row...although such is very little compared to their blasphemy and idolatry. Thus one should let them hold a council, or as many as they wish, on the gallows, or amongst all the devils in hell" (*Against the Papacy in Rome, Founded by the Devil*, Walch ed., vol. 17, section 5, p. 1333, no. 79).

"For I cannot pray without cursing. If I should say: Hallowed be thy name; I must add; Cursed, damned, and reviled be the name of the Papists, and of all who blaspheme against thy name... Indeed so I pray every day aloud, and continuously in my heart, as do all with me who believe in Christ, and I do feel that we are heard" (Erlangen edition, vol. 25, p. 108).

"This preaching ought to by rights be accepted and listened to with great joy, and everyone ought to improve himself thereby and become more pious...But unfortunately, the reverse is now the case, for now we see the people becoming more infamous, more avaricious, more unmerciful, more unchaste and in every way worse than they were under Popery." (*Sermon on the first Sunday of Advent on St. Matthew's Gospel 21: 1-9*, held in 1533, [Hauspostille], Erlangen ed., vol. 1, p. 14).

"The sting of the flesh may easily be helped as long as girls and women are to be found." (Grisar, Fr. Hartmann S. J. *Luther*, vol. 4, p. 126).

"But it is not forbidden that a man should have more than one wife. I could not prevent it today, but I do not wish to advise it...." (Walch ed., vol. 3, chapter 16, p. 412).

"Be a sinner and sin boldly, but believe and rejoice in Christ even more boldly...No sin will separate us from the Lamb, even though we commit fornication and murder a thousand times a day" (Weimar ed. vol. 2, p. 372; *Letters I*, Luther's Works, American ed., vol. 48, p. 282).

"The third matter is when one spouse deprives the other and withdraws, i. e., does not render the marriage debt, nor wishes to be with him. As one finds, such a stubborn wife, who has gotten such a notion in her head, and if the husband falls into unchastity ten times, she does not ask about it. Here it is time for the husband to say 'If you do not want to, another one does; if my wife does not want to, bring on the maid.'" (Erlangen ed., vol. 20, p. 72).

"If, in faith, an adultery could be committed, it would be no sin" (Möhler, Dr. Johann Adam, *Symbolik*, p. 131; *Luther disput. Tom. I*, p. 523).

principle and three other errors are consistent with one another, of which the first is this well-known one: *Justification through merely extrinsic imputation*; the second is *denial of free will*, i.e., of liberty from necessity, left in man after the fall of Adam (Luther, *De servo arbitrio*; Calvin, *Instit.*, book II, chapter 2 and 3); the third is the *horrible decree* or system of positive reprobation, which does not arise from foreseen demerits.

[25.8] Protestantism has corrected these errors in part by a type of new reformation, but in so doing they have not deleted the stain of their origin, but rather testify to the injustice of their defection from the Catholic Church.

[25.9] [3] *Doctrines contrary to sanctity*. [1] The contempt for fasting, virginity, the evangelical counsels, the invocation of the Mother of God, the veneration of the saints and of many things, which are considered to be helps to sanctity or the fruits of sanctity. [2] The error concerning divorce and the repudiation of one's spouse, which the Fathers at Trent branded with anathema: Can. 5: "If anyone should say that the bond of matrimony can be dissolved because of heresy, or grievous cohabitation, or voluntary absence from the spouse, let him be anathema." [Denz. 975] Can. 7: "If anyone should say that the Church errs, inasmuch as she has taught

"When our consciences are assailed by the devil on account of our sins: so one should say, spoke D. M. Luther: holy devil, pray for us: Sancte Satan, ora pro nobis. Have we not sinned against you, kind Sir Devil?" (*Table Talk*, Walch ed., vol. 22, chapter 26, p. 1242, no. 41).

"For so it is with me: when I wake up, soon the devil comes and disputes with me, until I say: kiss my ass." (*Table Talk*, Weimar ed., vol. 2, p. 15, no. 1263, Dec. 14, 1531).

"Would that I could commit some token sin simply for the sake of mocking the devil, so that he might understand that I acknowledge no sin and am conscious of no sin" ("Letter to Jerome Weller, July 1530", Letters, Weimar ed., vol. 5, p. 519-20, no. 1670; Luther: Letters of Spiritual Counsel, vol. 18, p. 84-87).

"Therefore St. James' epistle is really an epistle of straw, compared to these others, for it has nothing of the nature of the gospel about it" ("Preface to the New Testament", Martin Luther's Basic Theological Writings, ed. by T. Lull, p. 117).

"If someone is being tempted, said Dr. Martin, or is amongst those who are being tempted, let him then beat Moses to death, and throw every stone at him." (*Table Talk*, Walch ed., vol. 22, chapter 27, p. 1233).

and still teaches that in accordance with the evangelical and apostolic doctrine the bond of matrimony cannot be dissolved because of adultery of one of the married persons, and that both, or even the innocent one, who has given no occasion for adultery, cannot during the lifetime of the other contract another marriage, and ^{that} he, who after the dismissal of the adulteress shall marry another, is guilty of adultery, and that she also, who after the dismissal of the adulterer shall marry another, let him be anathema." [Denz. 977] — It is certain that Philip, the Landgrave of Hesse, in 1540 married Margaret of Saal while his wife Christina was still living, based on the decisions and "dispensations" of Luther, Bucer, and Melanchthon. [3] The axiom which amounts to the idolatry of the state: *Whose region it is, his also the religion shall be*. [4] The superstitious insanity of the sects, which are called fanatic, and their false opinion of piety. [5] The naturalism of the modern Protestants, and their preaching against supernatural things, which is growing among Protestants.



PHILIP, LANDGRAVE OF HESSE, WHOM LUTHER PERMITTED TO HAVE TWO WIVES.

[25.10] ARGUMENT II. *By reason of the sacraments*. We include in the name *sacrament* (A) the

sacraments themselves, (B) the sacrifice, (C) the hierarchy, (D) the liturgy. But in all of these things Protestantism is deficient.

[25.11] Therefore Protestantism is not holy by reason of sacraments.



PHILIP MELANCHTHON
1497-1560

[25.12] [A] The most holy plenitude of the seven sacraments decreased in Protestantism to one or two; in fact there are some modern Protestants who do not even admit the one sacrament of baptism as a sacrament. Furthermore, Protestantism took a great deal out of the sanctity of the sacraments, teaching that through the sacraments of the New Law grace is not conferred *ex opere operato*.

[25.13] [B] Protestantism, against the most ancient consensus of the Church is accustomed to detest the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass as "papist idolatry" and an "impious fable." In Germany, England and Holland there was for a long time a *hatred of the Mass*. The book of Luther entitled *The Private Mass* proves this, as well as Calvin's *Institutions*, art. 31 of the Anglican Church, and the sermons of John Knox.

[25.14] [C] The sanctity of the hierarchy *as an institution* — for we are not speaking here about persons — has been taken out of Protestantism, by defect of *ordination*, which they omitted or essentially corrupted, by defect of *mission*, because the reformers, having spurned the Roman Pontiff,

provided no title of their own authority, and by defect of *ministration*, because they neither do sacred things, nor do they govern the people of God by an authority received from God.

[25.15] [D] Liturgy accompanies the sacraments, the sacrifice, and the hierarchy. But all these things have very nearly perished in Protestantism. Therefore the sanctity of the liturgy has not remained.

[25.16] [e] Having overturned the order of things, the reformers spurned the saying of Aegidius of Viterbo: *It is permitted that men be changed by sacred things, but not that sacred things be changed by men.*

[25.17] ARGUMENT III. *By reason of the members.* Neither the founders of Protestantism were holy nor its fruits. Therefore by reason of the members it cannot be said to be holy. *Proof of the antecedent.*

[25.18] [A] *The principal authors were Luther, a truculent, prideful, abusive man, an adulterator of the sacred books, a transgressor of his vows, someone who indulged excessively in the drink, had contempt for authority, a rabble rouser, ever unabashed to pronounce any insult or filthy statement.*



HENRY VIII, KING OF ENGLAND, ADULTERER,
MURDERER, A ROTTEN MASS OF SYPHILIS, AND
FOUNDER OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

[25.19] *Calvin, a frigid, biting, and cruel man, an arrogant defender of his own infallibility, and with contempt for the ancient Fathers of the Church gave this tribute to Luther: "We testify that we*

consider him to be an *excellent Apostle of Christ*.” — *Henry VIII* (1491-1547) was an adulterer and a murderer. — *Elizabeth* was the perfect image of her father Henry.



ERASMUS

1466 — 1536

HE NEVER SAID MASS AND SELDOM ASSISTED AT IT. HE CONSIDERED THE BREVIARY, FASTING, ABSTINENCE AND PENANCE TO BE RIDICULOUS, AND NEVER OBSERVED THEM.

[25.20] (b) *Protestantism has not borne the fruits of holiness.* [1] *Luther* said: “The world becomes worse and worse every day; for now we see the people becoming more infamous, more avaricious, more unmerciful, more unchaste and in every way worse than they were under Popery.” (*Postilla in Evang. dom I. Adv.*) — *Melanchthon* said: “The world is full of crime and rage and loves flattery more than the former age. A clear contempt for religion is growing. In the time of our ancestors, there was not so much gluttony as there is now growing more and more among men. Therefore wars come, uncontrolled developments, and other great calamities, because all are very eager to obtain unbridled liberty and infinite license for all of their desires.” *Erasmus*: “I know that nowhere has there been more lust, more acts of adultery, than among the evangelicals, for this is the name by which they want to be called. Did not *Luther* say that he prefers the former kingdom of the pope and monks, than

this kind of people who rush into the life of the Sogdians under the pretext of the gospel? Did not *Melanchthon* deplore the same thing in his letters to me? Did not *Ecolampadius* say the same to me in my conversation with him? ...Ever since they took away so many things, things have not improved.” These were the beginnings of the reformation. With merit *Dietrich*, a Protestant, wrote at the same time: “the cyclopic savagery increases everywhere.” It is clear that the Protestant doctrine led to such great corruption.

[25.21] [2] Furthermore the holiness of Protestantism was never manifested by the true indicators of supernatural life. There is lacking to it the heroic virtue of the saints; the evangelical counsels are not observed; no religious orders flourish in it. It is not conspicuous by the heroism of charity, of the apostolate, of penance, or of abnegation. Their missions are not outstanding by the fruits of heroic virtues, either of those who preach or of those who relinquish their errors, nor by a true army of martyrs.

[25.22] No miracles, finally, are seen in Protestantism, nor is there any hope of miracles. *Luther* said: “From us who deny free will, one ought not to require miracles.” *Calvin* said to the King of France: “Those who ask miracles from us do so perversely.” *Erasmus* affirms: “Not one of them as yet exists who could even cure a lame horse.” In the present day the charism of miracles appears no more than it did at the time of *Erasmus*.

[25.23] B. CATHOLICITY DOES NOT PERTAIN TO THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

[25.24] ARGUMENT I. Catholicity is that property of the Church by which, both conspicuously numerous and everywhere one, it flows out to nearly all the ends of the earth. Therefore Protestantism is not marked by catholicity. *Proof of the minor.*

[25.25] [A] Protestantism is not one, as we have proven above. Therefore it is not catholic either.

[25.26] [B] Nor does the mark of catholicity appear *formally* either in its extension or its expansion. Protestantism is rather conspicuous by

number and extension, but in such a way that the Protestant groups, of whom there are more than two hundred, are far inferior in numbers to the Catholics. But that *material* extension is in no way marked by the sign of catholicity, which pertains by the will of Christ to His Church. For [1] it was first propagated in Europe chiefly by sword and fire and in a manner which was too human; [2] soon it became divided up, not as an expansion of a single group of faithful, but became a cohabitation of opposing doctrines under one roof of non-Catholicism. [3] The work of the missions, although it had not even thought of propagating the name of Christ among the pagans for 130 years, was first undertaken by a certain John Eliot in the North American colonies in 1646. Afterwards the work of the missions had relatively small results. In more recent times Protestantism has had a greater success, but in general not greater in either quality or quantity than what can be obtained by force and dependence.

[25.27] [4] Both within the missions and outside of them those principles which dissolve catholicity, i.e., which corrode an organization which is *everywhere one*, adhere to the essence of Protestantism, *as such*.

[25.28] ARGUMENT II. Protestantism — which Ehrhard rightly observes — from the beginning up to the present day, is moved under the sign of revolution, a bold contemnor of traditional things, eager for new things more than is due. It is also moved under the sign of *extreme subjectivism* by which it happens that the systems of individuals, more than the truth of Christ, given objectively, is propagated among the various peoples. It moves under the sign of *nationalism* and *national churches*, in which would be found only fractions and fragments of Christianity. It moves under the sign of *defection and apostasy* from the essence of the Christian religion, *as it is a supernatural religion*, in such a way that the preaching of the gospel has become the propagation of rationalism and naturalism. Protestantism, therefore, by its very nature is not catholic, but is the denial of the mark of catholicity.

[25.29] C. APOSTOLICITY DOES NOT PERTAIN TO THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES.

[25.30] ARGUMENT I. The Church is called apostolic, if it continues [A] through the legitimate succession of pastors, [B] never interrupted from the time of the Apostles, [C] in the identity of doctrine, sacraments, and government. But none of these things is seen in Protestantism. Therefore this religion cannot be considered apostolic.

[25.31] [A] For the legitimate succession of pastors is required [1] valid ordination; [2] a legitimate mission from those who have succeeded to the Apostles. But neither of these things is found in Protestantism. Therefore it is not apostolic.

[25.32] [1] In general, there is not even the shadow of a *valid ordination*. This is certain among all.

[25.33] The validity of orders, however, in the Anglican Church, or *Established Church*, even if they had not supplied *absolutely firm reasons* for denying it, would be able to help only a few members, namely of the *Established Church*.

[25.34] [2] *Legitimate mission* was destroyed in Protestantism from the very beginning. For the reformers could not claim for themselves either *ordinary* or *extraordinary* mission. They could not claim *ordinary*, since it would have been necessary to obtain this mission from a church already existing. But the reformers were not sent by a church already existing, but instead they rebelled against it and protested against it. Nor could they claim an *extraordinary* jurisdiction, which is asserted gratuitously, and which contradicts the facts. Our Lord never taught that there would be any mission to be hoped for outside of the ordinary mission. This reasoning is absolutely certain, nor should it be of any wonder that Luther changed his position concerning his mission against the Catholic Church no less than *fourteen* times.

[25.35] [B] Much less does Protestantism go back to the Apostles by a public succession.

[25.36] [1] The reformers distinguished by a great interval between the primordial Church and the "pure gospel," the time in which the doctrines, sacraments, and government of the Church was

totally corrupt. Therefore the connection of Protestantism with the apostolic Church has been interrupted. The consequence is clear. For *Babylon, the kingdom of Antichrist*, and the *Beast of the Apocalypse* interrupted this connection. For the reformers called the Roman Church by these names. Thus Calvin was able to assert: "The true series of ordination was interrupted by the tyranny of the Pope; now we need a new help in order to restore the Church." But whatever the reformers of the sixteenth century taught about the "tyrant pope," it remains an indubitable fact that there was no other Christian Church for many centuries besides the Roman Church. Add to this that the early Church condemned many of the dogmas of the reformers.

[25.37] [2] Protestantism is a *new* church. Therefore it is not apostolic. *Proof of the antecedent.* It is evident from public facts. Protestantism abandoned in rebellion that Church which goes back by an uninterrupted succession of Roman Pontiffs to blessed Peter.

[25.38] Therefore, St. Cyprian criticizes Novatian *for the fact that he comes from no one, and succeeds to no one*. Furthermore the beginnings of that heresy are fixed to the sixteenth century. For who saw any Lutherans before Luther? Calvinists before Calvin? For this reason, the reasoning of Tertullian (*Adv. Prax.*, 2) can be applied to Protestantism: "*You are novelties, you are recent, you are from yesterday.*"

[25.39] [c] *Protestantism perpetually changes its doctrine.* Therefore it is not apostolic. For this reason, from the seventeenth century, in which Bossuet wrote his book entitled the *Variations*, Protestantism has changed from that error which the first reformers taught to such an extent that they could hardly recognize their own work, if they came back to life.

OBJECTIONS

[25.40] OBJECTION I. Protestants profess that the books of the Old and the New Testament are their rule of believing and acting. Therefore they are not deprived of sanctity.

[25.41] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. Protestants profess that those books are their rule of believing and acting in an extremely imperfect manner, *I concede*; perfectly, *I deny*. Four things show how much protestantism is imperfect in this regard. (a) The authenticity of many of these books is rejected by many; (b) many do not believe in divine inspiration; (c) because the authority of the Church is spurned, they have adopted the imbecility of the private spirit; (d) Luther, Calvin and the fanatical sects have profaned the Sacred Scriptures by their impious and absurd doctrines.

[25.42] Besides, protestantism, even if they had preserved with complete integrity the divine Scriptures, would not shine forth with the mark of sanctity solely because of having preserved these books, since no codex, not even the most sacred, by itself manifests the supernatural life of the Church.

[25.43] INSTANCE. Often many protestants were outstanding for uprightness and good morals; pious institutions, orphanages, etc. have been founded by them. Therefore protestantism is holy.

[25.44] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. The holiness of protestant men and institutions is either *natural* or *ordinary*, *I concede*; *heroic*, and of *extraordinary supernaturality*, *I deny*. This proposition, *All the works of the infidels are sins*, and *The virtues of philosophers are vices*, against Baius, and the other *Outside of the Church no grace is given*, against Quesnel was condemned by the Roman Pontiffs (cf. the Bull of Pius V, *Ex omnibus afflictionibus*, October 1, 1567, and the constitution *Unigenitus* of Clement XI of Sept. 8, 1713) For greater reason, some natural virtues are found in protestants who err in good faith. In fact, when these are joined to Christ with baptism and faith which is sufficiently explicit in the Most Holy Trinity and in the Incarnate Word, it can happen that they can please God by supernatural virtues, and that a certain light of pious institutions can be evident in the sight of mankind. [Anti-Feeney] Who would say that these effects are from principles which are *specifically* protestant, namely the *private spirit*, or *justification through faith alone*? Indeed, the supernatural virtues are produced *in spite of* these things. Virtues, however, which are heroic and extraordinary

supernaturality, which are evident in saints, miracles, and charisms are sought in vain among the sects. There is no observance of the evangelical counsels. There is no priest like Saint Vincent de Paul, no monk like St. Bernard, no king like Saint Louis, no doctor like Saint Thomas Aquinas. Need we say more? The kind of *priest, monk, martyr and virgin consecrated to God* is extinct among the protestants.

[25.45] INSTANCE. Protestantism is holy if, by its influence it reformed the very Roman Church. But when protestantism arose, the reformation of the Roman Church followed. From this it follows that the work of the reformers was outstandingly holy.

[25.46] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. If protestantism was the *cause* of the reform of the Roman Church, *I concede*; the *occasion*, *I deny*. *I distinguish* the minor. When protestantism arose, the Roman Church was reformed by virtue of protestantism, *I deny*; by the Roman Church's intrinsic virtue, *I concede*.

[25.47] The sophism is: *post hoc ergo propter hoc*. For protestantism, neither by its doctrine nor by its example, reformed the Romans, since its doctrine was entirely rejected by the Roman Church; the example of the reformers was such that even Luther, Melancthon and the other reformers were horrified by the perversity of their followers. That heresy *per se* gave to the world no good morals at all; *per accidens*, however, it gave good morals to many Catholics whom the Lord instructed by *castigation*, in the way that a disease might bring us to our senses. Again, *I say*, protestantism gave no new good morals to the world: not to the individual, nor to the family, nor to society. Whatever good things it manifests, it has received from the old Church.

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[25.48] OBJECTION II. Protestantism is propagated throughout the whole world. Therefore it is catholic. The antecedent is evident from the great number of those who, for the sake of preaching are sent by biblical societies and other institutes of this type, in all parts of the world; also from the protestant groups which are found everywhere.

[25.49] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent, and the proof of the antecedent:

Catholicity is acquired by this propagation materially, *let it pass*; formally, *I deny*. Catholicity *formally* cannot be had without unity. Therefore protestantism, lacking the principle of unity, is essentially alien to true catholicity. With regard to activity and the zeal for missions, it is commonly admitted that a great force of money is expended in evangelizing peoples, and that many worthy and diligent men give help in order that the light of the gospel come to those who are sitting in the shadow of paganism. But the quantitative and qualitative fertility is not proportioned to the enormous subsidies; the apostolic virtues are much more evident in the Catholic missions; the great diversity of sects has the effect that division is propagated at the same time that partial faith is propagated, and that the religion which the Founder described as *one fold and one shepherd* is not evident among the many peoples.

[25.50] INSTANCE. Very swift propagation is considered to be an index of catholicity. But protestantism, as soon as Luther rose up, was very swiftly propagated throughout Europe. Therefore it is Catholic.

[25.51] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. Very swift propagation is considered an index of Catholicism, *in certain circumstances, I concede*; by itself, *I deny*. Likewise *I distinguish* the minor: protestantism was very quickly propagated in a *divine* manner, *I deny*; in an entirely *human* manner, *I subdistinguish*: in many parts of Europe, *I concede*; in all of Europe, *I deny*.

[25.52] Those things are more easily believed which please the earthly man. But the gospel which was preached by the reformers, because it [1] proposed a liberty of spirit and conscience, enticed an eagerness for rebellion, by which men *who could not bear authority* often have fallen into heresy; [2] because fasting, celibacy, and ecclesiastical laws were rejected, and salvation was offered to men by faith alone, and because ecclesiastical goods were assigned to the greed of the princes, and because a pretext of waging war and of rebelling was offered to those who were desirous of changing things, it attracted an enormous multitude by the allurements of living softly or of sinning more freely; [3] since the

condition of the times was such that many were imbibing mentally the doctrines of the pagans, and discipline in many members of both clergy had almost ceased, it was impossible that error not spread to those who were predisposed. Nor are we ignorant of the fact that protestantism instituted very cruel laws against Catholics.

[25.53] OBJECTION III. That church does not lack apostolicity which draws its doctrine from the writings of the Apostles. But the doctrine of the protestants is drawn from this sacred source. Therefore protestantism must be considered apostolic.

[25.54] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. That church is not lacking apostolicity whose doctrine is taken from the writings of the Apostles by legitimate authority, I concede; by no legitimate authority, I deny. That which must be investigated because of the marks, cannot be called itself a mark. For this reason, the external and public fact of apostolicity is required in order that it be evident whether among protestants the true understanding of Scriptures exists, or in the Roman Church. But the public fact of apostolicity is the *legitimate succession of pastors*. Therefore we have the right to reproach the Protestants with this most basic sentence of the Fathers: *Let them produce the origins of*

their churches, let them show the order of their bishops. (Tertullian, *De præscriptione*, XXXII).

[25.55] INSTANCE. From the beginning there were not lacking those who opposed the private spirit to the authority of the Church, such as the ancient monuments of heretics prove. Through them the church of the Apostles has come down to the protestants.

[25.56] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. From the beginning there were not lacking those who opposed private spirit to the authority of the Church, by legitimate succession which was not interrupted from the Apostles, *I deny; otherwise, let it pass.*

[25.57] However many churches ^{which} spurned authority [1] manifested their recent origin when they abandoned that church which came before them; [2] they have shown no indication of legitimate succession since they came forth by dissidence alone, both from the authority of the Church and as they divided themselves into sects. It is lengthy to bring to mind all the heresies with which the protestants, who boast of a kind of apostolicity, assert for certain they are in communion. But from wherever they seek their kind, modern and ancient heresies are condemned by their *novelty*.

ARTICLE II

[26]

WHETHER HOLINESS, CATHOLICITY, AND APOSTOLICITY PERTAIN TO PHOTIANISM

[26.1] I. THE SCHISMATIC CHURCHES HAVE RECEIVED THE NAME OF PHOTIANISM. We do not want in any way to assert that *each one of* the schismatics is evil in the sight of God, who are members of that group in good faith, and who obtain the most efficacious means of eternal salvation in the truths and the sacraments which

Photianism took from the Roman Church. The question is here whether the marks of the *Church* pertain to Photianism.

[26.2] Thesis: NEITHER HOLINESS, CATHOLICITY, NOR APOSTOLICITY PERTAINS TO PHOTIANISM.

ARGUMENTS

[26.3] HOLINESS DOES NOT PERTAIN TO PHOTIANISM.

[26.4] ARGUMENT I. It is apparent that Photianism is not ordered to the divine good either in its doctrine, or in the sacraments, or in its members. Therefore it lacks the mark of holiness. *Proof of the antecedent.*

[26.5] [A] *By reason of doctrine.* If one rejects the infallible and living magisterium, the holiness of doctrine is profaned by the errors of private individuals or by a state of *stagnation*. But the reality is that there is no designated infallible and living magisterium in the church of the Photians. Therefore the sanctity of the doctrine is corrupted. What attests to the same thing is the fact that dogmas in Photianism have taken on a cadaverous form. I will pass over here what we have said before about the errors of the Old Believers and the quietists.

[26.6] [B] *By reason of the sacraments.* The hierarchy also pertains to the sacraments. But the hierarchical order has been truly profaned by the Photians. For all Photianism at first obeyed the patriarch of Constantinople, then most of it gave its obedience to the *holy synod* of Peter the Great, which has no title of *divine right*, but has been manufactured purely out of the profane motive of worship of the prince or Caesaropapism. Therefore Photianism has profaned the very notion of the hierarchy.

[26.7] [C] *By reason of its members.* Photianism has perverse founders. They have not produced holy people worthy of the name; they have not performed miracles, which are signs of sanctity. Therefore Photianism lacks sanctity.

[26.8] [I] *The principal authors* are Photius, Michael Cærularius, Gregory of Cyprus, Mark of Ephesus, Peter the Great, the Czar. Photius was condemned by the eighth ecumenical council for nefarious crimes. He was ambitious, at times a contemnor of power and at times a flatterer of it. It is certain from unassailable historical proofs that he

was a falsifier and full of frauds. Cærularius ^{had} restored the *morals* of Photius, but not his intelligence. George of Cyprus denied the faith of Rome which he had vehemently defended, because of an ambitious seeking of the patriarchate, and ejected John Beccus, the legitimate patriarch, from the see of Constantinople. *Mark of Ephesus*, by means of lies and altered texts, impeded in a restless fashion the ecclesiastical peace and union both at the Council of Florence, and again when he returned home. *Peter the Great*, the Czar, had the name of *Great*, owing certainly not to his sanctity.



PHOTIUS (815?-897), A BOLD-FACED LIAR AND A FORGER OF PAPAL DOCUMENTS, WHO CALLED THE POPE AND ALL LATINS "FORERUNNERS OF APOSTASY, SERVANTS OF ANTICHRIST WHO DESERVE A THOUSAND DEATHS, LIARS, FIGHTERS AGAINST GOD," HE IS A "SAINT" IN THE GREEK SCHISMATIC SECT.

[26.9] *There are not found true saints*, worthy of the name, who have died outside of the Roman communion. The saints, however, whom the schismatics list in their menologies and hagiptychs either did not leave the Roman communion, or

lacked true sanctity. This is evident [1] from the defect of arguments by which the Greek-Russians have confirmed the holiness of even one schismatic man; [2] by divine ordination. For the excellent charism of sanctity was promised to the group of unity; but the schismatics died outside the Roman communion, whose unity we have proven. Furthermore the religious institutes, pious societies, etc. either have no vitality in Photianism, or proceed more from civil prudence than from religion.

[26.10] [3] There are no *true miracles* found in favor of the schism. For what is reported sometimes in favor of the separated church and against the union of the Ruthenians with the see of Peter, are not events which require a supernatural cause. Gobulev in his book which he wrote about Peter Mihila, the metropolitan of Kiev, alleges strongly that divine miracles took place in favor of the schism, but Martiov, an expert in Russian affairs, affirms that these miracles can be explained in a manner which is not supernatural.

[26.11] B. CATHOLICITY DOES NOT PERTAIN TO PHOTIANISM.

[26.12] ARGUMENT I. the mark of Catholicity is defined: the property of the Church, by which it flows out into nearly the whole world as something conspicuously numerous and everywhere one. But such is not the case with the Photian church. Therefore it should not be called catholic.

[26.13] [A] The Photian Church is not one. Therefore it is not catholic. Indeed St. Pacanius sharply defined catholic: *what is everywhere one*.

[26.14] [B] *National* churches and the *Catholic* Church are opposed to each other. But the Photian churches are national. Therefore they lack catholicity. The *minor* is evident from those things which we said about the churches of Constantinople, Russia, Greece, and Bulgaria, independent one from the other, but especially the Russian church.

[26.15] For the Russian church, which embraces by far the greatest number of Photians, is *practically* bound up with the Russian Empire, and is included

as a spiritual kingdom within the same boundaries as the civil kingdom.

[26.16] [c] The Photian churches are not eminent for their numbers, extension, or power to propagate. Therefore catholicity does not pertain to them. *Proof of the antecedent*.

[26.17] [1] The number of all of the churches, including the Old Believers, does not add up to one-half of the number of Catholics.

[26.18] [2] In extension, the Photians have scarcely gone beyond the limits of the Russian Empire and those of the Turkish Empire. The result is that in no nation of Europe, except Russia, are Photian groups found in any important numbers. The same is true of America, Australia, and Asia, except for the parts of Asia which are subject to the Czar.

[26.19] [3] You will look in vain for a supernatural power of *the propagation of the Faith*. It is not conspicuous with regard to the fertility of missions, nor with heroism in the preaching of the gospel. It is not fruitful with conversions because of martyrdom. Nor does it abound, as the Roman Church does with sacrifices and results in the propagation of the Faith. Finally, the Photian churches, destitute of vitality, have changed their primordial boundaries very little, besides the fact that some regions were lost to the schism by the sword of Mohammed, or were added to the schism by means of Russian persecution, tyranny and the basest perfidy.

[26.20] C. APOSTOLICITY DOES NOT PERTAIN TO PHOTIANISM.

[26.21] ARGUMENT I. Apostolicity is that property of the Church, by which through a legitimate succession of pastors, never interrupted from the Apostles, continues in identity of doctrine, sacraments and government. But this cannot be attributed to the Photians. Therefore this church is not apostolic. *Proof of the minor*.

[26.22] [A] The Greek-Russians both before and after the Photian schism professed the Roman primacy.

[26.23] Therefore the Photian church does not continue at least in the identity of *doctrine* and *government*. *Proof of the antecedent*.

[26.24] [1] Before Photius, the seven ecumenical councils, especially Ephesus (431), Chalcedon (451), Constantinople III (680), recognized the Roman primacy. Both the Eastern and Western Fathers taught the same thing. This will be proven later in the tract on the Roman primacy.

[26.25] [2] After Photius, the councils of Lyons II (1274) and Florence (1439) professed the same faith, with the consent of the Photians. In the Council of Lyons, session IV, held on July 6, letters were read which were written in the name of 26 metropolitans, 9 archbishops and the bishops subject to them, who belonged to the patriarchate of Constantinople. John the Lector, a keeper of the bookcases of the patriarchate of Constantinople, abjured the Greek schism in the name of the prelates. Three legates of the patriarch of Constantinople, Isidore of Kiev, the metropolitan of all Russia, 16 Greek metropolitans, and all of the other Eastern prelates present, with the exception of Mark of Ephesus, adhered to the Council of Florence.

[26.26] Therefore the Photians, in repudiating the Roman primacy, are not apostolic by reason both of *faith* and of *government*.

[26.27] (B) Before the agitation of Photius, the church of Constantinople was a *subordinate part* of the Catholic Church, which the Roman Pontiff ruled by divine right. But Photianism ceased to be a subordinate part of it. Therefore Photianism is not apostolic. The *major* is proved by public facts. [1] When Nicholas I.M. showed the Roman primacy in a letter which he wrote to Michael the Emperor, no Eastern bishop was able to directly deny it. [2] Ignatius, the patriarch of Constantinople, by a letter given to the pope in the year 867, admirably professes the same right. [3] The Fathers at the 8th ecumenical council in 869, praising that letter of Ignatius, and signing a *libellus of faith*, establishing canon 21, professed the same thing. The texts which do this thing openly we have included in our tract on the primacy.

[26.28] Among other things, the *libellus of faith* or of *satisfaction* contains a very explicit profession of the Roman primacy. Photius himself at least implicitly and indirectly recognized the primacy of the Roman Pontiff whom he attacked at the time of his first patriarchate, when the heat of controversy was absorbing him. Hergenröther points these out in *Photius III*, pp. 336-340. [4] The Greek and Russian liturgy even celebrates the primacy of *Peter*, which we will point out in the theses concerning the primacy.

OBJECTIONS

[26.29] OBJECTION I. The Photian churches profess almost the same dogmas as the Catholics; they recognize the seven sacraments and the hierarchy. Therefore those churches are holy.

[26.30] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. The dogmas, sacraments and hierarchy are found in those churches *illegitimately* and in a *truncated manner*, *I concede*; *legitimately* and *intact*, *I deny*. For, although we shall ~~pass~~ ^{pass} over the errors which we mentioned earlier, it is entirely evident that the legitimate and infallible authority was rejected by the Photians; by which it happens that the holy things which they took to themselves when they left the unity of the Church, they possess illegitimately. They have lost the living rule of faith, they have established a hierarchy without a head, and they have handed over the church to the civil power. Therefore the Photians have in no way left intact the holy things of God.

[26.31] OBJECTION II. The life of Photius extends no darkness upon the Greco-Roman church [1] because the Byzantines have canonized him; and [2] even among the Romans there some prelates who were found to have led bad lives. Therefore Photianism is not lacking the mark of sanctity.

[26.32] RESPONSE. *I deny* the antecedent. *I distinguish* the first proof. Photius is considered to be among the saints without good reason, *I concede*; with good reason, *I deny*. No testimony of any importance has been shown up to now in favor the

Card. Magella

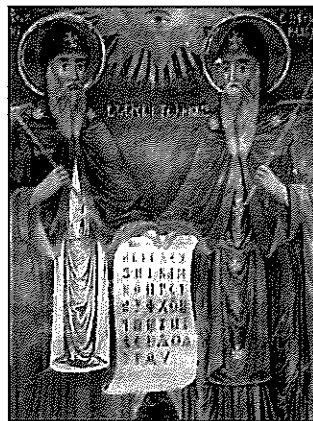
sanctity of Photius. But by the enormous amount of the most certain testimonies, it is certain that he often destroyed everything that was right and just. *I distinguish* the second proof: those prelates of our Church are considered *founders*, *I deny*; that they were simply prelates, *I concede*. Photius *founded* his church, since before him the patriarchate of Constantinople was a subordinated part of the Catholic Church, which professed the divine right of the Roman primacy over the entire East and West. But extraordinary signs of a divine mission are required, as well as an outstanding sanctity of morals for an extraordinary innovator. These things are sought in vain in Photius.

[26.33] **INSTANCE.** Photianism, or the Greco-Russian church, has many upright and holy men among its members. Therefore it is holy.

[26.34] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the antecedent. It can count holy men in the broad sense, *let it pass*; in the strict sense, *I subdistinguish*: and these holy men were schismatics, *I deny*; they were Catholics, *I concede*. The saints in the broad sense are said to be those who live piously in Christ, although they do not arrive at the heroism of supernatural virtues and the charism of miracles. That such can be found among schismatics who err in good faith, we do not deny can be found even in this time. With regard to those who are said to be saints in the strict sense, Photianism venerates most of those which it has from the Old Testament; or from the New Testament it venerates those who were contemporaries of Our Lord, among whom is "Procla," the wife of Pilate, or very numerous saints from the Catholic Church before the separation. Others, however, whom the Greek and Russian schismatics have vaunted as their own, and from whom the latest (February 27, 1903) Seraphinus has been canonized, a monk of Sarov, are called saints in the strict sense by the use of arguments which are entirely feeble, or *you* would consider them to have evidently lived outside of the fault of schism.

[26.35] **INSTANCE.** At least the old saints, who lived their lives before the division of the churches, namely Cyril and Methodius, exclusively belong to Photianism.

[26.36] **RESPONSE.** *I deny* the assertion. [a] Saints belong to that church exclusively which publicly professed before Photius the primacy of the Roman Pontiff as a revealed article of faith and handed down by the Apostles. But we have proved that Photianism is not that church. [b] Sts. Cyril and Methodius did not follow the *novelties* of Photius, and professed faithfully the primacy of the Apostolic See. In fact, [1] the holy brothers, when they came to Rome in 867, lived with Hadrian II the Roman Pontiff and his successor Nicholas the Great in the peace of ecclesiastical communion.



SAINTS CYRIL AND METHODIUS

[26.37] [2] Saint Cyril died at that time in Rome (February 14, 869), and was laid to rest in the basilica of Saint Clement, and received great veneration in Rome. [3] Methodius, however, having been created the archbishop and legate of the Apostolic See set out to preach the gospel to the Pannonians and other peoples. [4] Methodius, accused by his adversaries, by the order of the Roman Pontiff, returned to Rome. [5] John VIII declared that Methodius was found, having been "in the presence of all of our brothers" diligently interrogated, "to be in all ecclesiastical doctrines and practices orthodox and in order."

[26.37] **INSTANCE.** From the Commonitorium of Stephen V, the successor of John VIII, it is clear because of the legates sent to the Slavs and from the letters of the same Pontiff, that certain crimes of

Methodius displeased the Roman Pontiff. Therefore there was discord.

[26.38] RESPONSE. Positing the authority of these documents, *I distinguish*, the Roman Pontiff disapproved of those crimes as errors concerning the primacy, *I deny*, as errors in discipline, *I subdistinguish*: through false incrimination, *I concede*; because of some contumacy of Methodius, *I deny*. Wiching [the coadjutor of Methodius named by John VIII] accused Methodius more than once. John VIII knew that Methodius, whom he had convoked to Rome, was innocent. In the manner of a father he consoled Methodius, a very holy man, and urged him to return to his people. But in the year 885, when John VIII died, Wiching introduced the matter in such a way that Stephen V thought it necessary to side in part with the enemies of Methodius. But in the meantime saint Methodius "passed from this life, which was for him a path to heaven." (Leo XIII, *Grande munus*, Sept. 30, 1880)

[26.39] OBJECTION II. Apostolicity remains in that church which has made no secession from the ancient Church. But no secession took place on the part of the Photians, but on the part of the Romans. Therefore apostolicity pertains to the church of the Photians. *Proof of the minor*. The ancient church (a) did not insert the word *Filioque* in the creed; (b) did not recognize the Roman primacy; (c) was taught by Christ that the Eucharist should be celebrated with leavened bread.

[26.40] RESPONSE. *I concede* the major. *I deny* the minor and the conclusion. I respond to each part of the proof. (a) The ancient Church did not insert the word, *I distinguish*: because it explicitly rejected the word *Filioque*, *I deny*; because it in general forbade anything to be added to the creed, *I subdistinguish*: simpliciter, *I deny*, secundum quid, *I concede*.

[26.41] It is so far from the truth that the ancient church thought that the doctrine, which is expressed by the word *Filioque* was erroneous, that even the Greek Fathers both before the schism and after the schism taught in the Council of Florence that the Holy Ghost proceeds by a single spiration

and *as from one principle* from the Father and the Son. See the dogmatic theologians.

[26.42] In what regards the fact that the Fathers forbade anything to be added to the Nicene-Constantinopolitan creed, it was established by them *secundum quid*. For they did not think that it was unlawful to add certain things for *explanation*, but only for the purpose of *corrupting it*, provided that the change be made by due authority and for serious reasons. But the particle *Filioque* was added to the creed [1] because the error against the procession of the Holy Ghost was spreading; [2] by the authority of the Roman Pontiff, whom the whole Church followed, not excepting the Greeks, who proved this fact in the Councils of Lyons II and Florence.

[26.43] (b) We have proven by arguments given above and will prove by those to be presented later that the affirmation by the Photians that the ancient Church did not admit the Roman primacy, *if* ¹⁵ patently false.

[26.44] (c) Regarding the use of leavened bread, *I distinguish*: leavened bread as necessary matter, *I deny*; as suitable matter, *I subdistinguish*: alone, *I deny*, also, *I concede*.

[26.45] Michael Caerularius, having put forth the accusation against the Latins that they confect the Holy Eucharist in unleavened bread, fanned the flames of schism. But the unleavened bread is wheat bread. This alone pertains to the ^{consequence} necessity of the matter, since the Eucharist is confect with wheaten bread. For this reason, the Greeks together with the Latins defined at the Council of Florence: "The Body of Christ is confected with leavened or unleavened wheat bread."

[26.46] Nor do the reasons of suitability favor the Photians in this fight of the schismatics with the "azymites." St. Thomas says: "Now in this matter there are various customs of the Churches: for, Gregory says: 'The Roman Church offers unleavened bread, because our Lord took flesh without union of sexes: but the Greek Churches offer leavened bread, because the Word of the Father was clothed with flesh; as leaven is mixed with the flour.' Hence, as a priest sins by celebrating with fermented bread in the Latin Church, so a Greek priest celebrating with

unfermented bread in a church of the Greeks would also sin, as perverting the rite of his Church. Nevertheless the custom of celebrating with unleavened bread is more reasonable. First, on account of Christ's institution: for He instituted this sacrament 'on the first day of the Azymes' (Matthew XXVI: 17; Mark XIV: 12; Luke XXII: 7), on which day there ought to be nothing fermented in the houses of the Jews, as is stated in Exodus XII: 15-19. Secondly, because bread is properly the sacrament of Christ's body, which was conceived without corruption, rather than of His Godhead, as will be seen later (q. 76, a. 1, ad 1um). Thirdly, because this is more in keeping with the sincerity of the faithful, which is required in the use of this sacrament, according to 1 Corinthians V: 7: '*Christ our Pasch is sacrificed: therefore let us feast . . . with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.*' However, this custom of the Greeks is not unreasonable both on account of its signification, to which Gregory refers, and in detestation of the heresy of the Nazarenes, who mixed up legal observances with the Gospel." (IIIa, q. 74, art. 4) Furthermore Gregory VII in his *Epistle* 8, 1, testifies: "We neither censure nor reprove the leavened bread of the Greeks." Nor does St. Thomas reprove the custom of the Greeks. (*loc. cit.*)

[26.47] INSTANCE. Leo III, the Roman Pontiff, teaches that it is forbidden by the Fathers "that anyone establish anything new for whatever necessity or by devotion to the salvation of men, and to insert anything into the Fathers either by removal, by addition, or by alteration." Therefore it was illicit to add *Filioque* to the creed for any reason.

[26.48] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent: this prohibition of the Fathers affects private persons, *I concede*; the supreme authority of the Church, *I subdistinguish*: **directively, I concede, preceptively, I deny.** The decree of Ephesus (431) was conceived with these words: "The holy synod has established that it is forbidden to anyone to put forth, draw up, or compose another faith, besides that which has been defined by the holy Fathers, who were congregated in Nicea with the Holy Ghost." (Session VII, canon 6) However, since some Fathers of the ecumenical Council of Chalcedon (451), which took place a few years later, thought that the letter of Saint Leo the Great should not be admitted because of that canon [of Ephesus]. Among other things, this response is read: "If all had been satisfied with the established faith, and had not disturbed the path of piety by means of innovation, it would behoove the sons of the Church to excogitate nothing more than what had been declared by the creed. But because many go astray from the correct line by the deviation of error, . . . it is necessary that we . . . also refute their wayward comments by *salutary additions.*" etc. (Allocution, Session V) This is the interpretation of Ephesus by Chalcedon. "Additions," however, which are in conformity with the faith, although it is forbidden that private persons add them to the creed, can be done by those who have the same power as the Fathers of Ephesus did in sanctioning their decree. But that power is found in ecumenical councils and in the Apostolic See.

reads wrong

ARTICLE III

[27]

WHETHER THE ROMAN CHURCH IS HOLY

[27.1] THE OPINIONS OF THE ADVERSARIES. The departure of the schismatics and the heretics from the Roman Church was such, that it was expedient to those who left that the Roman Church

be considered to be the most evil thing. For the excessive corruption of the Roman Church was considered to be an excuse for leaving it. The pride of the papacy and the characteristic of Rome's being

utterly intransigent, is vehemently criticized. Rome was accused of perpetual deformation. It was said that the Catholic religion had no power to correct the morals of men. At Rome certainly the *Babylon* of the Apocalypse was reborn, in such a way that you would conclude that a reformation not within the church but outside the Church was legitimate, and that one had to leave the city as a matter of conscience. Nor do we think that this disposition of mind and heart has become extinct in our contemporaries and among non-Catholic authors.

[27.2] Therefore, in order to put the controversy to rest more easily, I will say little. [1] One must not pass over how great the difference is between the vices of some members and the very Faith, worship, and government. [2] The adversaries were looking for a church which would be immaculate *in all of its members and in each of its members*, although the Divine Founder of the Church said that there would be sinners in the Church. [3] False principles concerning liberty, the hierarchy, and the organic constitution of the Catholic Church, often turn the minds in such a way that the most profound Catholic life and the spirit of Christ, which permeates the Church both internally and externally, is hidden to many. Therefore the reader should remember what was said above concerning the constitution of the Church.

[27.3] *Thesis: THE ROMAN CHURCH IS HOLY.*

ARGUMENTS.

[27.4] ARGUMENT I. The Roman Church is holy in doctrine, sacraments, and members. Ergo. *Proof of the antecedent.*

[27.5] A. In doctrine. [1] *In dogmatic doctrine.* The Church teaches the holiest things concerning God, the Incarnation, the Redemption, grace, and the end of man.⁴⁷ An indication of this fact, *negatively*, is that not a single article of the Roman

Faith has been shown by its adversaries as contrary to holiness. The same is proved *positively* from the canons of the councils, which from the Nicene Council and those following, namely by the Fathers at the Council of Trent and the Vatican, have been set forth. Next, it is proved from the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, among whom St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas are prominent. Finally it is proved from the public fact of the condemnation, by which the Roman Church *alone* has attacked *all* of the heresies which are contrary to Christian truth.⁴⁸

[27.6] 2° The *moral doctrine* of the Roman Church is holy, for it teaches in a most perfect manner all of the duties of men toward God,⁴⁹ himself, and his neighbor, and defends the rights of the civil authority, the freedom of the Christian religion, the unity of matrimony, the excellence of the evangelical counsels from either dissolution of the doctrines or an excessive severity, and does this fearlessly, even if secular powers should be in a rage. It points out to each man, to the domestic society, to the civil society of men the law of justice and charity, and the holiest discipline of morals. Documentation for this can be found in the acts of the councils, in Canon Law, in the encyclicals of the Roman Pontiffs, etc.

[27.7] Saint Augustine seems to have placed in a summary the most noble precepts of the Church: "Your training and teaching are childlike for children, forcible for youths, peaceful for the aged, taking into account the age of the mind as well as of the body. Thou subjectest women to their husbands in chaste and faithful obedience, not to gratify passion, but for the propagation of offspring, and for domestic society. You give to men authority over their wives, not to mock the weaker sex, but in the laws of unfeigned love. Thou dost subordinate children to their parents in a kind of free bondage, and dost set parents over their children in a godly rule. You bind brothers to brothers in a religious tie stronger and closer than that of blood. Without violation of the connections of nature and of choice,

⁴⁸ Paul VI suppressed the anathema.

⁴⁹ Vatican II, however, teaches a heresy concerning the moral order, namely that each man has a civil right to religious liberty, i.e., to profess and practice whatever religion is in accordance with his conscience.

⁴⁷ Vatican II, however, teaches heretical and erroneous doctrines.

you bring within the bond of mutual love every relationship of kindred, and every alliance of affinity. Thou teachest servants to cleave to their masters from delight in their task rather than from the necessity of their position. You render masters forbearing to their servants, from a regard to God their common Master, and more disposed to advise than to compel. Thou unitest citizen to citizen, nation to nation, yea, man to man, from the recollection of their first parents, not only in society but in fraternity. Thou teachest kings to seek the good of their peoples; you counsel peoples to be subject to their kings. Thou teachest carefully to whom honor is due, to whom regard, to whom reverence, to whom fear, to whom consolation, to whom admonition, to whom encouragement, to whom discipline, to whom rebuke, to whom punishment; showing both how all are not due to all, and how to all love is due, and how injury is due to none." (*De moribus eccl. cathol.*, book I, 30) — Cf. Leo XIII's very famous encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, about the condition of the working classes.

[27.8] **B. In the sacraments.** The sanctity of the sacraments can be considered [1] in the sacraments themselves, and mostly in the sacrifice of the Mass; [2] IN THE LITURGY, WHICH EXPLAINS THE USE OF SACRED THINGS; [3] in the hierarchy, to which the care and administration of sacred things are committed. But the sanctity of the Roman Church in each of these things is outstanding. *Proof.*

[27.9] [1] *By means of the seven sacraments*, which are preserved intact by the Church, the salvation of man is taken care of, since it strengthens the whole course of life, from the first day of birth to the last hour, with those helps which are marvelously ordered to two things: "namely to the perfection of man in those things which pertain to the worship of God, according to the religion of Christian life, and also as a remedy against the defect of sin." III^a q. 64, art. 1. — But Catholic priests throughout the whole world do sacred things. And since those things *where* are contrary are more apparent when they are placed next to each other, so we know that the Roman Church exceeds the church of the protestants in sanctity, inasmuch as nearly all of the worship of the sects is contained in *preaching*, whereas among

Catholics the center of religious worship is the *sacrifice*.

[27.10] [2] The holiness of the liturgy in the *Missal, Rituals* and the other liturgical books is evident.



POPE PIUS XII SAYING MASS



THE NEW MASS

For whatever the priest prays or does in the Mass, i.e., prayers, ceremonies, is very religious. Similarly is the holiness of faith and charity expressed in the sacred rites of the consecration of a church, the consecration of an altar, the ordination of a priest, that is, in the whole Roman Pontifical; in the offices of the *nativity of Our Lord, Holy Week, Easter, Corpus Christi*, in the feasts of the *Blessed Virgin Mary*, in the offices for the *dead*, in the whole *Missal*; in the canticles: *Veni Creator Spiritus, Te Deum, Vexilla Regis, Stabat Mater*,

Dies Irae, Pange Lingua, etc. The combination of all these things with the sacramental life and the Sacrifice makes the whole Church a spiritual vineyard. The uplifted mind cries out: *How delightful are Thy tabernacles, O Lord God of hosts*, and the heart, abounding in consolations, subjects itself entirely to the divine majesty. There shines forth in this tabernacle the infinity of the divine perfections; justice and mercy; the grace and kindness of Our Savior Jesus Christ; the poor are satisfied; the humble are exalted; exiled men are uplifted to heavenly things; eternity and time live together. All things are full of the wisdom and charity of Him who taught to the world: *Be ye perfect and I will refresh you.*

[27.11] [3] The institution of the hierarchy is profaned once either the character or notion of order is destroyed. But the Roman Church has never ceased to protect both the character and the notion of order of the hierarchy against the heretics and the caesaropapists.

[27.12] For this reason the Roman Church exceeds Protestantism in sanctity, since Protestantism has completely lost the character of hierarchy; it excels over Photianism, by which the order of the whole hierarchy to Peter has been subverted, and the ecclesiastical freedom has been excessively subjected to the civil power.

[27.13] C. In members. The sanctity of the members appears [1] in the founder of the Church; [2] in its members; [3] in its institutions; [4] in its miracles. But sanctity of this type is evident in the Roman Church.

[27.14] [1] The founders of the Church are Christ and the Apostles. This is evident from two facts. The Roman Church has a public succession, by which through its Pontiffs it goes back to St. Peter and to the divine Founder of the Church. The heretics and the schismatics have not yet been able to prove the human origin of the Roman Church.

[27.15] [2] The holy members and men who were of the most outstanding virtue have not been lacking in the Roman Church; in fact they have abounded. About one-third of the Roman Pontiffs have shone forth either by martyrdom or by the heroic virtue of confessors, among them Clement I,

Leo the Great, Gregory the Great, Nicholas I, Gregory VII, Innocent III, Pius V. Besides, the great number of confessors, martyrs, and virgins, among whom are found most illustrious princes: Louis IX, Edward, Stephen, Henry the Emperor, Cunegunda, Elizabeth; bishops: Ignatius of Antioch, Ireneus, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Martin of Tours, Boniface, Cyril and Methodius, Anselm, Bonaventure, Antoninus of Florence, Charles Borromeo, Francis de Sales, Alphonsus Liguori; priests: Jerome, Bernard, Thomas Aquinas, Vincent Ferrer, Francis Xavier, Philip Neri, Vincent de Paul; virgins: Cecilia, Agnes, Clare, Catherine of Siena, Teresa, Angela Merici; the Roman Church does not cease to be honored by the fortitude of martyrs, from those who were placed in the catacombs all the way to those who have emerged as victorious heroes from the rage of the Japanese and Chinese.

[27.16] The heroic sanctity of all of these is testified to in part by most trustworthy monuments of history, and in part by the diligent investigations in the processes of canonization. The volumes of the Bollandists pertain to the Roman Church.

[27.17] The holy institutions and the exercise of virtue, of which it would be impossible to relate all the cases, will recall some, however. First, the orders and the religious congregations, of which most of the founders are numbered correctly among the saints, such as Saint Benedict, St. Francis of Assisi, St. Dominic, St. Ignatius of Loyola, St. Alphonsus of Liguori. From these numberless men and women have come forth, noted for their sanctity, their works of charity, their martyrdom, both in Europe and in the greatest dangers of the missions. For example, St. Vincent de Paul by himself stirred thousands of virgins to give themselves over body and soul to God. Secondly, the confraternities, which, in order to adore the mysteries of Christ and to recall the memory of His life, death, and resurrection, instituted for the purpose of fostering the devotion of the faithful, are most useful, e.g., the society for the adoration of the Holy Eucharist, the Sacred Heart of Jesus, the Most Holy Rosary. Third, the law of celibate life for the Latin clergy. Fourth, the practice of praying, which is enflamed by the ordered fruitfulness of pious exercises on annual feast days, by the veneration of

the saints, most of all of the Blessed Virgin Mary, by the commemoration of the Passion of Christ, by the law of the canonical hours, by the contemplative orders and by the facility offered by commonly assisting at divine services day and night. *Fifth, the practice of fasting*, which many Catholics properly observe, and which the Carthusians, Trappists and others observe with austerity. *Sixth, the practice of confession and Holy Communion*, which have overcome the most wicked sins of the faithful, or have preserved a great purity of conscience. *Seventh, the observance of the evangelical counsels and of ascetical life*, by which it happens that the Roman Church has produced the flower of ascetical books, among which are found St. Cyprian's *The Habit of Virgins*, St. John Chrysostom's *On Compunction*, St. Ambrose's *On Virgins*, St. Augustine's *Confessions*, Cassian's *Conferences*, St. Isidore's *On the Contempt of the World*, St. Bernard's *On the love of God*. To these should be added the ascetical works of Richard of St. Victor, St. Bonaventure, John of Ruysbroeck, Tauler, Blessed Henry of Suso, Thomas à Kempis' *The Imitation of Christ*, the works of Saint Catherine of Siena, of Dennis the Carthusian, of John Geileri Cesaremontani, of Louis of Granada, Saint Teresa, and the *Spiritual Exercises* of Saint Ignatius. Others wrote works full of unction, such as Saint Francis de Sales, Bourdaloue, Fénelon, St. Alphonsus Ligouri, Faber, Manning. *Eighth*, it is of extreme importance that the *principle of authority* engenders and nourishes the *humility of faith* in the Roman Church.

[27.18] [4] *Miracles*. That the grace of miracles has persevered in the Roman Church is testified to by [1] witnesses who are worthy of belief; [2] the severe investigation of the Church. The charism, therefore, of miracles pertains to the Roman Church.

[27.19] [1] *Witnesses worthy of belief* are St. Irenaeus, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine. Similarly through the ages subsequent serious witnesses, either by sight or by hearing, have proven the truth and nature of many miracles. There are some absolutely certain miracles which are recorded to have been performed by St. Bernard, St. Dominic, St. Francis of Assisi, St. Francis Xavier. The *volumes of the Bollandists* as well as Benedict XIV's *De servorum Dei beatificatione et*

beatorum canonizatione fully confirm these facts by means of collected documents and a very diligent examination of the facts. Even the pagans called the Christians "magicians" because of their miracles. Cf. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, I: 1; Lucanus, *Pharsal*, V, 3; Suetonius, *In Neron*, chapter XVI. Cf. St. Thomas, *Contra Gentes*, I, 6.

[27.20] [2] *The severe investigation of the Church*. The writings, morals and miracles of those who are to be canonized are examined by many cardinals and by many other prudent men, who make up the *Sacred Congregation of Rites*. They investigate the truth of the facts in a juridical manner, using many witnesses who are worthy of belief, for a long time, and by inquiring into both sides.

[27.21] When it is a question of a miraculous cure, doctors and all those who had care of the sick person are investigated by the postulators of the cause; other prominent doctors are brought in, in order that they testify concerning the investigated manner, etc. All of these are required to swear to the truth of what they are saying before they can give their opinion.

[27.22] ARGUMENT II. Sanctity pertains to that Church which by a special providence of God is ordered to the divine good. But this order to the divine good is eminent in the Roman Church. Therefore the Roman Church is holy. The *minor* is proved by some obvious historical facts.

[27.23] [A] *The conversion of the world to Christ* has been done nearly only by the work of the Roman Church. Cf. below, art. 4.

[27.24] [B] The Roman Church never ceased to be *the ardent defender of the Christian name throughout all the ages*. It defended the faith in one God against the Caesars; the divinity of Christ against Arius; justice, chastity, and humanity against the barbarians; the liberty of the Church against the most powerful princes, such as St. Martin I († 655) and many popes against Byzantinism; St. Gregory VII against Henry IV; Innocent III and his successors against Frederick II the emperor; Pius VII against Napoleon; finally the sanctity and perpetuity of matrimony against the heresy of Protestantism

concerning divorce and the repudiation of one's spouse, as well as against the inconstancy of the princes. Leo XIII said: "For this reason all generations of men will admire the proofs of unbending courage which are to be found in the decrees of Nicholas I against Lothair; of Urban II and Paschal II against Philip I of France; of Celestine III and Innocent III against Alphonsus of Leon and Philip II of France; of Clement VII and Paul III against Henry VIII; and, lastly, of Pius VII, that holy and courageous pontiff, against Napoleon I, when at the height of his prosperity and in the fullness of his power." (Encyclical *Arcanum divine sapientie consilium*) — Even in these times of the nineteenth century, the Roman Church protects the integrity of the Christian religion against any errors whatsoever so worthily and so firmly, that it is like a light in the sky shining brighter than all splendor.⁵⁰

[27.25] [C] *Perennial vitality*. For after so many centuries neither hostile politics, nor false philosophy, nor the loss of nations, nor heresies or the defections of the faithful themselves have triumphed. The damages, furiously inflicted upon her, she has repaired, and even when the corruption of morals infected many of the faithful, she was always born again by means of an internal power. So it happens that among the thorns of pagan skepticism and of amoral doctrines, the lily of the Church flourishes as a magnificent moral power.⁵¹

[27.26] Look at the sanctity, exteriorly apparent to the eye of the mind, mystically rooted in the Holy Ghost. Concerning this most holy root of life Aquinas said: "If it is said, (*I believe*) in the holy Catholic Church, this must be understood according as our faith is referred to the Holy Ghost, who sanctifies the Church, so that the sense is: *I believe in*

the Holy Ghost sanctifying the Church. (IIa IIæ, q. 1, a. 9, ad 5um.)

OBJECTIONS

[27.27] OBJECTION I. Whatever turns away men from Christ cannot be considered holy. But many Roman dogmas turn away men from Christ. Therefore, by reason of doctrine, the sanctity of the Roman Church is deficient. *Proof of the minor*. The Sacrifice of the Mass indicates a negation of the sufficiency of the merits of Christ. The veneration of the Virgin Mary draws away souls from Christ our Redeemer. Sacramental confession and indulgences contribute to the depravity of morals. The doctrine of the sacraments which sanctify *ex opere operato* has the effect that Christian life is considered to be something merely exterior.

[27.28] RESPONSE. Having conceded the major, *I distinguish* the minor. The dogmas of the Church of Rome turn people away from Christ *in themselves*, *I deny*; when it is distorted by the adversaries, *I concede*. We will look at each of these considerations.

[27.29] (a) The Sacrifice of the Mass excludes the sufficiency of Christ, *I distinguish*: if it were different from the Sacrifice of the Cross with regard to *substance* and *value*, *I concede*; with regard to *the manner only*, and *the application* of the value, *I deny*. This was said in the Council of Trent, Session XXII, chapter 2: "For the victim is one and the same, the same now offering by the ministry of priests, who then offered Himself on the cross, the manner alone of offering being different." Likewise *loc. cit.* chapter 1, Christ is said "leave, to His own beloved Spouse the Church, a visible sacrifice, such as the nature of man requires, whereby that bloody sacrifice, once to be accomplished on the cross, might be represented, and the memory thereof remain even unto the end of the world, and its salutary virtue be applied to the remission of those sins which we daily commit..." Cf. IIIa, q. 83, art. 1 & 2. However, nothing stops Christ from "*always living to make intercession for us.*" (Heb. VII: 25) in that manner.

⁵⁰ Compare this sentence to the Novus Ordo, in which there is found a worldwide and unbridled reign of heresy in Catholic institutions, and of the most foul abominations against the First Commandment, against purity, against modesty, and against the royalty of Christ.

⁵¹ So the sanctity of the Catholic Church during the times of the great apostasy initiated by Vatican II is to *utterly reject, reprove, and condemn* the heresies and errors of the Novus Ordo, as well as its wicked disciplines and false liturgical practices.

[27.30] (b) That the veneration of the Blessed Virgin Mary draws men away from Christ, *I distinguish*: by a *disordered* veneration, *I concede*; by an *ordered* veneration, *I deny*. The principal motive of venerating the Blessed Virgin Mary is the *dignity of the Mother of God*; from this it is understood that whatever is attributed to the honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary is referred to Christ. For the facts have proven that Christ is loved most by those who venerate His mother sincerely, such as St. Bernard of Clairvaux, and Saint Thomas Aquinas. Cf. Ia, q. 26, art. 6; *In Sent.* I, 44, q. 1, art. 3, ad 4um, and Newman, *Difficulties of Anglicans*, tome II, pages 26-119.

[27.31] (c) That confession is said to be a source of depravity of morals, *I likewise distinguish*: confession according to Catholic Faith, *I deny*; according to the imagination of the Protestants, *I concede*. The protestants falsely contend that in the Catholic Church sins are forgiven by virtue of the exterior confession only, without contrition for the sin. For the Council of Trent teaches in Session XIV, chapter 4: "Contrition, which holds the first place amongst the aforesaid acts of the penitent, is a sorrow of mind, and a detestation for sin committed, with the purpose of not sinning for the future. This movement of contrition was at all times necessary for obtaining the pardon of sins; and, in one who has fallen after baptism, it then at length prepares for the remission of sins, when it is united with confidence in the divine mercy, and with the desire of performing the other things which are required for rightly receiving this sacrament. Wherefore the holy Synod declares, that this contrition contains not only a cessation from sin, and the purpose and the beginning of a new life, but also a hatred of the old, agreeably to that saying: Cast away from you all your iniquities, wherein you have transgressed, and make to yourselves a new heart and a new spirit." The utility, however, of confession is very great. Concerning this, Origen († ca. 230) said: "Those who sin, if indeed ~~that~~ hide and retain a sin within themselves, are interiorly urged and nearly suffocated by the phlegm or humor of sin. If, however, he himself becomes his own accuser, when he accuses himself and confesses, he at the same time

vomits up the sin and digests every cause of sin." (*Hom.* 2 in psalm XXXVII) Cf. among the witnesses of the fourth century: Aphraates *De pœnitentibus*; Asterius Amasenus, *Adhortatio ad pœnitentiam*. This fact is confirmed by millions of Catholics, both priests and lay people.

[27.32] (d) A similar response should be given with regard to those things which are objected concerning indulgences. The adversaries, in order to draw the Roman Church into being supremely hated by all men, have invented some notion of indulgences in such a way that crimes, both past and future, of those who are *not contrite*, are condoned. But it is certain by the testimony of all theologians and documents that what is conceded is an indulgence of sins only *in the broad sense*, that is, of the *punishments* for sins for those who have *sincerely converted* to God and who have expiated the stain of mortal sins. For this reason, Saint Thomas in the *Quodlibetales*, II, art. 16 says concerning those who make the sign of the Cross: "In order that someone be able to gain an indulgence... it is required that he who seeks ~~an~~ one be in the *state of charity*."

[27.33] (e) That the doctrine concerning *opus operatum* reduces the Christian life to merely external sanctity, *I distinguish*: the invented doctrine, *I concede*; the true doctrine, *I deny*. *Opus operatum* is the power of the sacraments, by which, through the merits and institution of Christ, they give grace instrumentally; there is required that those who receive them, as a condition *sine qua non*, that they do not place an obstacle to the grace. The heretics are horrified by the *fanatical* opinion of *opus operatum*, and they say that it is like a magical power. But they do not distinguish between the supernatural and the magical. Nor should one consider that opinion fanatical which affirms that there is required a disposition in those who receive it, but who deny that this disposition is the efficient cause of the grace.

[27.34] OBJECTION II. Those who study comparative religions and who have traveled into Catholic ~~regions~~ see sufficiently that most of the things that you believe to prove the sanctity of the Church, namely the sacraments, the hierarchy, the

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liturgy, the ceremonies, religious orders, even the moral precepts and the principles of asceticism, are drawn from pagan things; that there is a strong connection between the pagan religions and the Catholic Church; that the religion of Catholics is in part constituted from pagan superstition. Therefore nothing appears eminent of the Roman Church.

[27.35] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent: that these things are seen by those who consider the Church materially, *let it pass*; who see the Church formally, *I deny*. Those things which are seen in the Church must be completely investigated in order that we acquire a knowledge of



HERBERT SPENCER

how they are in it. [1] Amelineau⁵² found the sources of our religion in Egypt; Harnack in Greece; Burnouf⁵³ in India; Herbert Spencer⁵⁴, E. Clodd⁵⁵

⁵² ÉMILE AMÉLINEAU (1850 – 12 January 1915 at Châteaudun) was a French architect, archaeologist and Egyptologist.

⁵³ ÉMILE-LOUIS BURNOUF (1821-1907) was a leading nineteenth-century Orientalist and racialist whose ideas influenced the development of theosophy and Aryanism. He was a professor at the faculté de lettres at Nancy University, then principal of the French School at Athens from 1867 to 1875. He was also the author of a Sanskrit-French dictionary.

⁵⁴ HERBERT SPENCER (27 April 1820 – 8 December 1903) was an English philosopher, sociologist, and prominent classical liberal political theorist of the Victorian era. Spencer developed an all-embracing conception of evolution as the progressive development of the physical world, biological organisms, the human mind, and human culture and societies. As a polymath, he contributed to a wide range of subjects, including ethics, religion, anthropology, economics, political theory, philosophy, biology, sociology, and psychology. During his lifetime he achieved tremendous authority, mainly in English-speaking academia. In 1902 he was nominated for the Nobel Prize in Literature. Indeed, in the United Kingdom and the United States at "one time Spencer's disciples had not blushed to compare him with Aristotle!" He is best known for coining the concept "survival of the fittest", which he did in *Principles of Biology* (1864), after reading Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*. This term strongly suggests natural selection, yet as Spencer extended evolution into realms of sociology and ethics, he also made use of Lamarckism.

⁵⁵ EDWARD CLODD (1 July 1840, Margate, Kent – 1930) was an English banker, writer and anthropologist. He cultivated a very wide circle of literary and scientific friends, who periodically met at Whitsun gatherings at his home at Aldeburgh, Suffolk. Clodd was an early follower of the work of Charles Darwin and had personal acquaintance with Thomas Huxley and Herbert Spencer. He wrote biographies of all three men, and worked to

and others thought that they perceived connections with the Christian and Catholic religion in the popular folkloric traditions. But they do not err entirely in this matter. Without a doubt they found *similar things*. But the true supernatural religion of Christ does not reject the natural things of the mind and heart, and of the entire human character, but accepts many things which must be subordinated to a higher order, and therefore must be perfected by them. Cf. St. Thomas *In Boeth. de Trin.*, II, 5; Ia IIæ q. 109; IIa IIæ, q. 10, art. 4. Sacrifice, altar and fasting in no way *exclusively pertain* to the supernatural life, as St. Thomas teaches in IIa IIæ, q. 85, art. 1 and q. 147, art. 3, and in Ia IIæ q. 103 art. 1, ad tum and ad zum. There are other things of this type. What about the fact the very ancient teachers of the Church openly speak about the fact that the human soul is naturally Christian (Tertullian in *Apol.* XVII)? Or St. Justin Martyr in *Apol.* II, 8, who speaks about the *logos spermatikos*?⁵⁶ [the seminal logos or seed of the logos] Saint Augustine in *Contra Faustum*, XX, 20, says that we have certain things in common with the pagans, but a different end. *Nature* has taught men similar creeds, but the essential difference between

popularise evolution through books like *The Childhood of the World* and *The Story of Creation: A Plain Account of Evolution*.

He was also a keen folklorist, joining the Folklore Society from 1878, and later becoming its president. He was chairman of the Rationalist Press Association from 1906 to 1913. He was a Suffolk Secretary of the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia from 1914-1916. He was a prominent member and officer of the Omar Khayyam Club or 'O.K. Club', and organized the planting of the rose from Omar Khayyam's tomb onto the grave of Edward Fitzgerald at Boulge, Suffolk, at the Centenary gathering.

⁵⁶ THE ENTIRE TEXT OF JUSTIN: "And those of the Stoic school— since, so far as their moral teaching went, they were admirable, as were also the poets in some particulars, on account of the seed of reason implanted in every race of men— were, we know, hated and put to death—Heraclitus for instance, and, among those of our own time, Musonius and others. For, as we intimated, the devils have always effected, that all those who anyhow live a reasonable and earnest life, and shun vice, be hated. And it is nothing wonderful; if the devils are proved to cause those to be much worse hated who live not according to a part only of the word diffused [among men] but by the knowledge and contemplation of the whole Word, which is Christ. And they, having been shut up in eternal fire, shall suffer their just punishment and penalty. For if they are even now overthrown by men through the name of Jesus Christ, this is an intimation of the punishment in eternal fire which is to be inflicted on themselves and those who serve them. For thus did both all the prophets foretell, and our own teacher Jesus teach." (Much ado has been made by the Modernists concerning this text, as if to justify their principle that God dwells supernaturally in all men, apart from grace).

the Church and other religions is evident from the dogmas and morals which it expresses through its creeds. — [2] Those who accuse the Church of superstition, do so without merit. Some people are often deceived by an appearance of piety toward God before they have been completely instructed in religion. Others follow true principles in a foolish manner, or indulge too much in the excesses of popular devotion. But all of these things cannot be brought against the Church, which does not cease to apply remedies for the correction of abuses. But for our adversaries it is necessary only to intend not to confuse those things which in fact differ: the things which the pagans use should not be considered to be contrary because the *sole fact* that they are used in the pagan or the Christian religion; errors and accidental excesses among Catholics do not corrupt the essence of the Catholic Church.

[27.36] OBJECTION III. Often the Church of Rome has fallen into perversity of morals. Therefore, by reason of its members, it cannot be said to be holy. The *antecedent* is proved by numberless examples. It is certain that Alexander VI and other Roman Pontiffs were of corrupt morals; the clergy at the beginning of the sixteenth century had turned away from the gospel; the religious orders have not been worthy of their founders; lay people have been filled with vices.

[27.37] RESPONSE. (a) *In general. I distinguish* the antecedent. Often perversity of this type is seen in many people in the Church, *I concede*; in the Church itself, *I deny*. That sinners are found in the Roman Church does not contradict our thesis in any way. In this field, by the teaching of Christ, the weeds and the wheat grow all the way to the harvest. (Matth. XIII: 30) But these three things must be considered: [1] that the morals are *not* corrupted in virtue of Catholic doctrine, but rather in absolute repugnance to Catholic doctrine; [2] even in the worst of times, there were examples of the most outstanding virtue, and of many who had hearts which were clean of vices; [3] the vitality of the Church has prepared new helps always for its members, by which it has overcome the iniquity of the times. St. Augustine says very accurately in *De*

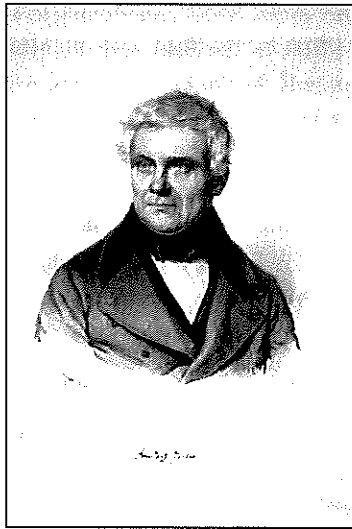
moribus eccl. cathol. XXXV, responding to adversaries: "Seek for fruit in the field, seek for wheat in the floor: they will be found easily, and will present themselves to the inquirer. Why do you look so exclusively at the dross? Why do you use the roughness of the hedge to scare away the inexperienced from the fatness of the garden?"

[27.38] (b) *Responding to each objection singly.* [1] Concerning what has been said about the Roman Pontiff, *I distinguish*: there were very few evil Pontiffs, *let it pass*, that there were many, *I deny*. Let us concede that Alexander VI fell very seriously into vice. But even if we should concede this, the sanctity of the Roman Church is not extinguished. First, even those Pontiffs who are alleged to have been the worst have preserved intact the sanctity of doctrine [Something which cannot be said of the Vatican II "popes."]; second, with a few exceptions, the Roman Pontiffs were very righteous men, and in most of them there was evident a great uprightness of life, with the effect that the Apostolic See by far exceeded all other royal families in sanctity. Third, some men from among the protestants themselves, more desirous of truth than of making reproaches and accusations, have answered by absolutely certain documents the false accusations against the Roman Pontiffs, such as Voight in *Gregorius VII*, and Friedrich Hurter⁵⁷ in *Innocentius III*.

⁵⁷ FRIEDRICH EMMANUEL VON HURTER (born at Schaffhausen, 19 March 1787; died at Graz, 27 August 1865) was a Swiss Protestant cleric and historian who converted to Roman Catholicism.

From 1804 to 1806 he attended the University of Göttingen, and in 1808 was appointed to a country parish. The appearance in 1834 of the first volume of the life of Pope Innocent III, on which he had been working for twenty years, caused a profound sensation in both Catholic and Protestant circles, and was soon translated into French, English, Italian, and Spanish. Hurter was chosen in 1835 antistes of the clergy in the Canton of Schaffhausen, and later president of the school board, in which capacities he laboured with great zeal.

During many years his manifest sympathy and intimacy with the Catholic clergy, including the Archbishop of Freiburg and the papal nuncios to Switzerland, and his disinterested efforts to assist Catholics roused the antagonism of his colleagues who took the first pretext to let loose a storm of abuse against Hurter. As a result he resigned his dignities in 1841, lived in retirement for three years, and in 1844 went to Rome, where on 16 June he made his profession of faith before Gregory XVI, his conversion being the signal for renewed attacks. In 1846 he was appointed imperial counsellor and historiographer at the Court of Vienna, and took up the task assigned him, the life of Emperor Ferdinand II, which,



FRIEDRICH VON HURTER

[27.39] [2] Concerning what they say about the clergy, the religious orders, and the lay people, *I distinguish*: in these there is not seen holiness absolutely, *I concede*; relatively, *I deny*. The Founder of the Church predicted that there would be evil people even in the Church, and the clerical state is not such that it is impossible that there be imperfection in it.

[27.40] Nevertheless the Roman Church does not cease to be brilliant by the holiness of its members *relatively*. [1] In its heroic examples of innocence and penance are always perceived; [2] in the worst times the Roman Church has, by its own vitality, produced the effect that it supplies for a declining discipline by a salutary reformation of morals. Reformers of this type dedicated themselves according to the heart of God: St. Benedict, St. Gregory VII, St. Bernard, Sts. Francis and Dominic, and when Luther revolted, St. Ignatius, St. Francis de Sales, St. Charles Borromeo, St. Pius V, and others all

however, was withheld from the press by the court censors, but appeared later at Schaffhausen.

The Revolution of 1848 involved the loss of Hurter's position at Court, to which, however, he was restored in 1852. Till his death he laboured for the spread of Catholic religion, especially in connexion with the foreign mission field; he was also in close touch with the greatest scholars of the day. He was appointed by the pope a commander of the Order of St. Gregory, and was a member of the academies of Rome, Munich, Brussels, and Assisi.

the way to Pius X, whose ^{law} of life is *Instaurare omnia in Christo*.

[27.41] OBJECTION IV. Catholic nations are known to be inferior to protestant nations with regard to morality. Therefore sanctity cannot be said to be a mark of the Roman Church. The *antecedent* ^{is} clear from the fact that, for example, Prussia and England exceed France, Spain, and Italy in regard to morals.

[27.42] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. Catholic nations are inferior in morals to protestant nations, inasmuch as they have abandoned the Catholic Faith, *let it pass*, inasmuch as they retain the Catholic Faith, *I deny*. Those who object these things are mixing what is false with what is true. For this reason I will include certain facts which are obvious in this place. [1] The abundance and increase of material goods and military discipline are connected by many causes; nor is it licit to measure Christian sanctity by goods of this type. And does truth follow the emperors? Yesterday Napoleon, today Moltke⁵⁸, and tomorrow Oyama?⁵⁹ Neo-judaism does not excel among religions for the fact that this category of people is the richest. Very often we see also that material prosperity of modern nations does not in any way coincide with the progress of christian life. [2] The adversaries do not prove that in those nations which are called by them non-Catholic, more is done for God and from love of Jesus Christ by non-Catholics than in the Catholic nations by those who have preserved the Catholic Faith. [3] In the nations of Catholics, the failing morals has corresponded to the failing faith. Furthermore, we should not forget in any way, if at times there is seen a collapse of one or another people, what Pius IX said: "It must be lamented very greatly that it is not certain that this or that nation will always preserve that most precious treasure of our divine faith and religion." (Encyclical

⁵⁸ HELMUTH JOHANN LUDWIG VON MOLTKE (25 May 1848, Biendorf - 18 June 1916), also known as Moltke the Younger, was a nephew of Field Marshal Count Moltke and served as the Chief of the German General Staff from 1906 to 1914.

⁵⁹ PRINCE OYAMA IWAO, OM (10 October 1842 - 10 December 1916) was a Japanese field marshal, and one of the founders of the Imperial Japanese Army.

Non semel, 29 October 1866). [4] In Catholic nations, although they have been oppressed for many years under the domination of secret societies, nevertheless are brilliant by the worship of God and by many indications of christian and supernatural virtue. [5] Among non-Catholics religion is weak. Heroic sacrifices for God are perceived much less; nor does it appear in any way that sins are not commonly found. [6] If we measure by public statistics of morals the Catholic religion, rather than imperfectly measuring it, it will appear sufficiently from it that statistics of this type, by their very nature, do not refer to the direction of human acts to their ultimate end. In fact, they are entirely silent concerning internal vices and sins which in most cases are not subject to the penal code. They hardly ever make any allowance for circumstances in the estimation of the moral status of the delinquents. They do not take into consideration actions which are virtuous in the sight of God and Christ, namely

humility, sincerity of a contrite heart, piety, and other numberless virtues. According to the statistics, the Pharisee goes down to his house justified, but in the Gospel, it is the publican who is justified. The statistical numbers are collected according to a different norm from that norm of the Gospel, according to which "*the harlots shall go into the kingdom of God before you.*" (Matth. XXI: 31) [7] Among non-Catholics, the most wicked principles are propagated; the Roman Church has holy principles and the power of preserving them in the greatest calamity of times. Cf. the encyclicals of Leo XIII, especially *Sapientia christiana*. However, it is evident both from the nature of things and from the history of all the centuries that there is a perpetual hope of resurrection in ^{such} principles, from which it happens that in the Catholic Church morals are always reborn. ?

ARTICLE IV

[28]

WHETHER THE ROMAN CHURCH IS CATHOLIC

[28.1] I. ADVERSARIES. The heretics are accustomed to call us by diverse names, but the ancient name of "catholic" no one has been able to snatch away from the Roman Church. "Whether they like it or not," St. Augustine says, "those heretics and schismatics, not when they speak among themselves, but when they speak with others, ~~they~~ call the Catholic Church by no other name than Catholic. For they could not be understood, unless they distinguish it by this name, by which it is called by the whole world."

[28.2] There were some who seceded from the root of unity, yet wanted to be called *catholic*, but there is only one group, according to Pacianus, which it is permitted to call catholic: "*Christian is my first name, but Catholic is my last name.*"

[28.3] Nor were there lacking those who completely altered the notion of catholicity, in order that they might claim for themselves and their non-Catholic groups the mark of catholicity which they deny to the Roman Church. For example, from the fact that there is prevalent today certain doctrines of *humanity* among modern rulers, and that it penetrates the laws of many people, they say that the expansion of their religion should be measured by this. But the weight and authority of the true Church is not to be measured by human judgement, but according to the precepts of Christ. Lest I say too much about this matter, I will say one thing, many of the most noble good things which are contained in the vague word of humanity — alas! mixed up with evil things — were propagated by the Church without any of the evils and are today preached by

the Church. But this propagation alone does not constitute catholicity; nor does catholicity disappear, if they do not understand, who manage the government of nations, or if they refused to be informed, who rule the earth. For this reason, one should recall what we have said above concerning the *character* of catholicity, in order to truly understand the thesis.

[28.4] *Thesis: THE ROMAN CHURCH IS CATHOLIC.*

ARGUMENTS

[28.5] ARGUMENT I. That thing is catholic which is everywhere one. But the Roman Church is everywhere one. Therefore it is catholic. *Proof of the minor.*

[28.6] It is *one*, as we have proved above. It is *everywhere*, morally, but not physically. For [1] from nearly the beginning of the preaching in all of the parts of the known world, to which they were able to go, the Church engendered faithful for Christ and in our time its sound has gone forth into the five parts of the world; [2] it is so numerous, that ~~it~~ it is truly, although morally, founded on earth, and not only dispersed here and there.

[28.7] ARGUMENT II. Catholicity corresponds to the mandate of Christ, saying: *Going therefore teach ye all nations*. But that mandate has been fulfilled in an outstanding manner in the Roman Church. Therefore the Roman Church is most rightly called catholic.

[28.8] [A] The Roman Church, although very often disturbed by persecutions, is expanded every day and has far exceeded in number all the sects. According to the most recent statistics which are worthy of belief, among those who call themselves Christians, 270,000,000 pertain to the Catholic Church, 110,000,000 belong to the schismatic churches, including many dissenting churches, and to the approximately 150 protestant sects 167,000,000.

[28.9] [B] The Roman Church brought all of Europe before the Lutheran rebellion to the Christian life and faith; in the other parts of the world the Roman Church alone bore the *burden of the day and the heats*, and practically alone did it prepare the way of the Lord in the rough lands of the Gentiles and the barbarians. [Whatever is to be found of the positive Christian religion among non-Catholics is in them as, as it were,] sacred relics of that faith, which we held in common with their fathers.

[28.10] [C] The Roman Church alone can glory in such excellent preachers of the gospel and the wondrous fruits of this preaching, such as we admire in the lives of St. Vincent Ferrer, St. Louis Bertrand, St. Francis Xavier, blessed John of Britto. Monuments of catholicity are the Roman *Propaganda*, the institute which is called *The propagation of the faith* in France, and others. The books which are entitled *Annales de la propagation de la foi* or *Annales propaganda fidei*, and the lives of the apostolic men confirm that the Roman Church is the nurse of the faith in the entire world. For this is the Church of Christ, "*For there the Lord hath commanded blessing, and life for evermore.*" (Ps. 132)

OBJECTIONS

[28.11] OBJECTION I. There are some people who knew the Roman Church only after many centuries. Therefore the Roman Church was not always Catholic.

[28.12] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. That there were people of this type in the unknown world, *let it pass*; in the known world, *I subdistinguish*: and this proves that there was no metaphysical catholicity, *I concede*; moral, *I deny*. The Founder of the Church established preachers of the Gospel, and not discoverers of regions, but rather preachers to those regions which were already discovered. For this reason, it is not repugnant to Catholicism that before Columbus the Gospel had not been preached to the peoples of America. But the Church never stopped *enlarging the place of its tent* (Isaias LIV: 2) in those regions which were known. If Tertullian already in his time did hesitate

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to assert concerning Christ: "He reigns everywhere and is adored everywhere," (*Adv. Jud.*, chap. VII) indeed the Church of today is so strong in numbers and extension that, morally speaking, it is contained by no limitations of region.

[28.13] *INSTANCE.* The catholicity of the Roman Church is not a fixed fact, since it has fluctuated a great deal when the religion of Mohammed overtook a great part of Christianity, when Photius split from Rome, when the reformers of the sixteenth century snatched away many nations from it. Besides, in the twentieth century, there is not found either in Asia or in Africa a great multitude of Catholics. Therefore catholicity does not pertain to the Roman Church.

[28.14] *RESPONSE.* *I distinguish* the consequent. A mathematical catholicity does not pertain to the Roman Church, *I concede*; a moral catholicity, *I deny*. We have already described the nature of the mark of catholicity from the statements of Christ, and from the very nature of the thing. According to this concept, catholicity must be looked at in a dynamic way, as well. The power of Christ, which inheres in the Church, does not exclude great calamities, which Christ Himself predicted for His Church; nor is the supreme or definitive effect of this supernatural power determined to a time but always continues the temple of the Church among great ruins in her unity, preserving the admirable work of restoration and amplification in such a way that this axiom, *ubique unum*, (everywhere one thing) which must be present in a certain group without interruption is safely recognized. For this reason, when the Donatists showed to the Catholics the many barbarian peoples who had not yet been converted to Christ, or the many heresies which were alien from the communion of Catholic society, St. Augustine showed the Church, how "by growing, it does not cease to be fruitful, until the end comes, when it has been preached to all men." (*Contra Cresconium* III, 71) Also in *Epistle* 199, 47, he says: "The Church grows in the whole world, for it still has that by which it grows until the prophecy of Solomon fulfilled, which was said of Christ: 'He shall reign

from sea to sea, and from the river all the way to the ends of the earth.'"

[28.15] *OBJECTION II.* The charism of preaching is not proper to the Roman Church. Therefore the intimate cause of catholicity cannot be proved from it. *Proof of the antecedent.* The missionaries of the protestants have spread the Gospel over the whole world. The vast empire of the Russians has learned the faith of Christ from the Photians.

[28.16] *Response.* *I distinguish* the antecedent. The charism of preaching is not proper to the Roman Church materially, *I concede*; formally, *I deny*. The distinction is evident from those things which we have discussed above. However, I respond to the proofs.

[28.17] (a) Concerning what is said of the protestants, *I deny*. Despite whatever the missionaries of the protestants and the Biblical societies have done, there is lacking to them *unity*, and when unity is removed, catholicity cannot even be thought of. I will pass over in silence those things which have been said concerning the relative sterility of the missions, and of the character of the protestant apostolate.

[28.18] (b) In what concerns the conversion of the Russians, I also *deny*. For the greatest part of the Russians were taught the Christian Faith from the years 857 to 1015, especially under the reign of Vladimir, who reigned from 980 to 1015. In this time, the union of the Russians with the Roman See had not been broken. Besides, the charism of preaching does not consist in the mere fact that opinions are propagated in this or that nation; the Russian Church is nothing outside of Russia, and within Russia it is propagated by the whip and corruption. ~~For~~ ^{But} it is evident to all that from the year 1772 the principal preachers of the Gospel were Catherine II, Nicholas I, and Alexander II, of whom Siemaszko and Popiel were their cruel mercenaries.

[28.19] *INSTANCE.* *Roman* excludes *catholic*, because catholicity is restricted by the word *Roman*.

[28.20] *RESPONSE.* I respond by *distinguishing*: *Roman* explains catholicity, *I concede*; restricts it, *I deny*. In fact, that thing is said to be

catholic which is everywhere one. Therefore it is required for catholicity, in the same way that there is for a circle, that there be a center and a circumference. *Roman* is the center of unity. *Catholic*

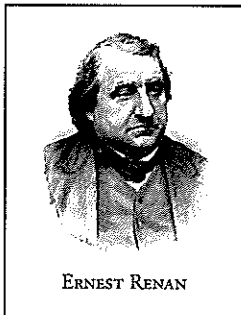
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designates broad extension of the Church. Therefore the *Roman Catholic* is the most explicit expression of catholicity itself, and is absolutely true.

ARTICLE V

[29]

WHETHER THE ROMAN CHURCH IS APOSTOLIC

[29.1] THE ADVERSARIES prefer nothing more than to attack the apostolicity of the Roman Church; in fact, many of them have lost the true concept of apostolicity. It must be seen, therefore, whether the Roman Church is marked by that



ERNEST RENAN

apostolicity which we described above. Dogmatic theologians confirm the apostolic origins of each of the dogmas by the testimony of the Fathers; we must prove, however, by certain evident and public facts that the Apostles, the messengers of Christ, were the founders of the Roman Church. To the Roman Church belong all those who have remained in the root with the see of Peter. The Protestants (Luther, Calvin) and unbelievers (Renan⁶⁰, Réville⁶¹, Harnack) contend

⁶⁰ ERNEST RENAN, (1823-1892) A French writer and famous rationalist. Born and raised in a pious Breton family, he went to Paris at an early age and studied for the priesthood at Saint-Sulpice. There he received training in cartesian philosophy. He also was an avid reader of Hegel at this time. In 1845 he quit the seminary and the Catholic Faith. He became an expert in oriental languages (i.e., Hebrew, Aramaic, etc.) After traveling to the Holy Land in the 1860's, he wrote his famous *Life of Jesus*, in which he denied the divinity of Christ. His other famous work was *The Origins of Christianity*. He enjoyed immense popularity, and was one of the main figures contributing to Modernism. A quotation from Renan: "God, if there is a God, take my soul, if I have a soul."

⁶¹ ALBERT RÉVILLE (November 4, 1826, Dieppe, Seine-Maritime - October 25, 1906) was a distinguished French Protestant theologian. He was born in Dieppe, Seine-Maritime. From 1851 to 1872 he was pastor of the Walloon church in Rotterdam. In 1880 he became professor of the History of Religions in the Collège de France, and six years later was made President of the Section des Etudes Religieuses at the Sorbonne,

that *the origins of the Christian religion* and the Church of Rome are very different. Against these we propose the following thesis.

[29.2] *Thesis: THE ROMAN CHURCH IS APOSTOLIC.*

Arguments

[29.3] ARGUMENT I. For apostolicity it is required [A] that there be public, legitimate and uninterrupted succession, and [B] in identity of doctrine, sacraments and government. And all these things are found in the Roman Church. Therefore the Roman Church is apostolic. *Proof of the minor.*

[29.4] [A] *Public, legitimate, and uninterrupted succession* is evident from the public fact that the Roman Pontiffs have succeeded St. Peter in the see of Rome. We will prove this below. *When* we treat of the primacy of the Roman Pontiff. St. Augustine admonishes us, saying: "The consent of peoples and nations keeps me in the Church; so does her authority, inaugurated by miracles, nourished by hope, enlarged by love, established by age. The succession of priests keeps me, beginning from the very seat of the Apostle Peter, to whom the Lord, after His resurrection, gave it in charge to feed His sheep, down to the present episcopate." (*Contra Epist. fundament. chap. IV*)

[29.5] [B] *Identity of doctrine, sacraments, and government* is preserved by them who have

Paris. He was a prolific writer on such subjects as "The Native Religions of Mexico and Peru" (Hibbert Lectures for 1884), "Religions of Non-Civilised Peoples," "The Chinese Religion," "Jesus from Nazareth", "The Devil: His origin, greatness and decadence", etc. (*Wikipedia*)

legitimately succeeded to the apostles. This is evident from the institution of the hierarchy. But only the Roman Church can confirm succession of this type by means of documents. Therefore in her "always has that been preserved which is the tradition from the Apostles, by those who are from everywhere." (Ireneus, *Adv. Her.* lib. III, chapter I)

[29.6] ARGUMENT II. *From prescription.* Since the Church has Christ as its founder and the Apostles as propagators, this was established by Tertullian: *That is true what is before.* But the Roman Church is anterior to any of the Christian groups. Therefore it is apostolic. *Proof of the minor.*

[29.7] [A] *In general concerning succession.* It has been impossible to assign any beginning to the Roman See later than apostolic times. St. Augustine said, "All heresies have exited from her." (Serm. 1, *De Symbol. ad Catech.* VI. 15) The schismatics, however, have erected "*altar against altar*" (S. Opt. *De schismate Donatist.* I. 7; II. 2) that is, against an older and prior altar.

[29.8] [B] *Specifically.* [1] *Concerning identity of doctrine.* There can never be assigned a time in which the apostolic faith was changed by the Roman Church. The errors of Macedonius, of Nestorius in the See of Constantinople, the depraved opinions of Dioscorus, of Peter Mongus and of others in the See of Alexandria, Arianism, Photianism, Lutheranism, all have known origins, and when they were cut off, we know. But we have no knowledge of the faith of the Roman Church being changed. Therefore there has been no change in the faith of the Roman Church.

[29.9] [2] The same argument holds for the *identity of the sacraments*, especially when one considers that the seven sacraments and the Sacrifice of the Mass are retained in those Churches which in the fifth or sixth centuries broke away from the Roman Church, such as the Nestorians, the Jacobites, etc.

[29.10] [3] The same can be said about the *identity of government.* Non-Catholics exhibit only catalogues of rulers who are much more recent than the catalogues of the Roman Pontiffs and of many bishops. And so, "*Our thing did not come later, but is*

in fact earlier than all the others; this will be a testimony of truth." (Tertullian, *De præscrip.* chapter XXXV)

OBJECTIONS

[29.11] OBJECTION I. The monuments of the first centuries show that the Church of those times is quite different from the Roman Church. Therefore the Roman Church is not apostolic. *Proof of the antecedent:* from the simplicity of the primitive Church, which had an abhorrence for a multitude of dogmas.

[29.12] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. That this difference is *substantial*, *I deny*; *accidental*, *I concede.* The adversaries object both immutability and the changes which they say are very great in the Roman Church. But the *substance* of the Church is entirely immutable; in accidental things, however, and with regard to conclusions from principles and in regard to their application, there is a certain progress admitted by Catholics themselves. Only in this way is there is a difference between the early Church and the present state of the Church. St. Thomas says "The Church is the same *numero* which was then and now is, because the faith is the same and the sacraments of the faith are the same, and there is the same authority and the same profession. For this reason, the Apostle says in I Cor. I: 13: *Is Christ divided?* This is repugnant...there ~~is~~ a different state of the Church now and then, but there is not a different Church." *Quodlibetales* XIII, art. 19. — Let us come to the proof of the antecedent.

[29.13] The primitive Church had an abhorrence for a multitude of dogmas, *I distinguish:* For the dogmas of the false brethren, *I concede;* for the dogmas of Christ, *I deny.* The dogmas of the Church were always the same; as doubts and errors emerged, however, the truth was *more explicitly proposed*, and *more solemnly declared;* this was done in order to take care of the faithful lest the false brethren remove them "*from the simplicity which is in Christ.*" II Cor. XI: 3.

[29.14] INSTANCE. The ancients were immune to the influence and dominance of the hierarchy.

[29.15] RESPONSE. *I distinguish.* In the early centuries, one does not see the same power of the hierarchy and primacy with regard to right, *I deny*; with regard to the use of the right, *I concede.* In the early times, power was not exercised in all of its uses, since the uses had to be moderated according to the condition of the time. We have already shown in Question III, however, that the hierarchical power itself was in the Church from the beginning.

[29.16] INSTANCE. The primitive practice was completely simple, in which it is certain that there was neither the veneration of the Virgin Mary, nor the invocation of the saints, nor the use of relics, nor other things of this type, which dishonor the Roman Church.

[29.17] RESPONSE. *I distinguish.* The ancients did not know the veneration of this type, *I deny*; they did not know certain ways of venerating, *I concede.* The ancients at no time were ignorant of the fact that the saints, who were enjoying eternal happiness, should be invoked, nor do we find that it was forbidden to them to honor the bodies which were temples of the Holy Ghost by means of a certain veneration. This is proven by dogmatic theologians, and by the very ancient monuments of archeology. On the other hand, there is no doubt that some of the *ways* of worshipping, such as associations of the Blessed Virgin Mary were not seen in the early Church. But we should not consider these ways of venerating to be a new and evil superstition. For it is proper to catholic truth that, in due time, like a heavenly garden, it brings forth new fruits of pious exercises. Our adversaries are ignorant of the law of *development*, of which we will speak later.

[29.18] OBJECTION II. That is not apostolic which the Apostles have not handed down. But many of the canons of the councils and of the pious exercises, which the Roman Church admits, have not been handed down to the Church by the Apostles. Ergo.

[29.19] RESPONSE. *I distinguish the major.* That thing is not apostolic which the Apostles did not hand down with regard to faith in *se*, *I concede*; with regard to all of the explanations and applications of faith, *I deny.* From this the response

to the minor and the conclusion is evident. Because many have perverted the truth of the Faith, it was necessary, as St. Thomas Aquinas says: "As times progressed that there be an explanation of faith against insurgent errors." (IIa IIæ, q. 1 art. 10, ad rum.) Nor can new exercises of piety be put in the category that they must be considered contrary to apostolicity, since it is licit that one and the same dogma be expressed in worship in various ways, just as one charity of God is manifested in various external forms.

[29.20] INSTANCE. Cyrillus Lucar, the patriarch of Constantinople around the year 1625, promulgated a profession of faith in which these things are read: "It is the perpetual and constant doctrine of the Greeks that there are only two sacraments, Baptism and Eucharist, established by the supreme Legislator, Christ." Article 15. Therefore the sacraments of the Roman Church are not apostolic.

[29.21] RESPONSE. Cyril, a man who was convinced of Calvinist doctrines, composed a lie in this article. Nor was the lie not condemned in the entire east. George Coressius and Gregory Proto-Syncellus condemned the fraud of Cyril. Three patriarchs, Cyril Beroensis, the patriarch of Constantinople, Metrophanes of Alexandria and Theophanes of Jerusalem in a council held in Constantinople in 1638, anathematized Cyril, "who believes that there are not by apostolic tradition and by perpetual practice seven sacraments of the Church." The matter was finished when other councils of the Orientals were added to this.

[29.22] OBJECTION III. It was able to happen that new dogmas were formed by undetectable changes. Therefore it seems that the apostolicity of the Roman Church is uncertain.

[29.23] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. That such a thing could happen in the abstract, *let it pass*; that it has happened in this concrete case, *I deny.* First of all, the Roman Church proves by visible facts that it is the legitimate heir of the Apostles. But a *public and certain fact* is not destroyed by possible and undetectable things. Finally, the Roman Church has always been vigilant

that it observe tradition, so much so that its adversaries commonly call this constancy in the truth "the Roman immobility." Furthermore from the monuments which were already known and from others which were later found, such as in the catacombs, the image emerges which so truly

represents the Church as it is today, that many protestants, especially in England, have been moved to return to the Roman faith by the study of antiquity, seeking the certain way of salvation, where they have noticed a continuation from the Apostles and integrity of dogmas.

QUESTION VIII

ON THE QUALITIES OF THE CHURCH: THE INDEFECTIBILITY AND INFALLIBILITY OF THE CHURCH

Where the true Church is, we have seen. We come now to the most noble qualities of the Church, which are indefectibility, lest it perish, and infallibility, lest it err in faith and morals. Four questions are here asked.

FIRST, WHETHER THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IS INDEFECTIBLE.

SECOND, WHETHER THE CHURCH OUGHT TO BE CHANGED INTO A BETTER STATE.

THIRD, WHETHER THE CHURCH IS INFALLIBLE.

FOURTH, WHETHER THE TEACHING CHURCH IS THE SUBJECT OF ACTIVE INFALLIBILITY.

ARTICLE I

[30]

WHETHER THE CHURCH IS INDEFECTIBLE

[30.1] I. THE DEFINITION OF INDEFECTIBILITY. Indefectibility is the quality or property of the Church given to the Church by Christ, *by which it will remain in that unchanged state until the end of time, just as Christ has founded it*. The definition includes: [1] the existence of the Church *never to be interrupted*; [2] *the identity of being*, in regard to all things which pertain to the essence of the Church; [3] *the perennial visibility* of the Church, since we have proven that visibility pertains to the essence of the Church. But what is not excluded is [1] the progress of men in believing, explaining, and scientifically declaring the law of Christ; [2] the changes of those things which the Savior in particular left to the Church to determine,

such as certain ~~time~~^{times} of fasting, etc. Indefectibility is called by some *perpetuity*.

[30.2] II. THE OPINIONS OF THE ADVERSARIES. We pass over the obsolete opinion of the Donatists, who claim that the catholicity of the Church has defected, which is to indirectly say that the Church itself has defected. [1] *The naturalists* and *the rationalists*, if they attribute anything to the immortality of the Church, it is certainly no different than what they attribute to Mohammedans. Voltaire, David Strauss, E. v. Hartmann⁶² and men who considered themselves

⁶² EDUARD VON HARTMANN was German philosopher, born at Berlin Feb. 23, 1842, and died at the same place June 5, 1906. He was educated at the school of artillery in Berlin (1859-1862); and held a commission (1860-65), when he was

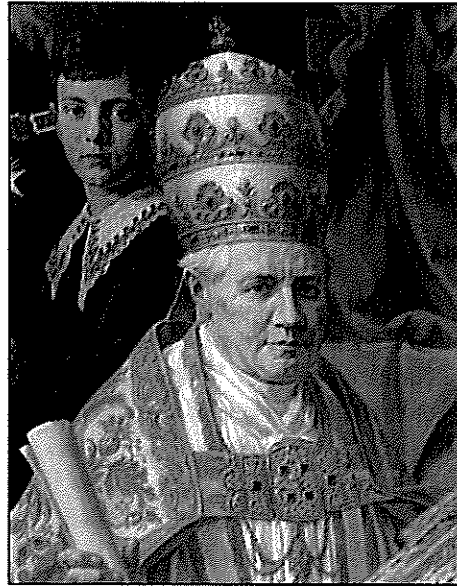
very cultured, nearly all hold that the Catholic Church will be destroyed, and that it is near to its destruction. The *Protestants* assert (a) that it is possible that the Church either for a time or even perpetually admit errors contrary to revealed faith; by such an opinion they directly undermine infallibility; (b) they contend that the Church is defectible and in fact did defect before Luther. In reality they do not affirm it *absolutely*, "but they say," St. Robert Bellarmine says, "that it must be understood concerning the *visible church*." The firm opinion of some Protestants seems to be that declared rather openly by Calvin, that ~~God~~ ^{God} has effected by His providence, that besides Baptism "other relics have also survived, lest the Church perish completely. But in the same way that ~~that~~ buildings fall down and there remain foundations and ruins, so God did not permit that His church by ~~be~~ subverted by the Antichrist from the foundation, or that it be equal with the ground...but He wanted that from that devastation there survive a semi-ruined building." [3] Quesnel claimed that there were very evident signs of the "old age of the Church." Cf. Clement XI. Const. *Unigenitus*, 8. Sept. 1713. The diocesan synod of Pistoia contended that "in these last centuries there has been spread about a general darkening concerning truths of more

compelled to retire on account of serious knee trouble. He took his degree at Rostock in 1867, returned to Berlin, and retired to Lichterfelde (5 m. s.w. of Berlin) in 1885, doing most of his work in bed while suffering great pain. After developing the thought for twenty-two years, he began in 1864 to prepare his main philosophical work, *Philosophie des Unbewussten* (Berlin, 1869; 11th ed., 3 vols., 1904). Next in rank was his *Das sittliche Bewusstsein*, appearing first as *Phänomenologie des sittlichen Bewusstseins* (Berlin, 1879); and next to that was the *Religionsphilosophie* (2 vols., *Das religiöse Bewusstsein der Menschheit und Die Religion des Geistes*, 1882).

He invented the system of unconscious being. The principle of things is the identity of the will and cognition, which is impregnated by representation. Representation, however, must lack all consciousness, since this is imperfection and involves failure. For which reason, the principle of things is unconscious. The world is only an appearance of this volition. All things are one. Man is constituted by the Unconscious, and has no other immortality except that which he obtains as a phenomenon or manifestation of the divine substance, owing to his union with the Unconscious. The Unconscious evolves in a triple phase: in paganism, in Christianity, and in modern times, and these three things are three levels of illusion.

This theory is insanity, and is very injurious to the true and glorious God, who containing in Himself all perfections *actu*, cannot lack consciousness, nor can he develop into representations and appearances.

serious importance, relating to religion, and which are the basis of the faith and moral doctrine of Jesus Christ." This proposition was condemned as *heretical* by Pius VI in the constitution *Auctorem fidei*, 28 Aug. 1794.



POPE PIUS VI

[30.3] *Thesis*: The Church is indefectible.

ARGUMENTS.

[30.4] **ARGUMENT I.** *From Sacred Scripture.* The prophecies of the Old Testament, the promises of Christ and His parables and institutions indicate an indefectible church. Therefore the Church of Christ is indefectible. *Proof of the antecedent.*

[30.5] [A] *Prophecies.* The prophecies repeatedly announce *the reign of Christ and of David through Christ*, which *will remain forever*, Daniel II: 44. For we read: "He shall sit upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom; to establish it and strengthen it with judgment and with justice, from henceforth and for ever: the zeal of the Lord of hosts will perform this." (Isaias IX: 7) "And I will make an everlasting covenant with them, and will not cease to do them good: and I will give my fear in their heart, that they may not revolt from me." (Jeremias XXXII: 40) "And he gave him power, and glory, and a kingdom: and all peoples, tribes

and tongues shall serve him: his power is an everlasting power that shall not be taken away: and his kingdom that shall not be destroyed." (Daniel VII: 14) "But in the days of those kingdoms the God of heaven will set up a kingdom that shall never be destroyed, and his kingdom shall not be delivered up to another people, and it shall break in pieces, and shall consume all these kingdoms, and itself shall stand for ever." (Daniel II: 44) Cf. Isaias LXI; Ps. LXXXVIII; ps. XLVII, which Sts. Augustine and St. Thomas explained must be understood concerning the Church. But that eternal kingdom is the true Church of Christ. Ergo. *Proof of the minor.*

[30.6] [I] There is no other kingdom of the Messias, taking the place of the synagogue, is indicated than the Christian religion, which Christ established in the form of the Church. [2] The Church in the New Testament is called the *kingdom* of Christ. [3] The meaning of the prophecies in the New Testament is lucidly explained. For the Angel, sent to Mary, said concerning Emmanuel: "He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the most High; and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of David his father; and he shall reign in the house of Jacob for ever. And of his kingdom there shall be no end." (Luke I: 32) St. Paul, comparing the Old Testament to the New as something *mobile* to something *immobile*, teaches this: "Therefore receiving an *immovable kingdom*, we have grace." (Hebr. XII: 27, 28)

[30.7] [B] *The promises of Christ.* The Church is built upon a rock; the gates of hell shall not prevail against it (Matth. XVI: 18); Christ Himself is with the Church until the end of the world; the Paraclete remains with it forever (John XIV: 16). But by all these indefectibility is clearly promised *absolutely*. And certainly that a building built upon a rock is firm and immovable, is illustrated with these words with the metaphor of a rock: "Every one therefore that heareth these my words, and doth them, shall be likened to a wise man that built his house upon a rock, and the rain fell, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and they beat upon that house, and it fell not, for it was founded on a rock." (Matth. VII: 24-26). Whatever should intrude into it, even if the gates of hell should break forth, the Church will emerge victorious, all

the way until the end of the world, forever. The promise of Christ is absolute.

[30.8] [C] *The parables and institutions of Christ.* On earth there will never be a time in which there are no faithful, no ministers, no sacraments. Therefore the Church is indefectible. *Proof of the antecedent.* [1] That the faithful will always be there is taught to us by the parable of the wheat and the cockle, and of the net. For we read: "Even as cockle therefore is gathered up, and burnt with fire: so shall it be at the end of the world. The Son of man shall send his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all scandals, and them that work iniquity. And shall cast them into the furnace of fire: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth." That there will always be ministers is taught by St. Paul: And he gave some apostles, and some prophets, and other some evangelists, and other some pastors and doctors, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ: until we all meet into the unity of faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the age of the fullness of Christ. By these words the time of harvest and the resurrection of the saints is indicated. [3] St. Paul declares that the sacraments are instituted perpetually: "For as often as you shall eat this bread, and drink the chalice, you shall shew the death of the Lord, until he come." St. Thomas says that the words *donec veniat* "refer to His last coming, in which it is given to understand that this rite of the Church will not cease until the end of the world." (*Expos. in ep. l.c.*)

[30.9] ARGUMENT II. *From the testimony of the Fathers.* St. Ignatius of Antioch, the disciple of St. John the Apostle said: Because of it the Lord received in His head an anointing, in order that He breathe incorruption into the Church." *Ad Ephes.* chap. XVII. With these words at least implicitly is the indefectibility of the Church designated. St. Justin: "just like a vine, if someone should cut off those parts which bear fruit, it benefits it in such a way that the other branches flower again and bear fruit, so it happens with us. The vine, planted by God and our Savior Christ, is His people." *Dialogue with Trypho*, chapter CX. St. John Chrysostom: "The

Doesn't read right

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Church is stronger than the sky. Heaven and earth will pass away, but My words will not pass away. Which words? Thou ^{art} Peter and upon this rock I will build my ^{Church} Christ, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." (*Hom. ant. exil. 1.*) St. Augustine speaks about the Church in this way: "For how long will I be in this world? Tell me because of those who say: 'He was and is no more... And he told me, and this voice was not in vain. Who told me except the Way? How did He tell me? Behold I am with you all days even to the consummation of the world.'" (*In ps. 101, serm. 2*)

[30.10] ARGUMENT III. *From the origin, end, and history of the Church.* [1] There is no one who does not see how incongruous it would be that the Church should perish. Which God gave to us in His Son, *whom He constituted as the heir of all things, through whom He made heaven and earth.* (Hebr. I: 2) [2] Christ instituted the Church in order that men through it receive the means of salvation. Cf. quest. II, art. 3. But men would never be not in need of these means. From this one understands that the perpetual survival of the Church is something which is demanded by the order of salvation established by God. [3] It is proven by historical faith that the Church has undergone persecutions. But so many victories achieved manifest the hand of God, and promise it in the future. Even many non-Catholics have recognized the unconquered kingdom of the Church.

OBJECTIONS

[30.11] OBJECTION I. The promises which were made to the Jewish church are not more obscure than those made to the Christian Church. But the Jewish Church defected. Therefore it is uncertain that the Church will never defect.

[30.12] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. The promises made to the Jewish church were to be continued and fulfilled under the New Testament, *I concede*; in the Old Law, *I deny*. *I distinguish* the minor. The Jewish church defected in figure, *I concede*; in the figured thing, *I deny*. Indeed, the Jewish religion is said by St Paul as: "*having a shadow of the good things to come, not the very image of the*

things..." (Heb. X: 1) For this reason St. Augustine said: "[T]his very priesthood after the order of Aaron was appointed as the shadow of a future eternal priesthood; and therefore, when eternity is promised to it, it is not promised to the mere shadow and figure, but to what is shadowed forth and prefigured by it. But lest it should be thought the shadow itself was to remain, therefore its mutation also behooved to be foretold." (*De civ. Dei*, XVII, 6)

[30.13] INSTANCE. Before Christ was born the Judaic church defected, e.g., at the time of the captivity. Therefore, despite the promises, the Church is able to perish.

[30.14] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. The Judaic church before Christ was born, defected in many members, *I concede*; in all, *I deny*. For at no time were there lacking those who were persevering in the true way of worshipping God. However, the Judaic Church was able to be obscured much more than the Christian Church (a) because it was particular, and not universal; (b) it lacked the abundance of the graces given to the Church; (c) because God Himself had predicted in III Kings IX: 7: "*I will take away Israel from the face of the land which I have given them; and the temple which I have sanctified to my name, I will cast out of my sight; and Israel shall be a proverb, and a byword among all people.*" For this reason, He at times struck the Judaic church in such a way that it seemed to be almost entirely destroyed.

[30.15] INSTANCE. Concerning the end of the world we read in Sacred Scripture we read in Matthew XXIV: 24: "*For there shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders, insomuch as to deceive (if possible) even the elect.*" Likewise in Luke XVIII: 8: "*I say to you, that he will quickly revenge them. But yet the Son of man, when he cometh, shall he find, think you, faith on earth?*" Saint Paul teaches that the day of the Lord is not imminent "*unless there come a revolt first.*" (II Thess II: 3) The Church, therefore, because in the end it will defect, is not indefectible.

[30.16] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. By these testimonies there is predicted a very great persecution of the Church, *I concede*; the

destruction of the Church, *I deny*. I will respond to each of the allegations.

[30.17] (a) Many will be drawn in to error by the marvels of the false Christs, *I concede*; the universal Church, *I deny*. The words of Christ that have been cited were said by way of a certain exaggeration; but the Elect, as the text itself shows, will not defect.

7. [30.18] (b) Concerning what is objected from St. Luke, *I distinguish*: These things pertain to perfect faith, *I concede*; to faith *simpliciter*, *I deny*. Saint Bede the Venerable said: "So great will be the rarity of the Elect, that not so much because of the clamor of the faith but more by the lukewarmness of the others will the ruin of the whole world be accelerated." These things must be understood, however, in relation to perfect faith, and not absolutely, since Saint Augustine said: "He, however, who should have the faith like the mustard seed, by which also the mountains are moved, are indeed very rare. Concerning such a faith the Lord said: 'But yet the Son of man, when he cometh, shall he find, think you, faith on earth?'" (*Contra Gaud.* II, 6) Cf. St. Thomas in *Catena Aurea* in the place of the quoted verse.

[30.18] (c) The revolt or apostasy which Saint Paul predicts is the apostasy of everyone, *I deny*; of many, *I concede*. St. Thomas says: "It would happen that the Faith be received by the whole world..., and after this many will defect from the Faith. Matth. XXIV: 12: 'The charity of many shall grow cold.' (*In Ep. II ad Thess.* chap II, lect. 1)

[30.19] **OBJECTION II.** The Church has defected. Therefore it is able to defect. *Proof of the antecedent.* (a) The Church defected, when, at the death of Christ/the Old Testament ceased to be, and at the same time the disciples were vacillating with Peter. (b) When the Arian heresy arose, St. Jerome is witness to the fact that the Church defected. He says: "The whole world trembled, and was shocked to find itself Arian." (*Dial. adv. Lucifer.*, 19)

[30.20] **RESPONSE.** *I deny* the antecedent. I respond to the proof. (a) The Church defected at the death of Christ, that is, some members of the Church, *I concede*; the whole Church, *I deny*. There

was some weakness of faith which had been predicted by the Savior to the disciples. "Then Jesus said to them: All you shall be scandalized in me this night." (Matth. XXVI: 31) But it is not established by any suitable argument that everyone, whether Apostles or disciples, lost the faith. Furthermore, on the third day after the death of Christ, the words of Christ, "*Ego confirmavi columnas ejus*," had not yet been fulfilled. Likewise after Peter and the rest of the Apostles had been definitively constituted as pastors of the Church, they never defected in the profession of the Faith. For a greater reason, once they received the Spirit of Truth, they were not able to fall into a false doctrine of faith. Cf. Melchior Canus, *De locis theologicis*, IV, 5)

[30.21] (b) In what concerns the admiration of the world, that it ~~finds~~ ^{finds} itself Arian, *I distinguish*: it was in admiration ^{that} it was accused of adhering to the Arian heresy, *I concede*; that it was in fact Arian *I deny*. In the year 359, the Catholic bishops congregated at Rimini, imprudently subscribed to a formula in which the word *homoousios* (*consubstantial*) was not found. They were hoping that the Arians, who were simulating the Catholic Faith, would join up with them, if this word were passed over. But the Arians contended that the faith of Nicea was overthrown by omitting this word. "The whole world groaned," St. Jerome said, "and was shocked to find itself Arian." This same most holy doctor, however, explains these hyperbolic words as meaning an accusation of Arianism, adding this: "The bishops who had been caught in the snare at Ariminum and had unwittingly come to be reported of as heretics, began to assemble, while they called the Body of our Lord and all that is holy in the Church to witness that they had not a suspicion of anything faulty in their own faith. We thought, said they, the words were to be taken in their natural meaning, and we had no suspicion that in the Church of God, the very home of simplicity and sincerity in the confession of truth, one thing could be kept secret in the heart, another uttered by the lips. We thought too well of bad men and were deceived." (*Dial. adv. Luciferianos*, no. 19) Besides, the acts of Rimini were rescinded by Liberius, the Supreme Pontiff.

[30.22] OBJECTION III. It is not contradictory that the Church, with regard to the number of its members and many other things is so severely diminished, that no aspect of it is evident. But if this should happen, the visible Church ceases. So it is not contradictory to say that at least the visible Church defects.

[30.23] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. It can happen that the accidental appearance of the Church be diminished, *I concede*; essential, *I deny*. It is plainly apparent, from what has been said concerning the marks and visibility of the Church, that catholicity as well as visibility cannot be taken

away from the Church. Nor can the visibility of the Church even under the cruelty of persecutors. ^{be taken away} Saint Augustine said this: "Moreover it behooved that this same vine should be pruned in accordance with the Lord's repeated predictions, and that the unfruitful twigs should be cut out of it, by which heresies and schisms were occasioned in various localities, under the name of Christ, on the part of men who sought not His glory but their own; whose oppositions, however, also served more and more to discipline the Church, and to test and illustrate both its doctrine and its patience." (*De catechiz. rudibus*, chapter XXIV)

ARTICLE II

[31]

WHETHER THE CHURCH OUGHT

TO BE CHANGED TO A BETTER STATE

[31.1] I. THE STATUS QUESTIONIS. We are not speaking about here the *progress* or *development* in the Church of which Catholic doctors speak. The *better* state which we are considering here is an *objective* one; it is one which touches the very institution of Christ, the faith itself, the sacraments and the power of the Church. It therefore requires an essential and substantial change. On the other hand, a *subjective* change is something which pertains to the members of the Church. Therefore we are not objecting to the fact that the state of the New Law be diversified according to diverse places, times, and persons, inasmuch as the grace of the Holy Ghost is had more or less perfectly by some people. However, St. Thomas said: "One ought not, however, await a future state, in which the grace of the Holy Ghost will be had more perfectly, than it has been up to now, and most of all by the Apostles, who received the first fruits of the Holy Ghost, that is, before anyone else and more abundantly than anyone else." (1a IIæ, q. 106, art. 4.) Therefore a better *subjective* state is not displeasing to Catholics, but the *objective* is rejected.

[31.2] II. ADVERSARIES. There are some who hold that a better state *in itself* is possible in the Church, but in varying ways. There are three kinds: [A] false mystics; [B] the fanatical sects of the protestants; [C] the unbelievers.

[31.3] [A] In the twelfth century Joachim, the abbot of Cîteaux († 1202) taught that there were three states of the world, of which the third, lasting from the year 1260 to the end of the world would be more perfect than the rest. He called this the *eternal gospel* and *gospel of the kingdom* or *spiritual gospel*, as something which would embrace the *spirit* proceeding from the *letter of the gospel of Christ*. It is an *everlasting gospel* of the spiritual sense of the gospel of Christ, which pertains to the second state of the world (from the birth of Christ to 1260 A.D.). In the state of the *eternal gospel* a *spiritual understanding* is given to spiritual men. The spiritual understanding of the gospel will consume the letter of the gospel like a fire. In this the *term of our perfection* will consist. Then there will be a *spiritual Church*. But the

Church of St. Peter will not defect, but "changed into a greater glory, it will remain stable until the end."

[31.4] [B] Among the Protestant sects there were the *Irvingites*, followers of Edward Irving, an Anglican, and the more recent *chiliasts* such as Hoffmann, who expect a future church, i.e., they have imagined a new pentecost, a new coming of the Lord, the completion of revelation, and a new Sion to be built. In former times the Montanists and the Manicheans also imagined the same, thinking that the Holy Ghost, promised by Christ was not completely given to the Apostles, but to Montanus and Manicheus.

[31.5] [c] The energy of the moderns is great in creating a better state of the Church. However, they do not expect a more perfect revelation, since they completely reject supernatural revelation. The old constitution of the Church is to be abolished, and it is correct to adapt the Church to the will of men and to the more cultured intellects. If one were to believe them, progress would be the same thing as destroying the dogmas of the Church, as well as the sacraments and the whole essence of the Church. *Middle Theology* (Vermittlungstheologie) follows the way between believing and not believing; *biblical rationalism* and those who hold to an indefinite evolution of religions seek a better state; mystical rationalism sees its principal doctors, among whom is Tolstoy, as prophets of a new Christianity and precursors of new ages. The followers of August Sabatier prophesy that the Christian religion will rise to its state of perfection, and that all *religions of authority* will pass into a *religion of the Spirit*, which is autonomous.

[31.6] *Thesis*: The Church should not be changed into a better state.

ARGUMENTS

[31.7] ARGUMENT I. It pertains to God alone to change the Christian Church into a better state. But God has already established that His Church will not be changed into a better state. The *major* is evident. God is the author and Lord of His Church, as is evident from what has been said above. *Proof of the*

minor. The Church can be changed into a better state [A] neither with a new coming of Christ nor with a new mission of the Holy Ghost; [B] nor by human will. Therefore in no way.

[31.8] [A] The Church, which is on earth, cannot be changed into a better state either by a new coming of Christ or by a new mission of the Holy Ghost, because [1] this has never been written or handed down; [2] because "the ultimate consummation of grace was done through Christ," as St. Thomas teaches (IIa IIæ q. 1, art. 7, ad 4). Christ teaches it to us as well: *I have not come to destroy, but to fulfill* (Matth. V: 17). The end of the gospel and of the world are the same thing: *"And this gospel of the kingdom, shall be preached in the whole world, for a testimony to all nations, and then shall the consummation come."* (Matth. XXIV: 14). The status of the Church, which Christ brought, is called by St. Paul the *plenitude of time*. (Gal. IV: 4); cf. Eph. I: 10; Rom. X: 4) — it is that *which remains*, whereas the Old Testament is that *which is emptied out*. II. Cor. III: 11) etc.

[31.9] [B] *Not by the will of man*. [1] Because of both of the reasons adduced. [2] Because the Church is the kingdom of God and a perfect society, which can be changed by no human power. [3] Because changes, which the moderns strive after, destroy dogmas, sacraments, and all the essentials of the Church. But we have shown that the Church cannot defect. Cf. art. 1. Therefore the better state of the Church of the moderns, since it is a corruption, is to be rejected.

[31.10] ARGUMENT II. There cannot be a more perfect state of the present life than the state of the New Law, established by Christ in the Church. Therefore the Church will not be changed into a better state. *Proof of the antecedent*. Something is more perfect to the extent that it is closer to its ultimate end. But the New Law is closest to its end. St. Thomas says: "Nothing is able to be closer to the ultimate end than what immediately introduces it into the ultimate end. But the New Law does this. For this reason St. Paul said (Hebr. X: 19): *"Having therefore, brethren, a confidence in the entering into the*

holies by the blood of Christ. (Ia IIæ, q. 106, art. 4; cf. IIa IIæ q. 1, art. 7)

[31.11] ARGUMENT III. *From the Fathers.* All the ancient writers testify to the truth of the thesis, who defend the apostolicity, and perpetuity of the Church, and the necessity of innovating nothing in it. Cf. above, art. 1, and Q. V, art. 5.

OBJECTIONS

[31.12] OBJECTION I. The state of the Old Law pertained to the Father, and the state of the New Law to the Son. Therefore the third state belongs to the Holy Ghost.

[31.13] RESPONSE. The state of the Old Law and of the New pertain exclusively to the Father and the Son, *I deny*; inclusively, *I concede*. For the Old Law is also of the Son, who was prefigured in it, and who manifested Himself through the prophets. It was of the Holy Ghost because, the "*the holy men of God spoke, inspired by the Holy Ghost*," (II Peter I: 21) Likewise under the New Law manifests himself more frequently, such as in the Baptism of Christ and the day of Pentecost. Cf. John I: 32; XIV: 26; Acts II: 3; Romans V: 5; I Cor. XII: 11.

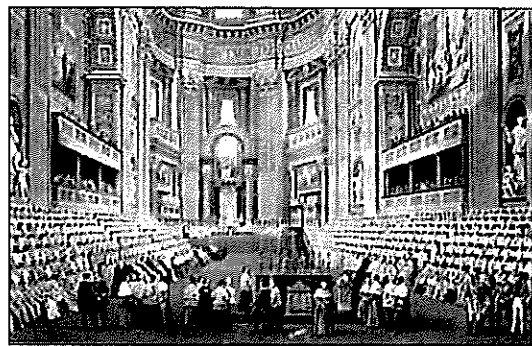
[31.14] OBJECTION II. It is necessary that the prophecies be fulfilled. But the magnificent prophecies concerning the reign of Christ are not fulfilled in any Church. From this it happens that the prophecies must be fulfilled in a better state of the Church.

[31.15] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the minor. Prophecies are not fulfilled in any church of the protestants, *I concede*; in the Catholic Church, *I subdistinguish*: they are not fulfilled consummately, *I concede*; inchoatively, *I deny*. In the prophecies of Christ, the triumph and the kingdom which will be *after the judgement*, is very often predicted. However, in the Catholic Church, whatever has been said concerning the reign of Christ on earth, has been fulfilled every day.

[31.16] OBJECTION III. The Church must respond to the desires of souls. But the desires of this

type change as humanity progresses. Therefore the state of the Church must be changed with them.

[31.17] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. It is necessary that the Church respond to the ordered desires of souls, *I concede*; the disordered desires of souls, *I deny*. *I distinguish* the minor. The desires of men change and cannot be fulfilled by the Church if they are disordered, *I concede*; if they are ordered, *I deny*. The Church is the work not of men, but of God; nor is it some philosophical invention which can be perfected by some human means. Cf. Pius IX Encyclical *Qui Pluribus*, Nov. 9, 1846) The Vatican Council defined this: "If anyone should say that it is possible that to the dogmas declared by the Church a meaning must sometimes be attributed according to the progress of science, different from that which the Church has understood and understands: let him be anathema." (Denz. 1818)



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[31.18] First truth, which shines in the Church, "is the end of all of our desires and actions." (IIa IIæ, q. 4 art. II ad 3um) Men therefore use the greatest and absolutely true principles of the Church in directing their actions, lest "*henceforth we be no more children tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine by the wickedness of men, by cunning craftiness, by which they lie in wait to deceive.*" (Eph. IV: 14)

ARTICLE III
[32]
WHETHER THE CHURCH IS INFALLIBLE

[32.1] I. THE DEFINITION OF INFALLIBILITY. Infallibility is a quality of the Church, by which through divine assistance it is not able to err in matters of faith and morals. It is said: "cannot err;" since the Church not only does not err, which is a *fact*, but cannot err, which pertains to *right*. It is said: "through divine assistance." For only God is in Himself infallible. But a *participated* infallibility pertains to the Church by the assistance of God. "In matters of faith and morals" means that infallibility is not extended to those things which in no way touch faith and morals.

[32.2] II. THE NATURE OF INFALLIBILITY IS EXPLAINED. Infallibility is accomplished through the influence of God upon the members of the Church, and not by some human power. Sacred Scripture says: "*This is the work of God, that you believe.*" John VI: 29. And indeed the human mind, although it is ordered to the truth, is not confirmed in the truth. Just as in many sciences, if men use the light of natural reason with less diligence, the source of error opens very wide, with the result that "human reason is very deficient in divine things." IIa IIæ q. 2, art. 4. The same must be said for greater reason of supernatural things. Therefore the Church *in itself* is not infallible.

[32.3] In God, however, whose intelligence is the measure and cause of every other being and every other intellect, and who is alone His own *esse* and His own *intelligere*, is not only the truth, but is the highest and First Truth. It is eminently clear that men can receive from Him, to whom alone infallibility is not participated but proper, a participated infallibility.

[32.4] Infallibility flows into the Church [1] through a divine and secret operation of the first and immutable Truth, to whose absolute command the human mind is subject. [2] From Christ, the head of

the whole body of the Church. St. Thomas says: "From the head to the other members, which conform to it in nature, in the same way that sense and movement are derived, so from Christ both grace and truth are derived to other men. For this reason in Eph. I: 22 it says: "*And he hath subjected all things under his feet, and hath made him head over all the church, which is His body.*" (Comp. Theol. 214) [3] From the Holy Ghost, according to this statement of St. Augustine: "What the soul is to the body of man, so the Holy Ghost is to the body of Christ, which is the Church: the Holy Ghost does this in the whole Church, which the soul does in all the members of one body." (Sermon on the day of Pentecost.)

[32.4] III. THE DOCTRINE OF THE ASSISTANCE OF THE HOLY GHOST IN THE CHURCH. Theologians teach that the divine Persons are substantially and not merely operationally present in the first *justification* of man and in any increase of grace. This must also be affirmed concerning the Holy Ghost. But a special *assistance*, by which the Holy Ghost assists the Church, lest it err, and which does not seem to be a true *habitation* of the Holy Ghost in the soul, pertains instead to that general presence, by which God is in all things by operation. Cf. Billuart, t. I. diss. VI. art. 4. — Whatever it is, "If someone should say: *I believe in the holy Catholic Church*, it should be understood according as ~~our~~ *our* faith refers to the Holy Ghost, who sanctifies the Church, so that the meaning is: *I believe in the Holy Ghost sanctifying the Church.* (IIa IIæ q. 1, art. 9. ad 5; cf. *Opus in Symb.* art. IX.) In what sense, therefore, we think that the *assistance* which effects infallibility ought to be attributed to the Holy Ghost, we can easily gather from the fact that the Holy Ghost is said to illuminate the intellect, inasmuch as "all things which we know, we know from the Holy Ghost" as St. Thomas says, *In Symb.* VIII. He furthermore

gives his doctrine concerning the *source of infallibility* with these words: "The universal Church cannot err, because it is governed by the Holy Ghost, who is the Spirit of Truth: for the Lord promised this to the disciples, (John XVI), saying: *When the Spirit of Truth comes, He will teach you all truth.*" (IIa IIæ q. 1, art. 9. — cf. *Quodl.* IX, 16.)

[32.5] IV. ASSISTANCE, REVELATION, AND INSPIRATION. [1] The special assistance of God, by which the Church is always preserved immune from error, is distinguished *from revelation*. When God reveals in the strict sense, a new doctrine is *manifested*, but through assistance, the revealed doctrine is preserved in a holy manner. [2] Assistance is also distinguished from *inspiration*, which is affirmed concerning the books of the Old and New Testaments, because these books have God as their author owing to the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. [3] Assistance is conceded to the Church, in order that the revealed and inspired doctrines be preserved intact. [4] Furthermore, God does not give mere *negative* assistance to His Church, by which to preserve it from error, but *positive* as well, to the extent that it is necessary.

[32.6] V. ACTIVE AND PASSIVE INFALLIBILITY. *Passive* infallibility is immunity of the Church from error *in believing* and in *learning*; *active* infallibility is immunity from error in *teaching*. In this thesis ~~one~~ it must be asked in general whether the prerogatives of infallibility have been granted to the Church. We understand the Church here to be the group of the faithful, both of those that learn and of those that teach. The infallibility of this Church in *believing* and in *professing* is contained in those things which follow. [1] The faith of the Church is not able to defect. [2] The Church is not able to defect in believing. This must be understood in the sense that it cannot be deceived even by an error through no fault of its own, and that it cannot be moved to error even unknowingly. [3] Not only was the ancient Church incapable of erring, but also the Church which now exists, and that which will be until the consummation of the world, cannot err in faith, and

will not err in faith. Cf. Canus, *De locis theologicis*. IV. 4.

[32.7] VI. ADVERSARIES. THE PUSEYITES. The Protestants deny that the Church is infallible. The puseyites nevertheless profess that it is infallible *in abstracto*, whose subject would be the Roman Church, the Greek Church, and the established Anglican Church, joined in one universal Church. But this universal church, divided into three communities, since they do not agree in professing the same faith, concludes that no infallible church *in concreto* is seen. Furthermore the error concerning the three communities has been dissolved above.

[32.8] *Thesis*: The Church of Christ is infallible.

ARGUMENTS

[32.9] ARGUMENT I. What is immutable and unconquerable in faith, we call infallible. But the Church is immutable and unconquerable in faith. Therefore it is infallible. The *major* is evident, since what ~~it~~ makes a mistake, is changed and is overcome by error. *Proof of the minor* is from *Matth. XVI: 18* and I Tim. III: 15, [A] with regard to immutability, and [B] with regard to faith.

[32.10] [A] In the Scriptures, the Church is said to be built upon [1] a rock (*Matth. XVI: 18*); [2] it is called *a column and foundation*; [3] *the gates of hell shall not prevail against it*, (*Matth. l.c.*) Therefore it is immutable and invincible.

[32.11] [1] Jesus said to blessed Peter, *Upon this rock I will build My Church*. But the word *rock*, which the Savior here uses, in Syriac, Hebrew and Aramaic means *a large rock*, and therefore in this case indicates a foundation of rock, which preserves the immutability of the whole edifice. Cf. *Matth. VII: 24-26*.

[32.12] [2] The Church, as St. Paul says, is the *column and foundation of truth*. This metaphor bears the notion of firmness just as the metaphor of *rock* does. For it is required by the very meaning and use of the words of Sacred Scripture. Cf. I Cor. XV: 58; Coloss. I: 23, etc. Gal. II: 9; Ps 74: 3 etc.

[32.13] [3] *The gates of hell* by a figure of speech indicates the *kingdom* or *city* of hell. Cf. Gen. XXII: 7. Psalm 86: 2. Notice the hostile force, greater than which there cannot be. But not even by that greatest force is the Church able to be subjected: they will not prevail against it. Therefore the Church, which not even the most powerful enemies can overcome, cannot be overcome.

[32.14] [B] *The immutability and invincibility regards the faith, that is, the truths of the faith.*

[32.15] [1] The Church, built upon a rock, is without doubt absolutely firm with regard to those things which Christ wanted to remain intact. But Christ wanted the truths of the faith to remain intact. For the unity of faith from Christ, from the Apostles, and from the Fathers is impressed absolutely upon all, and in the supernatural life the faith is first and the root of all the other virtues. Cf. the unity of faith, q. V, a. 2.

[32.16] [2] *Pillar and ground* shows the firmness of the Church in faith. For St. Paul says: "the column and foundation of truth." But by the word *truth* the truths of the Christian faith are clearly indicated. This argument is so evident that some Protestants have corrupted this verse of Scripture. For St. Paul writes: "that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth." Some have corrupted it to say: "That you know how you should behave yourself in the house of God, which is the Church of the living God. The pillar and ground of truth, and clearly great is the mystery of godliness, which was manifested in the flesh." You see how the words *pillar* and *ground*, separated from the *Church of the living God*, connect with what comes after. But the Fathers and the codices in no way admit this recent interpretation.

[32.17] [3] *The gates of hell* without doubt indicate errors contrary to faith. But the gates of hell shall not prevail against the Church. Therefore the errors against faith shall not prevail against the Church. Indeed, an error against faith was always considered to be the greatest evil by both the Apostles and the Fathers. For this reason, St. Paul wrote to Timothy: "But evil men and seducers shall grow worse and worse: erring, and driving into error."

But continue thou in those things which thou hast learned, and which have been committed to thee." (II Tim. III: 13-14) In Gal. I: 9, St. Paul says: *As we said before, so now I say again: If any one preach to you a gospel, besides that which you have received, let him be anathema.*

[32.18] ARGUMENT II. Jesus spoke to the college of apostles in this manner: "And Jesus coming, spoke to them, saying: All power is given to me in heaven and in earth. Going therefore, teach ye all nations; baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world." (Matth. XXVIII: 18-20)

In such a way the following things are promised: [A] infallibility in the faith; [B] to not only the Apostles, but to the Church; [C] until the end of the world. This is proved.

[32.19] The words: "I am with you," and similar words, by which God promises that He will be with some work to be done in the future or in performing some function [1] ⁱⁿ Sacred Scripture signifies that that work will certainly be done. For example, in Exodus II: 11 & 12, it says: *And Moses said to God: Who am I that I should go to Pharaoh, and should bring forth the children of Israel out of Egypt? And he said to him: I will be with thee.*" Compare Gen. XXVI: 3, 28; Deut. XXXI: 8; Jerem. XXX: 10, 11; Acts XVIII: 9, 10; etc. [2] The happy outcome of the work is easily understood from the words which are quoted, since the Lord declares that He will be the sponsor of what needs to be done. Having said these things, I reason in this way:

[32.20] [A] Christ promised that He would grant prosperity to the work of teaching the faith when He said: "Going therefore teach... and I will be with you." But this promise, done in order that the faith be preached, certainly includes infallibility. For [1] the special assistance of Christ is promised and therefore the happy outcome in teaching each and every article of faith, when it is commanded: *teach them to observe all things which I have commanded you.* [2] If one should deny infallibility according to its true sense, then the aforesaid assistance means

nothing. For if it were possible that the faith of the Church could defect in any article, then we would always be in doubt whether this or that should be believed in fact or not. Therefore by the quoted words infallibility in *faith* is truly promised.

[32.21] [B] *The promise of infallibility was made to the Church, and not only to the Apostles.* For [1] the apostolic college represented the Church of Christ. [2] The promises are ordered to teaching *all peoples*. But this work of preaching, begun by the Apostles, must be continued by the successors of the Apostles until the end of the world. [3] The promises are extended beyond the age of the Apostles *until the end of the world*. Therefore the assistance promised pertains to the Apostles, *not exclusively as persons*, but as to a *moral body*, to remain in their successors.

[32.22] [C] *Infallibility is promised until the end of the world.* For it is said: *all days until the consummation of the world*. This consummation is either the *end of the apostolic age*, or it is the end of the world. But the second must be the one affirmed as true. [1] From the words in themselves, which should not be restricted. [2] From the use of the Sacred Scriptures. For besides this place, the term *consummation of the world* occurs in four other places in the New Testament, and always signifies the end of the world. No one contradicts this. So in Matth. XIII:39, Christ in explaining the parable of the cockle says: *the harvest, however, is the consummation of the world*. Cf. Matth. XIII: 40, 49; XXIV: 3.

[32.23] ARGUMENT III. The Savior promises three times the Spirit of truth (John XIV: 17; XV: 26; XVI: 13), and among other things uses these words: *"And I will ask the Father, and he shall give you another Paraclete, that he may abide with you for ever. The spirit of truth."* (John XIV: 16, 17) But *"The Paraclete, the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he will teach you all things, and bring all things to your mind, whatsoever I shall have said to you."* (John XIV: 26) *"But when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will teach you all truth."* (John XVI: 13) But this is [A] a promise of infallibility in the faith; [B] which is promised to the Church and not only to the

Apostles, and [C] is to be continued until the end of the world. *Proof of the minor.*

[32.24] [A] *Infallibility in the faith* is granted to them, by which the Holy Ghost Himself is promised for that very end, that they teach *all truth*. But it is promised by Christ. The *minor* is evident from the quoted texts, where we read explicitly: *He will teach you all things — all things whatever I have said to you — all truth.*

[32.25] [B] *The promise is made to the Church.* [1] The body of the Apostles represented the Church. [2] The *purpose* of the mission of the Holy Ghost is extended as well to the successors of the Apostles, since that purpose is the whole business of preaching, as is evident from what follows: *"But when the Paraclete cometh, whom I will send you from the Father, the Spirit of truth, who proceedeth from the Father, he shall give testimony of me."* (John XV: 26) *"And when he is come, he will convince the world of sin, and of justice, and of judgment."* (John XVI:8) *"he shall glorify Me."* (John XVI: 14) [3] The word *forever* was able to be said only of a moral body, and not of the *persons* of the apostolic college. [4] The quoted texts are connected with John XVII: 20, where Jesus, when He is praying, says: *"And not for them only do I pray, but for them also who through their word shall believe in me."*

[32.26] [C] *Until the end of the world.* Christ said: *forever*. But the sense of this statement is *until the end of the world*, as three things will prove. [1] This statement signifies in many places of Sacred Scripture the length of all the ages. [2] The end of the mission of the Holy Ghost just quoted, and the analogy with the promises in Matth. XVI: 18 and XXVIII: 18-20 and with the doctrine of St. Paul in I Tim. III: 15 demand this meaning. [3] St. John seems to confirm this meaning when he writes concerning the faithful, (who all know the truth): *"because of the truth, which remains in us, and will be with us forever."* II John, 2.

[32.27] Confirmation. *from the prophecies of the Old Testament.* [A] By the kingdom of Christ, which is the Church, the perpetuity and firmness were promised by the prophets. (Cf. art. 1) But perpetuity and firmness in the Church cannot even be thought

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of without infallibility. For [1] faith in the kingdom of Christ is its root and foundation; for this reason the Fathers take this verse of Osee to refer to the Church (II: 19, 20): "*And I will espouse thee to me for ever: and I will espouse thee to me in justice, and judgment, and in mercy, and in commiserations. And I will espouse thee to me in faith: and thou shalt know that I am the Lord.*" [2] That the Church would last forever, the prophets predicted, when they foretold that Christ would reign in it forever.

[32.28] [B] There is this prophecy of Isaias: "*This is my covenant with them, saith the Lord: My spirit that is in thee, and my words that I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever.*" (LIX: 21) Later he says: "*Thou shalt no more have the sun for thy light by day, neither shall the brightness of the moon enlighten thee: but the Lord shall be unto thee for an everlasting light, and thy God for thy glory. Thy sun shall go down no more, and thy moon shall not decrease: for the Lord shall be unto thee for an everlasting light, and the days of thy mourning shall be ended.*" (LX: 19, 20) These things seem to refer to the Church. Therefore the faith of the Church will not fail.

[32.29] Arguments from Luke XXII: 31-32; John XXI: 15-17, will be explained later where we speak about the primacy.

B. From the Fathers

[32.30] ARGUMENT I. *Negatively.* Those who deny the infallibility of the Church assert not only that the Church is subject to errors, but also that it could happen, that it could believe and profess for many centuries the most foul errors. For they say that this happened in the Roman Church, outside of which no church was seen for many centuries. But the Fathers never affirmed, even with one word, or even speculated in any way, that it could happen, that the Church of Christ could fall even into one error. Therefore infallibility is very much in conformity with the mind of the Fathers.

[32.31] ARGUMENT II. *From the apostolic fathers.* Given certain circumstances, it is certain that the apostolic Fathers believed that the Church was infallible. Therefore the faith of the Church is not able to defect. I said: *given certain circumstances*, which are [1] the paucity of works which were either written by the apostolic Fathers, or which survive; [2] the nature and matter of the works, which do not treat of our controversies; [3] the doctrine of Sacred Scripture, which outshined the apostolic Fathers, as well as the doctrine of the subsequent Fathers, who declared the faith received from the apostolic age. *Proof of the antecedent.*

[32.32] [A] *St. Clement of Rome.* I Cor. XLVI: 6 and *St. Ignatius of Antioch* (Ephesians V) teach the greatest union of Christ with His Church. *St. Ignatius* says: "*Where Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church.*" But it is impossible that such a union not effect a church which is absolutely firm in the faith. For this reason, the author of the *Epistle to Diogenes*, chapter XI, preaches that it is the Son of God through whom the Church is enriched...the faith of the gospels is made firm, and the tradition of the Apostles is guarded and the grace of the Church rejoices." Likewise in the *Pastor of Hermes* (Simil. IX: 12-13) the "tower" which is the "Church" founded upon a "rock" is said to be in fact the "Son of God." He adds: "The tower becomes one stone with the rock," which seems to indicate a great firmness of faith.

[32.33] [B] The apostolic Fathers affirm that salvation is found in the Church and a remedy against errors; that they walk in the light who are joined to the Church; those who think in a heretical manner are entirely separated from the Church of Christ; they profess that heresy is a "lethal drug." Cf. quest. V, art. 2.

[32.34] [I] In addition to these, *St. Ignatius of Antioch* warns the Philadelphians in this manner: "Keep yourselves from those evil plants which Jesus Christ does not tend, because they are not the planting of the Father. Nor that I have found any division among you, but exceeding purity. For as many as are of God and of Jesus Christ are also with the bishop. And as many as shall, in the exercise of repentance, return into the unity of the Church,

these, too, shall belong to God, that they may live according to Jesus Christ." The same saint condemns those who try to disturb the Church with evil doctrines: "Do not err, my brethren. Those that corrupt families shall not inherit the kingdom of God. If, then, those who do this as respects the flesh have suffered death, how much more shall this be the case with any one who corrupts by wicked doctrine the faith of God, for which Jesus Christ was crucified! Such an one becoming defiled [in this way], shall go away into everlasting fire, and so shall every one that hearkens unto him. For this end did the Lord suffer the ointment to be poured upon His head, that He might breathe immortality into His Church. Be not ye anointed with the bad odor of the doctrine of the prince of this world; let him not lead you away captive from the life which is set before you. And why are we not all prudent, since we have received the knowledge of God, which is Jesus Christ?" (*Ad Eph.* XVI-XVII).

[32.35] *St. Polycarp* so vigorously defends that fact that one must adhere to the Church that, when Marcion the heretic said to him, "Recognize me," he is said to have answered, "I recognize the firstborn of the devil." (Euseb. E.H. lib. IV. 14) The same saint said to the Philippians (chap. VII): "Abandoning the vanity and false doctrines of many, let us return to the doctrine which was handed to us from the beginning." In chapter III, he says: "You will be able to be edified if you look into the epistles of Saint Paul with faith, which has been given to you, *"which is the mother of us all."* In fact St. Irenaeus affirmed "in the sight of God," that blessed Polycarp, if he heard the heresy of Florinus, "he would have cried out, and stopped his ears, exclaiming as he was wont to do: "O good God, for what times have You reserved me, that I should endure these things?" And he would have fled from the very spot where, sitting or standing, he had heard such words." S. Iren. in *epist ad Flor.* ap. Eus. E.H. lib. V. 20.

[32.36] From these things it is apparent to what extent the Fathers agreed that the Church of Christ was maximally distant from any error.

[32.37] ARGUMENT III. *From some other Fathers.* *St. Irenaeus*, the disciple of *St. Polycarp*, after

he exposed apostolic succession, says this: "It is not necessary to seek the truth among others which it is easy to obtain from the Church; since the apostles, like a rich man [depositing his money] in a bank, lodged in her hands most copiously all things pertaining to the truth: so that every man, whosoever will, can draw from her the water of life. For she is the entrance to life; all others are thieves and robbers." *Adv. Her.* III. 4. The same saint says that faith is said to be in the Church: "always, by the Spirit of God, renewing its youth, as if it were some precious deposit in an excellent vessel, causes the vessel itself containing it to renew its youth also." He says in the same place: "Where the Church is, there is the Spirit of God, and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church and all grace; *but the Spirit is truth.*" In book V, chap. 20 he adds: "And undoubtedly the preaching of the Church is true and steadfast, in which one and the same way of salvation is shown throughout the whole world. For to it has been entrusted the light of God."

[32.38] *Clement of Alexandria*: "He ceases to be a man of God and faithful to the Lord, who resists the ecclesiastical tradition, and has descended into the opinions of human heresies." (*Strom.* VII. 16) *Origen*: "We ought not to pay attention to those who say: behold Christ, but who do not point him out in the Church...which is filled with the true light, which is the pillar and ground of truth." (*In Matth.* tract. XX). *St. Athanasius*: "It is sufficient to respond to the [paradoxes of the heretics] with only these words: These things are not of the Catholic Church." (*Epist ad Epict.*) *Tertullian*: He teaches that the infallibility of the Church can be denied only with absurdity. "Grant, then, that all have erred; that the apostle was mistaken in giving his testimony; that the Holy Ghost had no such respect to any one (church) as to lead it into truth, although sent with this view by Christ, and for this asked of the Father that He might be the teacher of truth; grant, also, that He, the Steward of God, the Vicar of Christ, neglected His office, permitting the churches for a time to understand differently, (and) to believe differently, what He Himself was preaching by the apostles,—is it likely that so many churches, and they so great, should have gone astray into one and the

Does not read reject

same faith? No casualty distributed among many men issues in one and the same result. Error of doctrine in the churches must necessarily have produced various issues. When, however, that which is deposited among many is found to be one and the same, it is not the result of error, but of tradition. Can any one, then, be reckless enough to say that they were in error who handed on the tradition?" (*De Præscrip.* XXVIII) *St. Jerome*: "I was able to dry up all the little rivers of [false] propositions in one sun of the Church." *C. Lucifer*. chap. XXVIII. *St. Augustine*: "This same is the holy Church, the one Church, the true Church, the Catholic Church, fighting against all heresies: fight, it can: be fought down, it cannot. As for heresies, they went all out of it, like as unprofitable branches pruned from the vine: but itself abides in its root, in its Vine, in its charity." *De Symb. ad Catech.* I. 6.

[32.39] ARGUMENT IV. *From the practice of the Church and monuments.* [A] It was always the practice of the Church, that whoever should dissent from the Catholic Church, should be considered a heretic. This public fact has been shown forth by the histories of all heresies and by the most certain decrees of the Councils and of the Pontiffs.

[32.40] [B] In the monuments are seen: [1] *The dove*, which is the Holy Ghost, resting upon a *chair*, which is the sign of ecclesiastical magisterium. (This is found in the graffiti of the cemetery *Ad duos lauros*, etc.) [2] *A pillar*, upon which the monogram of Christ is seen, placed between St. Peter and St. Paul. (Buonarotti, *Vetri*, t. XIV.) [3] *A ship*, which is borne by a fish or dolphin, the symbol of Christ (Kraus, *Real-Encyclopedie*, B. I, 521; II, 731). A certain picture in the cemetery of St. Calistus expresses divine protection in this manner: a small boat in the middle of the sea is tossed by the waves, which throw a man overboard, soon, so it seems, to perish. But to another man, who is praying in the small boat, the arm of God from the clouds offers help. (J. Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Sakramentskapellen*, S. 23-24.) [4] *The Ark*, which does not undergo shipwreck, and by which men are delivered from the waves. (Kraus, II. p. 500)

OBJECTIONS

[32.41] OBJECTION I. Infallibility is pernicious to the human race. Therefore Christ did not concede it to His Church. *Proof of the antecedent.* He who believes himself to be infallible, since he neglects a further investigation of the truth, becomes inert. He spurns with a fanatical intolerance the opinions of those who disagree. But these things are extremely pernicious.

[32.42] RESPONSE. *I deny* the antecedent. For the proof *distinguish*. Infallibility generates *per se inertia and intolerance, I deny*; through abuse, *let it pass*. Divine assistance directs man in knowing the truth; it does not diminish, however, human activity, which is exercised in many sciences through the light of natural reason, since there is no faculty of investigation or object or impulse which is removed by infallibility. ~~Not~~ is the tolerance of charity and certitude, but only the tolerance of indifferentism.

[32.43] INSTANCE. He who has attained the end, rests. But they who believe in infallibility affirm that they already have the truth, which is the purpose of investigation. Therefore they remain inert.

[32.44] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. He who obtains the end rests from the enjoyment of the end, *I deny*; from the seeking of the end, *I subdistinguish*: with regard to the end which he has, *I concede*; with regard to all things, *I deny*. *I distinguish* the minor. Those who believe in infallibility claim that they have every single truth, *I deny*; the truth which has been left to the Church by Christ, *I subdistinguish*: by way of faith, *I concede*; with the knowledge of sacred doctrine, *I deny*. And *I deny* the conclusion. Indeed [1] those things which the faith teaches do not exclude a scientific investigation, as the *Summa* of St. Thomas Aquinas demonstrate; [2] besides the truths of the Faith, there are practically an infinite number of natural truths to be investigated; [3] the true activity of man does not consist in this, that in a state of doubt he is constantly seeking the truth, but instead in obtaining those goods which can be obtained through the light of faith.

[32.45] INSTANCE. If the Church can never defect in faith, then it can never resist the Holy

Ghost teaching it. But if it cannot resist, then it is not free. Therefore infallibility is absurd.

[32.46] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. The whole Church cannot resist the Holy Ghost, *I concede*; single members of the Church cannot resist, *I deny*. And *I distinguish* the minor. It would be stripped of liberty if it could not resist by necessity of nature, *I concede*, by efficacy of grace, *I deny*.

[32.47] INSTANCE. But the whole Church is free.

[32.48] RESPONSE. *I concede* the antecedent. *I deny* the consequent. Just as someone can, while remaining free, be confirmed in the good, so this is possible in the truth. Therefore liberty does not perish when Christ, through the assistance of the Holy Ghost constitutes the Church as infallible in truth.

[32.49] OBJECTION II. If the Church, owing to the text which has been cited, is said to be infallible, then it must be said to be impeccable because of an analogy with other texts. But it is not impeccable. Therefore it is not infallible. *Proof of the major*. For example, Christ said to His disciples, "Therefore be ye perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect." (Matth. V: 48)

[32.50] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. The Church must be said to be impeccable inasmuch as its single members are not able to sin, *I deny*; inasmuch as it is necessary that in the members the fruit of sanctity should always be operating, *I concede*. And *condistinguishing* the minor, *I deny* the conclusion. *Proof of the major*. *I distinguish*: Christ saying "Be ye perfect etc." invites to perfection, *I concede*; gives perfection to them, *I deny*. We have proved, however, that infallibility was given to the Church by Christ.

[32.51] INSTANCE. In those words of Christ whereby Catholics assert that the Holy Ghost was promised to the Church, it is certain that some of them pertained only to the Apostles, e.g., John XIV: 28: *If you loved me, you would indeed be glad, because I go to the Father: for the Father is greater than I*. Therefore there is nothing to stop us from saying that the whole text applies exclusively to the Apostles.

[32.52] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. In the text of Christ *some things* pertain to the Apostles alone, *I concede*; those by which infallibility is commonly proved, *I deny*. The solution is evident from the arguments.

Instance. Of those texts which have been cited in the arguments, this interpretation seems to be the more true, as in the saying *in aeternum*, that it should be restricted to the time of the Apostles, and the assistance, if it was also promised to the successors of the Apostles, be restricted to fundamental truths. Therefore infallibility is uncertain.

[32.53] RESPONSE. *I deny* the antecedent. We have proved that the clear promise of Christ cannot be eluded by any other interpretation. The context and the comparison of the texts attest to this, such as, for example, the text of Saint Matthew, "...*usque ad consummationem saeculi*," and that of St. John "...*in aeternum*." The consent of the Fathers makes the matter entirely certain. Concerning the fundamental articles, we have said enough concerning this in Question V, article 2.

ARTICLE IV
[33]
WHETHER THE TEACHING CHURCH IS THE SUBJECT OF ACTIVE
INFALLIBILITY

[33.1] I. We have seen that the charism of infallibility has been granted to the Church. Specifically we ask whether all the members of the Church must be said to be the subject of infallibility in the same manner.

[33.2] The Richerians, the Pistoians, and the multitudinists (cf. q. III), contend that everything which pertains to the ecclesiastical power, but especially infallibility, first, more immediately and more essentially has been conferred on the universality of the faithful, and only *secondarily* and ministerially on the bishops and the Roman Pontiff. Catholics teach that the bishops with the Roman Pontiff are the principal subject of infallibility.

[33.3] II. A TWOFOLD SPECIES OF INFALLIBILITY HAS BEEN GRANTED TO THE CHURCH, of which one is *passive*, i.e., in believing, and the other is *active*, i.e., in teaching. There are found two kinds of members in the Church: one kind is of those who learn, and the other kind is of those who have the function of *teaching*. We assert that passive infallibility pertains to the learning Church in such a way that, being joined with the teaching Church, it makes one Mystical Body of Christ with it. But there is no infallibility of the faithful, if they are not united to their pastors. But the pastors enjoy active infallibility independently of the faithful. So the teaching Church is considered to be the subject of active infallibility.

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[33.4] III. THE TEACHING CHURCH IS CONSTITUTED BY THOSE TO WHOM PROPERLY THE RIGHT AND OFFICE OF TEACHING AUTHENTICALLY THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH HAS BEEN COMMITTED. The right and office can be seen [1] in the Roman

Pontiff, teaching *ex cathedra*; [2] in the ecumenical councils [3] in the body of bishops, united to the Roman Pontiff, dispersed throughout the world. We have already spoken about the third. But one must pay attention to the fact that infallibility pertains to the universality of bishops, and not to singular bishops.

[33.5] *Thesis*: The teaching Church is the subject of active infallibility.

[33.6] ARGUMENT I. The learning Church must listen to the teaching Church, that is, the pastors of the Church. Therefore if the pastors were to err, the whole Church would be forced to err. But we have proved that the Church is endowed with infallibility. Therefore the pastors of the Church cannot err in teaching the faith. That the learning Church must listen to the teaching Church is evident (a) from the fact that the group of pastors bears the person of Christ in teaching the faith, who, appearing to his disciples after the resurrection, said: *Just as the Father hath sent Me, so I send you.* (John XX: 21) (b) from the hierarchical constitution of the Church demonstrated elsewhere; (c) from the magisterium of the Church, instituted by God. Cf. quæst. X.

[33.7] ARGUMENT II. The promises of Christ concerning infallibility were made primarily and immediately to the rulers of the Church and with an order to the function of teaching. Therefore the teaching Church is the subject of active infallibility. *Proof of the antecedent.* Matth. XVI: 18: Peter is established as the *rock*, from which the whole edifice

has its firmness. — *Matth. XXVIII: 18-20*: Christ promises that he will be with them in all ages, to whom He had said: *Going therefore*. — *John XIV – XVI*: The Holy Ghost is promised to those who were commanded to give testimony concerning Christ. For this reason, St. Ireneus teaches that they ought to be obeyed, “*who received with the succession of the episcopacy the charism of truth according to the good pleasure of the Father.*” (*Adv. Hær. IV. 26.*)

[33.8] ARGUMENT III. “God prepares and disposes those whom He chooses for something in such a way, that they are found suitable for what they are chosen to do.” (IIIa, q. 27. a. 4.) But the teaching Church is chosen, so that through it the faithful learn the faith in an unshaken manner, which could not happen if it were devoid of infallibility. Likewise: To the extent that something approaches its principle in any genus, to that same extent does it participate in the effect of that principle.” l.c., art. 5. But the fact that the teaching Church is maximally close to the Holy Ghost, as the principle of infallibility, is understood from the fact that the Holy Ghost is the principle of infallibility, inasmuch as the Church teaches. For the teaching Church, since it is the instrument of the Holy Ghost in preaching and teaching, participates more in His effect, who is in the Church the principle and principal power of inerrancy.

[33.9] What the Fathers thought about this subject will be seen later when we treat of the *magisterium* and the *councils*.

OBJECTIONS

[33.10] OBJECTION I. Faith also had to be preserved in the Jewish religion. But the rulers of the Jewish Church were able to err in faith. Therefore it is not necessary that the pastors of the Christian Church teach infallibly.

[33.11] RESPONSE. *Let the minor pass.* By denying the equality, I deny the conclusion. Whatever you want to think about the inerrancy of the synagogue, you do not thereby destroy the prerogatives of the Roman Church. For between the

Old and the New Law there is a threefold difference with regard to this question.

[33.12] (a) In the Jewish people, besides the ordinary ministry of the priests, there was present the extraordinary mission of the prophets; (b) the Judaic Church, since it was of a single and particular people, and with regard to the number of revealed truths, very inferior to the Church of Christ, lacked the charism of infallibility with much less danger; (c) to the Jewish Church there were never made those manifest and explicit promises of infallibility which were clearly made to the Church of Christ.

[33.13] OBJECTION II. The teaching Church will not be infallible if the Apostles erred. But they all erred. For Christ, who was soon to return to His Father, appeared to the eleven and “*upbraided them with their incredulity and hardness of heart, because they did not believe them who had seen him after he was risen again.*” (Mark XVI: 14)

[33.14] RESPONSE. I distinguish the major. If the Apostles erred in teaching after the coming of the Holy Ghost, I concede; before the coming, I deny. And by this response all of the objections of this type are solved. Listen to Saint Thomas: “The [disciples], although they already had the Holy Ghost in the gift of grace by which they were perfected in those things which pertained to their singular persons, nevertheless, on the day of Pentecost, they received the Holy Ghost, but in the gift of grace by which they would be perfected for the promulgation of faith for the salvation of others.” (*In IV Sent. dist. VII, q. 1, art. 2, 2.*)

[33.15] INSTANCE. The infallibility of the Apostles pertains only to those to whom all the prerogatives of the Apostles have been transmitted. But not all have been transmitted to the successors of the Apostles. Therefore infallibility has not been transmitted.

[33.16] RESPONSE. I distinguish the major. Infallibility pertains only to those to whom the ordinary prerogatives have been transmitted, I concede; extraordinary, I deny. And I distinguish the minor. That the extraordinary prerogatives have not been transmitted, I concede; the ordinary, I deny. Power and prerogatives which regarded the *fieri*

(*becoming*) of the Church and its foundation, or to the Apostles as private, were not to be transmitted to the successors, but whatever power or prerogatives were given by God for the purpose of preserving the Church, and for its ordinary government, must necessarily remain with the Church itself.

[33.17] **OBJECTION III.** Infallibility requires no delay or labor in defining. But there is often seen delay and labor in the Church when it teaches, as in the case of defining the Immaculate Conception and the infallibility of the pope.

[33.18] **RESPONSE.** No delay or labor is required where there is had the infallibility of revelation, *let it pass*; of assistance, *I deny*; and *I distinguish* the minor. That delay and labor are directed by the Holy Ghost for an opportune and certain definition, *I concede*; that the delay and labor are lacking that direction, *I deny*. I will explain the response concerning a few things.

[33.20] (a) *With regard to delay.* Infallibility of assistance does not exclude human operation, but excites and directs it for the purpose of procuring the salvation of the Church. But among the rulers of the Church, since they have not received each and every ~~one received~~ infallibility, a certain controversy occurs concerning what must be believed. Nor should every single controversy that arises be settled by a definition. But if the salvation of the faithful should be put in danger by controversies of this type, or if some other very serious reason demands it, the Church, through the assistance of the Holy Ghost, to the extent that it is necessary, is excited and directed toward definition. So in the fourth century, the consubstantiality of the Son against Arius, and in our time the pontifical infallibility ^{have} has been declared by a solemn decree. Other things have never been declared solemnly. However the judgement

concerning delay pertains to no private individual, but to the Church, which God directs even with regard to ^{knowing} know the correct time for a definition.

[33.21] (b) There is nothing preventing labor from accompanying the infallibility of assistance. For the definitions of the Church are not written down from the proximate revelation of God, but are taken from the deposit of faith. For this reason, the very matter demands that what has been handed down by written word or spoken word be diligently investigated by the rulers of the Church. There was even a great research done by the Apostles and the elders who were gathered together in Jerusalem for the purpose of defining (Acts XV: 7) The author of the second book of the Macchabees in II: 27 and St. Luke in I: 1-4 indicate that they performed a great deal of labor in writing their respective sacred books.

[33.22] **INSTANCE.** If labor is required in teaching, then one can call into question whether the teaching Church used sufficient diligence in defining, and because of this the authority of the Church remains uncertain.

[33.23] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the antecedent. It can be called into doubt by reason of human infirmity, *I concede*; by reason of divine Providence, *I deny*. Christ absolutely prescribed that the faithful listen to the teaching Church. Therefore that doctrine must be held absolutely which is defined by the common consent of the pastors. Besides, if it pertained to the learning Church to judge concerning the sufficient study of the pastors, then not a single judgement of the teaching Church would remain firm. Therefore it must be concluded that God, who is all-wise, adapts the means to the end, and that nothing would be lacking on the part of the Providence of God, in regard to those things required for a firm and solid judgement, to the judgements of the Church.

QUESTION IX

THE OBJECT OF THE INFALLIBILITY OF THE CHURCH

ARTICLE I [34] WHETHER THE OBJECT OF INFALLIBILITY IS ALL THINGS IMMEDIATELY REVEALED.

I. THE OBJECT OF INFALLIBILITY CONSIDERED IN GENERAL. In general the object of infallibility is not a *new doctrine to be revealed*, but a *doctrine which has been revealed, and which is to be retained and explained*. Since the Spirit of truth has not been promised to the successors of St. Peter and to the Church which is joined to him "in order that He, through revelation, make known a new doctrine, but that through assistance they retain revelation or the deposit of faith in a holy manner, and explain it in a faithful manner. (Vatican Council, Const. *Pastor aeternus*) And since revelation contains truths which are both speculative and practical, the object of infallibility is correctly held to be *doctrine revealed by Christ concerning faith and morals*.

II. COMMON AND PRIVATE REVELATIONS. Revelation is *common* which is proposed to the whole Church to be believed; a private revelation is one which is made to a private person, as he is private and particular, such as revelations made to St. Catherine of Siena, St. Teresa, and other saints. We are not speaking here about private revelations, although [the judgment about] their doctrinal truth

or falsehood cannot be taken away from the Church, for at St. Thomas says: "Our faith is based on the revelation made to the prophets and the Apostles, who wrote canonical books, not, however, on the revelation which was made to other doctors." (Ia, q. I, art. 8, ad 2)

III. THINGS REVEALED IMMEDIATELY AND MEDIATELY. What is said to be revealed *immediately* or *formally* is what is revealed *in itself*; what is revealed *mediately* or *virtually* is what is revealed in its principles or *in its cause*.

How are truths deduced through reason from their principles? Certain things are contained in the premises "as a part in the whole, as a singular in the universal, or as something implicit expressed explicitly by means of equivalent terms." (Billuart, *Dissert. proem. De theologia*, art. 7) These things are inferred, however, through an improper and purely explicative discourse. But discourse which is purely explicative is not a cause which moves assent, but which applies the motive of assent which is revelation.

"Other things, says Billuart, are by reason of a natural connection, that is, as a property in an

essence or as an effect in a cause" are contained in the premises. They are usually called "theological conclusions" concerning which we will say a few things in the next article. These things, however, are inferred from the premises through proper discourse.

IV. TRUTHS, WHICH ARE INFERRED THROUGH IMPROPER AND PURE EXPLICATIVE DISCOURSE FROM ONE OR TWO PREMISES IMMEDIATELY REVEALED, ARE CONSIDERED TO BE IMMEDIATELY REVEALED. For truths of this kind, as we have just said, are particular propositions, which are included in a proposition immediately revealed. But particular propositions are included in a universal just like actual parts in a whole, and differ from it only in the manner of signifying. For example, let the universal proposition be posited, which is immediately revealed: *Christ died for all men*. This proposition, since it expresses not a confused knowledge of God concerning man, but an explicit and distinct knowledge of each man, falls formally and explicitly, inasmuch as it is on God's part, on each and every man. For this reason, the revelation of these propositions is considered by many theologians to be not virtual but *formal confused*. For in order that we perceive distinctly, for example, that Christ died for Solomon, no more explicit revelation is required from God, but it is merely necessary that we know that Solomon is a man.

V. DOCTRINE OF FAITH AND MORALS. We have said that the object of infallibility is revealed doctrine concerning faith and morals. But all things are contained in this formula which truly pertain to the doctrine of faith, although under a different aspect. For the object of faith is [1] *proper* and *common*. The proper object is supernatural truths; the common object is truths which are known by man by even the natural light of reason, although they are also revealed. (IIa IIæ q. 2, art. 4) — [2] *Principally intended and ordered to a manifestation of more principal things*. St. Thomas teaches this: those things are in themselves of faith, which order us directly to eternal life. Such are the Trinity of Persons in Almighty God, the mystery of Christ's

Incarnation, and the like: and these are distinct articles of faith. On the other hand certain things in Holy Writ are proposed to our belief, not chiefly on their own account, but for the manifestation of those mentioned above: for instance, that Abraham had two sons, that a dead man rose again at the touch of Eliseus' bones, and the like, which are related in Holy Writ for the purpose of manifesting the Divine mystery or the Incarnation of Christ: and such things should not form distinct articles." (IIa IIæ, q. 1, art. 6. ad rum) [3] *Per se* and *per accidens*: "The object of faith is that whereby man is made one of the Blessed, as stated above (I, 8): while *per accidens* and secondarily the object comprises all things delivered by God to us in Holy Writ, for instance that Abraham had two sons, that David was the son of Jesse, and so forth." (IIa IIæ, q. 2, art. 5) [4] *Directly* and *indirectly*: St. Thomas says: "Something pertains to faith in two ways: in one way directly, just as those things which are principally handed over to us by God, for example, that God is one and triune...Indirectly, however, those things pertain to faith the denial of which would lead to something contrary to faith." (Ia, q. 32, art. 4) — Diverse things, therefore, pertain to the deposit of revelation, which are contained in the formula *doctrine of faith*.

VI. The followers of Günther. —

The Catholic Church professes that the infallibility of the Church in things immediately revealed is a revealed dogma; the denial of this would have to be considered a heresy.

Thesis: THE OBJECT OF INFALLIBILITY IS ALL THINGS IMMEDIATELY REVEALED.

ARGUMENT I. What had been entrusted to the Apostles to hand over infallibly, had to be preserved by the Church infallibly. But the Apostles have handed over infallibly to the Church *everything* which was revealed. Therefore all things immediately revealed are the object of infallibility. The *major* is evident from the preceding articles. *Proof of the minor.*

Christ said: "Going, therefore, teach ye all nations...teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you. Matth. XXVIII: 20. The Holy Ghost is promised in order to teach all things explicitly. But the Paraclete, the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he will teach you all things, and bring all things to your mind, whatsoever I shall have said to you. (John XIV: 26) Indeed this is the proper effect of the Holy Ghost, that through Him the entire revealed truth is known and that many things are believed, which were not able to be believed unless they had been brought beforehand by the Spirit of truth. For so is it written: "I have yet many things to say to you: but you cannot bear them now. But when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will teach you all truth. For he shall not speak of himself; but what things soever he shall hear, he shall speak; and the things that are to come, he shall show you." (John XVI: 12, 13)

A confirmation of this doctrine can be found in the fact that the revealed things are designated as *a one and undivided whole* in Sacred Scripture. For truths ~~re~~^{are} revealed in this formula: *truth and the gospel*. For the Savior prayed: "Sanctify them in truth." (John XVII: 17) St Paul calls the Church: *the pillar of truth*. (I. Tim III: 15) The revealed truths are called *the gospel* by Christ, who commanded: "Preach the gospel." (Mark XVI: 15) St. Paul refers to heresy as "*another gospel*." (Gal. I: 6), and condemns it. The entire revealed doctrine is so undivided, that St. Paul made this judgement: "But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach a gospel to you besides that which we have preached to you, let him be anathema." (Gal I: 8) For this reason, he established in an absolute way: *one faith*. (Ephesians IV: 5) Therefore since *all* the revealed things are *one faith, one truth, one gospel*, it follows that whatever things are immediately revealed, in each and every one of these things the Church is completely free from error.

ARGUMENT II. *From the nature of infallibility.* Infallibility in revealed things is either all or nothing. But that it is not nothing has been demonstrated from previous theses. *Proof of the major.*

Infallibility, which is not extended to all revealed things, would be completely uncertain with regard to us. For uncertain infallibility is no infallibility. For from those things also, which we explained concerning the distinction of the *fundamentals*, permits us to affirm for certain that there is no norm which we could follow in discerning revealed things from things which are not revealed. If one should take away this faculty of discerning, there would arise a universal doubt. The statements would become void, and the mission of the Holy Ghost would be in vain.

ARGUMENT III. *From the Fathers.* (a) The Fathers state simply that the unity of *faith* is necessary. But the unity of *faith* demands infallibility. (b) The Fathers cited for infallibility above (pp. 255-258) obviously extend it to all revealed things. (c) It is the most ancient rule, by which the faith ~~are~~^{is} ordered to adhere to tradition, with no truth excepted. [See Latin text for references] (d) The practice of the Church shows the same thing, in which the principle was always approved, that any errors whatsoever, if they be contrary to revealed truth, must be labeled heretical.

OBJECTIONS

OBJECTION I. "The *ratio* of those things which pertain to the end are taken from the end." (St. Thomas, *In Phys.* II, lect. 2) But Christ's purpose was that only the principal revealed things be believed. Therefore infallibility, which is for this purpose, was promised only for the principal revealed things. *Proof of the minor.* In fact the Church teaches that only a few articles must be believed by necessity of means and some others by necessity of precept.

RESPONSE. *I concede the major. I distinguish the minor.* Christ's purpose was that only the principal things be believed explicitly and the rest implicitly, *I concede*; otherwise, *I deny*. A diligent consideration of the arguments sufficiently show^s that all revealed things were committed to the Church, which, by the efficacious assistance of God, it preserves. The purpose of Christ, however,

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was *partial* inasmuch as all the faithful believe explicitly at least those truths which light the way to man's supernatural end. His purpose was *total* inasmuch as the very rich treasure of revealed things be preserved in the Church, which would disperse the riches of revealed doctrine to all the faithful of all ages, as much as they can or want to bear.

For the *proof of the minor* the response is clear from what has been said concerning the fundamental articles, (Question V, art. 2)

INSTANCE. Infallibility is believed to have been given to the Church for the sake of sanctifying men. But for the sanctification of men a small number of revealed truths is sufficient as it is written: *Now this is eternal life: That they may know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent.* (John XVII: 3) Therefore infallibility is extended to a few revealed things.

RESPONSE. *I concede* the major. *I distinguish* the minor: for the sanctification of men a few revealed things are sufficient absolutely, *I concede*, hypothetically, *I subdistinguish*: it is sufficient for more simple people, *I concede*, for the Church, *I deny*. It is not a question of what could have been, but what in fact happened. But from the arguments it is clear that the precept of Christ is that all things which have been revealed and preached be preserved. The difference is between some faithful and the Church. For the faithful provide for themselves, but the great task has been mandated to the Church to provide for all men of all times. For this reason, all things whatsoever have been revealed are necessary, not for all the faithful and for each of the faithful, but for the Church, in order that it sanctify men, in the same way that every well-ordered nation preserves all of its laws, although only some apply to these citizens, and others to others, according to the differences of times and persons. Cf. St. Thomas, IIa IIæ q. 1, a. 8 & 6. Why so many truths? By revelation Christ wanted to manifest many truths. Did He not want them to be preserved by infallibility?

OBJECTION II. The word "all things" is occasionally taken in the broad sense. Therefore it

is not impossible that Christ used the words in Matthew XXVIII and in John XIV and XVI in the broad sense.

RESPONSE. Let the antecedent pass. *I deny* the consequent. For the *broad* sense cannot be assigned to these ^{places} in Sacred Scripture, owing to the context. Besides, a truncated infallibility is as ridiculous as it is inane: It is ridiculous, because if the Holy Ghost should withdraw from one or the other truth, then infallibility means nothing; it is inane, because a fallible infallibility is absurd.

INSTANCE. The Apostles erred even after the sending of the Holy Ghost because they in fact believed and taught in their writings that the universal judgement was imminent, as St. Paul says in I Cor. X: "Now all these things happened to them in figure: and they are written for our correction, upon whom the ends of the world are come." Cf. I John II: 18 and Apoc. XXII: 20.

RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent: The Apostles erred in matters of faith or morals, *I deny*; they warned everyone that they should always be prepared: *I concede*.

It seems from texts which are cited against this argument that the time of the Second Coming of Christ was hidden from the Apostles themselves. In this regard, the Savior had said to His disciples: "*But of that day or hour no man knoweth, neither the angels in heaven, nor the Son, but the Father.*" (Mark XIII: 32) Cf. Acts I: 7; St. Thomas in Suppl. q. LXXVII, art. 2; *In Psalm VI*, n. 1.

In response to the objection of I Cor. X: 11, St. Paul seems to indicate not the imminent end of the world, but the whole age of the world, which, after the first ages had elapsed, began to run from the Incarnation and passion of Christ to the day of judgement. This is the fullness of time. (Gal. IV: 4; Eph. III: 11) This is the age of which he writes in Hebrews I: 1-2 (*novissime, diebus istis*). In another place St. Paul admonishes the faithful lest they be troubled by the rumor that *the day of the Lord is at hand*. (II Thess. II: 12)

INSTANCE. Certain things were believed to be revealed by people living later which were not previously believed. Therefore certain things were either unknown by the Church, or were invented by it.

RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent: Some things were not believed by some members of the Church, *I concede*; by the Church *simpliciter*, *I subdistinguish*: not so explicitly, *I concede*; not implicitly, *I deny*.

The truths of the faith are revealed either explicitly or implicitly. We will speak later about those things which are implicitly revealed. But even those truths which are explicitly revealed admit a certain explication which, by the assistance of the Holy Ghost, is perfected by the Church, [1]

inasmuch as it might more clearly propose the truths under the concept and form of words; [2] inasmuch as it declares a truth more directly proposed under one concept against one error, and then later under a different concept against another error. An example of such an explication is had in the explication, proposed by the supreme magisterium of the Church, of the dogma of the Incarnation in the 4th and 5th centuries against the Arians, Nestorians, Monophysites and other heresies.

ARTICLE II

[35]

WHETHER THEOLOGICAL CONCLUSIONS ARE THE OBJECT OF INFALLIBILITY

I. THE DEFINITION OF A THEOLOGICAL CONCLUSION. It is defined as: *a conclusion, which through proper discourse is inferred from one or two premises which are formally and immediately revealed*. Cf. Salmant., Tract. XVII, *De fide*, disp. I. dub. IV. § 4; Billuart, Diss. procem. *De Theologia*, art. 7; Canus, *de locis theol.* lib. XII, 6. Thus for a theological ^{and} conclusion the following things are necessary ^{and} sufficient: [1] that one or the other premise be immediately revealed; [2] that the natural premise, if it is there, cannot be called into doubt; [3] that the conclusion be gathered by *proper* discourse from the premises; *proper* discourse takes place, if the conclusion is contained in the premises as a property in an essence or as an effect in a cause; [4] that the conclusion be drawn through necessary consequence from the premises.

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II. THEOLOGICAL CONCLUSIONS ARE VIRTUALLY REVEALED. Those things are said to be virtually revealed, which are not revealed in themselves, but in their principles, ^{from} in which they are concluded and from which they are drawn by *proper discourse*. In this place a threefold mode is

explained, by which conclusions are contained in the premises.

[1] They are contained as a part in a whole, or as a singular in a universal, or as something implicit in something explicit expressed in equivalent terms. This kind of conclusion, however, must be considered to be among those things which are immediately revealed, as we pointed out in article five.

[2] A conclusion, which is derived through *proper discourse* from *two* premises immediately revealed, is *formally* a theological conclusion, *specifically* however it is said to be a truth which is revealed *formaliter-implicite*. It is said to be a conclusion *formaliter*, that is, precisely seen as a conclusion through proper discourse inferred from premises. A conclusion of this type is more immediately based on the truth of the ^{premises} ~~premises~~ and on the connection between ^{them} ~~then~~ than on divine revelation. It is said to be *specifically* formally revealed, at least implicitly, precisely by reason of its object, because someone reveals a conclusion formally-implicitly, who formally explicitly reveals the premises. Cf. Salmant. l.c., n. 130-134. I said: *at least implicitly*. For it is possible

that in some other place something can be immediately and explicitly revealed, which is inferred from revealed premises.

[3] A conclusion, which through *proper discourse* is inferred from *one* of the premises immediately revealed and from *the other which is naturally certain*, is said simply and without any distinction to be *virtually revealed* and is said to be a theological conclusion. For this reason, arguments which we will soon put forth touch explicitly on these theological conclusions, *a fortiori*, contained under numbers [1] and [2]. these arguments are the more efficacious the more the conclusions have the nature of truths immediately revealed, since what is immediately revealed is the primary object of infallibility.

Question: *Whether a conclusion, inferred from two premises which are only mediately revealed, can be considered a theological conclusion.*

Resp. Billuart says "yes, although perhaps not so strictly, because they are still deduced under virtual revelation, although not immediately, and can be reduced at least mediately to what is formally revealed. Just as in natural sciences there is a true demonstration, although it proceeds from principle known *per se* only mediately; otherwise there would be very few true demonstrations." Diss. procem. *De theologia*, art. 7.

III. THE *ratio sub qua* THEOLOGICAL CONCLUSIONS MUST BE CONSIDERED THE OBJECT OF INFALLIBILITY. This *ratio sub qua* is the reason for the connection between immediately revealed things and those things which are required for the preservation, proposition and explanation of truths so revealed. *For the means must be proportioned to the end.* But the end of infallibility can be nothing else than the end of the *function of teaching*, which Christ committed to the Church. But that end is, no doubt, to *preserve* and *declare* revealed things, which the Fathers at the Vatican Council declared in this manner: "Nor is the doctrine of faith, which God has revealed, proposed as a kind of philosophical invention, to be perfected by human intelligence, but has been handed down to the spouse of Christ as a divine deposit to be faithfully preserved and infallibly declared." (Const. dogm.

Dei Filius, chap. 4) Indeed, it is necessary that revealed things be declared, lest they be obscured; they must be preserved, lest they be corrupted [1] by those doctrines which are directly repugnant to immediately revealed things; [2] by means of a false or erroneous affirmation by a negation of those doctrines which are closely connected with revealed things, in such a way that if these things should become obscured or corrupted, then the faith itself, if it does not perish, would certainly be weakened. "Now a thing may be of the faith in two ways, as stated above in one way, directly and principally, e.g. the articles of faith; in another way, indirectly and secondarily, e.g. those matters, the denial of which leads to the corruption of some article of faith; and there may be heresy in either way, even as there can be faith." (IIa IIæ, q. 11, art. 2)

[1] Theological conclusions, and anything which pertains to faith by reasons which we already stated, are decided by the supreme judgment of the Church, because it seems right to the Holy Ghost, and not because it has been reasoned. John of St. Thomas: "reasoning itself and disputation done in a human manner do not constitute a reason for defining or believing, but because it has seemed right to the Holy Ghost, not indeed as revealing again that truth, but as illuminating a hidden revelation which has been made and as manifesting a legitimate hidden meaning...because it seems right to the Holy Ghost, who spoke the truth first, and afterwards manifested that it was contained in that place, not by a new revelation, but by a new manifestation of a revelation which was previously made, and for this the Church has the infallible assistance of the Holy Ghost." (*Curs. theol.*, q. 1, disp. 1, art. 4)

[2] The infallible assistance of the Holy Ghost is certainly extended to those things which are consistent with the deposit of revelation, and which must necessarily be judged by the Church without error, in order that the revealed faith be safely preserved and declared. For the same reason, theological conclusions can be condemned by the infallible judgement of the Church, if they are false, or approved, if they are true.

[3] But an unlimited object of infallibility should not be construed. For there are many things which are considered in no way to pertain to the revealed faith. "For it does not pertain to the corruption of the Christian Faith," St. Thomas says, "if someone should have a false opinion concerning those things which do not pertain to the Faith, e.g., in geometry, or in other things of this type, which cannot in any way pertain to the Faith." (IIa IIæ, q. II, art. 2)

IV. THE CATHOLIC POSITION. The extension of infallibility to those things which are connected to revealed things in the manner stated, is a truth which is theological so certain, that its denial in the view of many is *heretical*, whereas others consider it *erroneous* or *proximate to heresy*, but all agreeing that it must be considered to be a very grave error. (Cf. Franzelin, *Tract. de div. trad.* etc. p. 123. Edit. 3)

Thesis: THEOLOGICAL CONCLUSIONS ARE THE OBJECT OF INFALLIBILITY.

ARGUMENT I. The means must be proportioned to the end. But the proportionate means would be lacking to the end of preserving the faith unless infallibility were extended to theological conclusions. Therefore the object of infallibility extends to theological conclusions. *Proof of the minor.* Revealed truth has been confided to the Church in order that it be used in the many moments of life, in which it often happens that conclusions are deduced. For an error in a conclusion affects, obscures, and weakens the premises.

The *major* is evident from the clear law of Christ: teaching them to observe all ~~things~~ ^{things}, whatsoever I have commanded you. (Matth. XXVIII: 20) and from the very character of the Christian religion, which is not an abstraction or merely speculative, but also practical. For this reason St. Thomas says: "The rules [of the Christian religion] are said to be universals, i.e., the whole of human life and anything which pertains to it in any way, containing it and ordering it." (*In Boet. De Trin.*, q. III, art. 3)

The *minor* seems sufficiently evident. For a conclusion is necessarily connected to the propositions from which it is drawn by the power of reasoning. But "the *ratio* of the connection... forces you to concede what is below when you have conceded what is above, and to deny what is above, when you have denied what is below." (Canus, *De locis theologicis*, lib. XII, 6)

ARGUMENT II. The object of infallibility is evident to the extent that the duty of preserving the deposit demands. But the deposit could not be properly preserved without infallibility in theological conclusions. Ergo. The *major* is evident. For the Savior, when he committed the custody of His Faith to the Church, he most certainly adapted the means to this end. *Proof of the minor.* It pertains to man to draw conclusions from those things which he knows certainly, but which are very often erroneous in religious and moral matters. But the Church would not be able to efficaciously protect from these errors, and at the same time infallibility would be destroyed, by which the Church definitively judges whether the aforesaid conclusions differ from truths which are immediately revealed.

ARGUMENT III. The Church cannot err in determining the object of its own infallibility, since if it had an uncertain object, then in the practical order infallibility itself would become uncertain. But the Church teaches that the object of infallibility is theological conclusions. This is evident for two reasons.

(a) *From the common teaching of the Church.* The Fathers at the Vatican Council taught: "Furthermore the Church which, together with its apostolic office of teaching, has received the charge of preserving the deposit of faith, has ^{by} divine appointment the right and duty of condemning what wrongly passes for knowledge, lest anyone be led astray by philosophy and empty deceit. Hence all faithful Christians are forbidden to defend as the legitimate conclusions of science those opinions which are known to be contrary to the doctrine of faith, particularly if they have been condemned by the Church; and furthermore they

are absolutely bound to hold them to be errors which wear the deceptive appearance of truth." (*Dei Filius*, chap. 4. Cf. l.c., *De fide et ratione*, canon III, and *epist. Pii IX* ad archiepisc. Monac. et Frising. *Gravissimas inter*, 11 Dec. 1862.) Leo XIII said: "Wherefore it belongs to the Pope to judge authoritatively what things the sacred books contain, as well as what doctrines are in harmony, and what is in disagreement, with them; and also, for the same reason, to show forth what things are to be accepted as right, and what to be rejected as worthless; what it is necessary to do, and what to avoid doing, in order to attain eternal salvation. For otherwise, there would be no sure interpreter of the commands of God, nor would there be any safe guide showing man the way he should ~~live~~." *Sapientia Christiana*. All theologians agree, as well.

(b) *From the practice of the Church*. The Council of Constance, session VIII against Wycliff, and session XV against Hus, condemned many articles in matters which were mediately revealed, and the sentence of the council was confirmed by Martin V; likewise among the theses which Pius V condemned against Baius, and among the 101 propositions which were condemned against Quesnell by Clement XI. In the dogmatic constitution *Auctorem fidei*, by which Pius VI condemned and reproved the errors of the Pistoians and the Jansenists, and to which he attached notes, theological conclusions are found. But the Church in the whole world gave that obedience and submission to these sentences which we are bound to give to infallible authority. Therefore the Church is infallible in proposing theological conclusions. St. Paul seems to embrace this conclusion when he says: "*O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoid the profane novelties of words and oppositions of knowledge falsely so called, which some promising, have erred concerning the faith.*" (1 Tim: VI, 20, 21)

OBJECTIONS

OBJECTION I. The object of infallibility is revealed doctrine concerning faith and morals. But a theological conclusion is not revealed. Therefore it is falsely asserted that a theological conclusion is the object of infallibility.

Response. *I distinguish the major*. Object of infallibility is revealed doctrine, and those things which refer to it, *I concede*, revealed doctrine ~~is~~ ^{the} itself only, *I deny*. Likewise *I distinguish the minor*. A theological conclusion is not revealed immediately, *I concede*; mediately or virtually, *I deny*. The Church of Christ also makes judgements about other truths from the light of divine revelation, inasmuch as these are coherent with revealed things. Cardinal Zigliara says: "By the very fact, therefore, that by a supernatural criterion the Church, by an infallible judgement, judges concerning revealed things, ~~it~~ ^{it} is also empowered by right to infallibly make judgements concerning doctrines which are in accordance with these things, or in opposition to them." *Propædæutica*, Lib. IV, 14, conc. 3.

INSTANCE. To faith and morals do not pertain those philosophical propositions and conclusions of other sciences which do not concern faith and morals. Therefore certainly propositions of this type cannot be infallibly condemned or approved.

RESPONSE. *I distinguish the antecedent*. Propositions do not pertain to the faith which do not concern faith and morals directly or indirectly, *I concede*; directly only, *I deny*. For it has been shown that the infallibility of the Church embraces in its extension both those things which are in themselves revealed and those which are required for the preservation, proposition, and defense of the deposit of faith. Therefore just as we who are ordered to preserve our bodies are bound to both nourish it and to protect it from poisons, so the Holy Ghost repels noxious errors from the Mystical Body of Christ, which is the Church.

ARTICLE III
[36]
WHETHER DOGMATIC FACTS ARE THE OBJECT OF INFALLIBILITY

I. A HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS OF JANSENISM. (a)
In the year 1585 near the town of Leerdamse among the Batavians a certain Cornelius Jansenius was born, who in 1635 was made the Bishop of Ypres in Belgium, and died in 1638. Jacob Jansenius, who was an ardent student of Baius, taught Jansenius theology, who was living in Louvain because of his pursuit of studies. Then Jansenius labored more than twenty years, all the way to his death, in writing a book, which is entitled the *Augustinus*. He entrusted this book to his chaplain, Reginald Lamaeus, to be published. But the author said in his testament, concerning the work to be published: "If however, the Roman See should desire anything to be changed, I am an obedient son, and to that Church, in which I have always lived, and up to this deathbed I am obedient. This is my final wish. Done on the sixth of May 1638." But the *Augustinus* of Ypres, having borrowed much from St. Augustine of Hippo, attributed too much to grace, and did not preserve human liberty. John Du Verger († 1643), commonly called Saint-Cyran, and a friend of Jansenius, led some Frenchmen into the opinion of Jansenius. The most famous of the sectarians in France were: *Antoine Arnauld* (1612-1694), who became the leader of the Jansenists when Saint-Cyran died, and who defended the sect with fierce ardor; *Blaise Pascal* (1623-1662), who by the elegance of speech and the sophistry of his reasoning became a crafty patron of the evil cause; *Pasquier Quesnel* (1634-1719), at one time a priest of the Oratory, who was in charge of the sect of Jansenists after Arnauld died in Brussels. Jansenism infected as well some of the priests of lower Germany, and the first schismatic in this region was Peter Kodde, the archbishop of Utrecht. To him succeeded Cornelius Steenhoven, Theodore Van der Croon

and others to the present day. Jansenism became more popular when Antoine Arnauld published his work entitled *De la fréquente Communion* (1643) and Pascal his *Lettres provinciales* (Jan. 1656 — March 1657). The center of Jansenism was Port-Royal.



BISHOP CORNELIUS JANSENIUS

The first error of the Jansenists was the five propositions, which Innocent X condemned, ~~have~~ *which were* extracted ~~them~~ from the book *Augustinus*, in the bull *Cum occasione* in 1653. (Check dogma books). The other error concerns the extension of infallibility.

(b) The Jansenists, lest they be crushed by the authority of the bull, conceded that the five propositions were condemned legitimately by Innocent X, but said that those propositions, at

least in the same sense, were not found in the book of Jansenius. This is the famous distinction of *jus* and *factum*, by which the adherents to the sect attacked the authority of the Church in such a perfidious manner, that Sainte-Beuve, who was an atheist, laughed at them saying: "The Jansenists have always had the habit of knowing the intentions of the popes better than the popes themselves." *Histoire de Port-Royal*. This two-headed distinction was defended by Arnauld who in 1656 in his book entitled *Lettre à un duc et pair*, professes that the Church is infallible with regard to doctrine (*jus*), but is fallible in judging whether condemned doctrines are found in a certain book, e.g., in the *Augustinus* (*factum*). Pascal makes the same distinction in his *Lettres provinciales* XVII and XVIII; Quesnel does the same in his book, *Réflexions morales*, 1687. But Alexander VII in his bull *Ad sacram* ^{on the year} 1656 defined that the five propositions excerpted from the *Augustinus* were condemned in the sense that the author intended. Then they tried to use the pretext of *religious silence*. The Jansenists, with regard to the *question of fact*, did not refuse an obedient or religious silence, but contended that no adherence of the mind was due to them. Finally in 1702 the work entitled *cas de conscience* was published.



Antoine Arnauld

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Alexander VII in the year 1665 sent this ~~formulary~~ to the clergy of France which they had to sign: "I, N., subject myself to the apostolic constitution of Innocent X and Alexander VII, and with a sincere heart I reject and condemn the five propositions which were taken from the book of Cornelius Jansenius, entitled *Augustinus*, in the sense intended by the same author, as the Apostolic See condemned them, and I so swear, etc. It is asked, however, in *cas de conscience*, whether absolution can be denied to an ecclesiastic, who, having signed the formula of Alexander, gives only an obedient silence to the *question of fact*. But Clement XI, by issuing a solemn decree, condemned the *obedient silence* and the doctrine of *cas de conscience* in this manner: "In order that, for the future, every occasion of error may be prevented, and that all sons of the Catholic Church may learn to listen to the Church herself, not in silence only (for, "even the wicked are silent in darkness" [I Kings 2:9]), but with an interior obedience, which is the true obedience of an orthodox man, let it be known that by this constitution of ours, to be valid forever, the obedience which is due to the aforesaid apostolic constitutions is not satisfied by any obsequious silence; but the sense of that book of Jansen which has been condemned in the five propositions mentioned above, and whose meaning the words of those propositions express clearly, must be rejected and condemned as heretical by all the faithful of Christ, not only by word of mouth but also in heart; and one may not lawfully subscribe to the above formula with any other mind, heart, or belief, so that all who hold or preach or teach or assert by word or writing anything contrary to what all these propositions mean, and to what each single one means, we declare, decree, state, and ordain, with this same apostolic authority, that all, as transgressors of the aforementioned apostolic constitutions, come under each and every individual censure and penalty of those constitutions." (Bull *Vineam Domini Sabaoth*, 1705. wrong date)

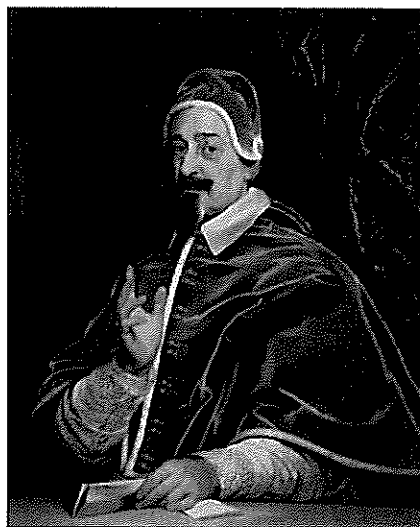
II. THE NOTION OF A DOGMATIC FACT. A dogmatic fact is *a fact in which a doctrine is expressed, or a fact connected with the right of doctrine*. There are three kinds of facts: [1] a fact which is simply *particular* and personal, concerning which St. Thomas said: "In other opinions, however, which pertain to particular facts, as when it concerns possession, or crimes, or things of this type, it is possible that the judgement of the Church make an error. *Quodl.* IX. art. 16. [2] A *general* fact, such as a saint who should be canonized, which we will discuss elsewhere. [3] A *dogmatic* or doctrinal fact, which is contained in two things: namely a question ^{of fact} ~~of law~~, whether some opinion is in conformity with revealed doctrine or not, and a question of *fact*, whether a certain formula of words, or in the case of Jansenius, that such a book contains an opinion of this type.



POPE CLEMENT XI

Therefore the dogmatic fact, such as the meaning of a book, which is entitled the *Augustinus*, is subject to the judgements of the Church directly with regard to *jus*, and indirectly with regard to *factum*, in order that it efficaciously preserve the deposit of faith. For this type of dogmatic facts we propose that the Church has an infallibility which is not *natural*, which is based on

the evidence of the object, nor *moral*, which is founded upon the notoriety of the well-known texts, both of which the Jansenists admit, but that infallibility which is based upon the promises of Christ and the assistance of the Holy Ghost.



POPE ALEXANDER VII

III. THE MEANING INTENDED BY THE AUTHOR OF A BOOK. Since infallibility is extended to the *meaning* intended by the author of a certain book, as Innocent X, Alexander VII and Clement XI decreed in the above mentioned acts against the Jansenists, I will explain in advance how many meanings there are. There is meaning which is said to be *merely subjectively intended*, which remains in the mind of the author; concerning this, since it is merely internal, the Church makes no judgement. There is the meaning which is *objectively intended*, which the words contain, if the author, knowing the meaning of the words, sincerely spoke; concerning this sense the Church judges. The Jansenists, lest they be forced to obey, made a distinction between the *sensus quis* and the *sensus qualis*. The *sensus quis* or grammatical meaning is the natural meaning of any proposition. The *sensus qualis* is the quality of the proposition, for example, whether it is true or false. They say that the Church can err in the first type, but not in the second. So says Jacob Fouillon, the Belgian author of a book which is entitled *Via pacis* (1702). But how would the Church be able to judge the quality

of the proposition, if it does not know the natural sense of the words? I will not even comment on another frivolous distinction, by which infallibility is recognized for shorter texts, but not for longer ones.



POPE INNOCENT X

These things having been said, it is proved even against the followers of Hermès, who repeated the distinctions of Jansenism, that the Church cannot err in judging, not whether this or that man wrote a particular book, but what is the true meaning of a certain book. But this infallibility in dogmatic facts is a truth which is at least theologically certain. By others, e.g., Bañez, *In Ilam Ila*, q. II, art. 2. calls the denial of this infallibility *heresy*.

Thesis: DOGMATIC FACTS ARE THE OBJECT OF INFALLIBILITY.

ARGUMENT I. Infallibility in dogmatic facts is infallibility concerning the signs, by which the *questio juris* or doctrine is expressed. But the Church judges infallibly concerning the signs by which doctrine is expressed. For this it follows that the Church cannot err in dogmatic facts. The *major* is evident; for to judge concerning the sense of some book is the same as to judge concerning the words, which are signs of concepts, expressed in the book.

[A] *From the very nature of speaking.* For men cannot be taught the truth, and the truth cannot be proposed by using merely a *word of the mind* (*verbum mentis*), but a *word of the mouth* or signs must be used. [B] *From the impossibility of proposing infallibly the orthodox doctrine*, for if it were possible, that the Church could err in the *fact* and in the sense of the words, then it would be possible that the faithful would be obliged to believe that a heretical proposition is orthodox. [C] *From the impossibility of rejecting infallibly heretical propositions.* For once the decision of the Church is made, there would be left to those who say that the Church can err in the meaning of the words a legitimate reason for rejecting the teaching of the Church. The history of Jansenism is an argument in favor of this very thing.

ARGUMENT II. The Church in the function of teaching is infallible. But Sacred Scripture explicitly affirms that a dogmatic fact, i.e., the sense of the words, pertains to this function of teaching. Ergo. *Proof of the minor.* "O Timothy, keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding the profane novelties of words, and oppositions of knowledge falsely so called." (I. Tim. VI: 20) "Hold the form of sound words, which thou hast heard of me in faith, and in the love which is in Christ Jesus." (II Tim. I: 13) But shun profane and vain babblings: for they grow much towards ungodliness. And their speech spreadeth like a canker. (II Tim. II: 16, 17) The same Apostle admonishes the superiors of the Church of Ephesus, saying: "And of your own selves shall arise men speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them." (Act. XX: 30, 31) And to the Ephesians V: 6, he says: Let no one seduce you with empty words." Therefore the Church infallibly both approves the word of truth and condemns the word of error.

ARGUMENT III. *From tradition.* The Church does not err in judging what is the object of its infallibility. For the Church has always held that the dogmatic facts are subject to its infallible judgement. This is evident from the facts. For [A] The Council of Nicea condemned the book of Arius, which was called *Thaleia*; the Council of

Ephesus condemned the writings of *Nestorius*, and approved the books of St. Cyril of Alexandria. The second Council of Constantinople condemned the *three chapters*. The Council of Constance, approved in this matter by Martin V, ordered that each suspected person be interrogated, "*whether he believes*, J. Wycliff, etc. were heretics....and that their *books* and doctrines were and *are perverse*." The Fathers of Trent decreed that the canon of the Mass, is "so pure from every error, that nothing is contained therein which does not in the highest degree savor of a certain holiness and piety, and raise up unto God the minds of those that offer." (Sess. XXII: cap. IV) The Roman Pontiffs, acted in the same way against the Jansenists, and the whole Church obeyed. For who would affirm that the Holy Ghost is against the whole Church, and that He favors only Jansenius?

[B] The universal Church has always believed that the creeds were made infallibly by the Church, that the use of certain terms are infallibly defined, such as *homousios* against Arius, and that heretical formulas are infallibly condemned. But in these things, the notion of dogmatic facts is seen. In fact, if the thing is considered in its entirety, it does not seem to matter whether the texts by which the faith is exposed should be longer or shorter, and whether a heretical formula should be condemned in a book or not.

OBJECTIONS

OBJECTION I. The judgement of the Church concerning facts is not infallible. But the meaning of a certain book is merely a fact. Therefore. *Proof of the minor.* (a) A mere fact is that which, for example, what Jansenius intends. (b) The books, pages, syllables and words are a mere fact.

Response. *I distinguish* the major. The judgement of the Church regarding particular facts is not infallible, *I concede*; concerning dogmatic facts, *I deny*. And *I distinguish* the minor. The meaning of some book is a mere fact, in itself, *I concede*; connected with a dogma, *I deny*. *Proof of the minor.* (a) *I distinguish*: what Jansenius intends subjectively and internally is a mere fact, *I concede*; objectively and externally, *I deny*. What is judged

by the Church is not the meaning which the author of the book had in his mind, but as Innocent XII declares, *it is the obvious meaning which the very words carry*. (b) Likewise I distinguish that the words, etc. are a mere fact: materially, *I concede*; formally, *I deny*. Words are signs of concepts. However, the purpose of the Church, when it is judging a book, is not that it be believed that the condemned proposition is found in some book with as many words, but that the words expressing the error do not spread like a cancer. (II Tim. II: 17)

INSTANCE. The infallibility of the Church is not extended beyond the doctrine of faith and morals. But the judgement concerning the meaning of a certain book pertains to grammarians.

RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. Infallibility is not extended beyond the doctrine of faith and morals, and to those things which pertain to the proposition of this doctrine, *I concede*; only to aforesaid doctrine in the abstract, *I deny*. *I distinguish* the minor. The judgement concerning the meaning of a book pertains primarily to grammarians, *I concede*, only to them, *I deny*. God, when He granted to the Church infallibility in teaching, doubtlessly gave to it the means necessary to this end. No one can judge concerning a doctrine or propose it, unless he truly understands the words which express the doctrine.

INSTANCE. If the Church should err in dogmatic facts, infallibility in doctrine would nevertheless be preserved. But this is sufficient.

RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. Infallibility is preserved with regard to dogma in the abstract, *let it pass*; practically, *I deny*. Saint Thomas said: "Moreover a man professes his faith by the words that he utters, since confession is an act of faith, as stated above (Question 3, Article 1). Wherefore inordinate words about matters of faith may lead to corruption of the faith." (IIa IIæ, q. 11, art. 2 ad 2) Therefore infallibility is impossible unless the Church could judge concerning dogmatic facts.

Instance. In order that the Church correctly function in its job of teaching, it is sufficient that it not err in those words and propositions, by

which it proposes the truth to the faithful. Therefore infallibility in judging the meaning of some book is superfluous.

Response. *I distinguish* the antecedent. Infallibility, as it is proposed by the objector, is sufficient for enunciating the truth, *I concede*; for the purpose of condemning error, *I subdistinguish*: in the abstract, *let it pass*; in the concrete, *I deny*. For an infallible judgement concerning the words, propositions, books, by which the error is expressed and propagated, is required in order to *practically* condemn error. It makes no difference, however, whether the error is promulgated in a book or in a little pamphlet.

OBJECTION II. The infallibility of the Church extends only to revealed things. But what is not revealed is that some book, for example, the work of Jansenius, which is entitled *Augustinus*, contains erroneous doctrine. Therefore the Church can err with regard to dogmatic facts.

RESPONSE. *I deny* the major. We have shown that infallibility extends as well to those things which are connected to revealed things in the manner already explained. *I distinguish* the minor. The fact of Jansenius' book is not revealed directly, *I concede*; indirectly, *I deny*. The five propositions which are contrary to the errors of Jansenius, are considered to be directly revealed, but the dogmatic fact, that they are found in his book, is considered to be indirectly revealed. For something pertains to faith "indirectly and secondarily, as in the case of those things the denial of which would lead to the corruption of the faith." But "if there is a disordered statement concerning those things which pertain to faith, there could follow from this a corruption of the faith." (Cf. St. Thomas, IIa IIæ q. 11, art. 2). Therefore the Church, to which the faith or revealed truth is committed as something *to be guarded*, infallibly judges, whether some statement, e.g., of Jansenius, should be called a cancer and corruption of revealed truth or not.

INSTANCE. Revealed things are considered to be the object of infallibility, as they are in themselves, and not as they are expressed in some book. But a dogmatic fact does not regard revealed things in themselves, but only in some book.

RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major with regard to the second part: as they are expressed in a certain book materially, *I concede*; formally, *I deny*. And *I distinguish* the minor: a dogmatic fact regards revealed things in some book formally, *I concede*; materially, *I deny*. The divine intellect knows all truths in an incomplex manner, but the human intellect knows even incomplex things in a complex manner, that is, it knows by composing and dividing. Therefore on the part of the believer "the object of faith is something complex by way of a proposition." (IIa IIæ q. 1, a. 2) It is certain that the object, however, of faith and whatever things are connected with revealed things, are not in the intellect alone, but are also able to be pronounced *by means of voice*. And because, as St. Thomas testifies, if there is a disordered statement concerning those things which pertain to faith, there can follow from this a corruption of the faith (l.c.) the Church, to which the deposit has been given *to be guarded*, without a doubt judges infallibly concerning a particular enunciation of the faith.

OBJECTION III. [Read the history of the three chapters in the Supplement] The Three Chapters are a dogmatic fact. But the Church erred in judging the Three Chapters. Therefore infallibility is not extended to dogmatic facts. *Proof of the minor*. The Three Chapters refer to [1] Theodore, the bishop of Mopsuesta, and his writings, who embraced Nestorian errors; [2] the writings of Theodoretus, the bishop of Cyrene, against the anathemas of Saint Cyril, in which writings Cyril is criticized and Nestorius is highly praised; [3] the letter of Ibas, the priest of Edessa, to Maris the Persian, the bishop of the city of Hardoschir, in which [letter] Theodore of Mopsuesta was extolled, but the Council of Ephesus and St. Cyril of Alexandria were attacked. But the Council of Chalcedon did not proscribe Theodore of Mopsuesta or his books; it received Theodoretus of Cyrene and Ibas of Edessa and restored them to their sees. But the Second Council of Constantinople, which is the fifth ecumenical, ~~at~~ a session held on June 2, 553, anathematized the Three Chapters: "That is," to use the very words of

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the sentence, "Theodore of Mopsuesta with his evil writings, and what Theodoretus impiously wrote, and that impious letter which is called that of Ibas, etc."

RESPONSE. *I deny* the minor. *I distinguish* the proof. The Council of Chalcedon approved of the Three Chapters which Constantinople II condemned, *I deny*; it prudently omitted the Three Chapters, *I concede*.

(a) Nowhere do we read that the *person* of Theodore of Mopsuesta and his book were, at least directly, either approved or condemned by the judgement of the Fathers of Chalcedon. Theodore, in the year 428, before the Nestorian controversy broke out, had died in external ecclesiastical communion;⁶³ the Council of Chalcedon, however, which was held in the year 451, disregarded the dead bishop, in order to sweetly entice the Nestorians who were favorable to Theodore.

(b) Theodoretus, who was received by the Fathers of Chalcedon, was restored to his see of Cyrene, after he had pronounced, in explicit words, an anathema against Nestorius, in the presence of the Fathers in the eighth session, which took place on October 26, 451. The Council disregarded his writings.

(c) Ibas was received by the Fathers of Chalcedon and was declared orthodox, after he had corrected his errors. For this reason, in the tenth session, which treated of the case of Ibas, we read that this was said: "Already in writing I have anathematized Nestorius and his dogma, and now I anathematize him ten thousand times." The Synod did not approve of his writings.

Therefore the Council of Chalcedon, since it passed over the person and the writings of Theodore, and received Theodoretus and Ibas only after they had made a profession of the true Faith, and declared nothing concerning their writings, it remains that there is no contradiction between the acts of the Council and those of the Fathers of

Constantinople II, who condemned the Three Chapters.

INSTANCE. Paschasinus, who represented the Apostolic See, and Maximus of Antioch, and Eunomius of Nicomedia, having read the letter of Ibas to Maris, declared Ibas orthodox. But in that letter Theodore of Mopsuesta was praised as a "preacher of truth," and many of his ideas favored Nestorius. Therefore the Council of Chalcedon, by *indirectly* approving the writings of Theodore, and directly approving of the letter of Ibas to Maris, contradicted Constantinople II.

RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. Paschasinus and the others declared the very letter of Ibas to be orthodox, *I deny*; Ibas himself, *I subdistinguish*: Ibas after he renounced his error, *I concede*; ^{while} pertinacious, *I deny*. Therefore *I deny* the consequent. The response is proved.

(a) The adversaries are especially insistent against Ibas, since Saint Cyril of Alexandria was called by Ibas a heretic in his letter to Maris. For this reason, his accusers said in the presence of the Fathers: it is our duty to demonstrate, because he called Cyril a heretic, etc. But when the *status questionis* was defined in such a way, Ibas affirmed that he had not called Cyril heretical *after* peace had been restored between Cyril and John of Antioch. Indeed Ibas shows that he had been in communion from that time on with Cyril; his accusers, however, proved only that in the letter to Maris it had been written that Cyril was called heretical before that peace had been established, and afterwards Cyril was called orthodox. And since Ibas demonstrated in another way that he was orthodox, when he publicly professed: ¹"Anathema to both Nestorius and Eutyches, and to whoever says that there is one nature. And I anathematize all who do not agree with this holy Council." When he did all these things, the Fathers received him as orthodox.

(b) Nor did the Fathers approve of that letter without qualification. For Paschasinus said: "We recognize him (Ibas) to be orthodox." Maximus of Antioch said: "His defense has been declared orthodox." Eunomius of Nicomedia said, "Indeed from these things which have been re-examined, most reverend Ibas is approved as innocent. For in

⁶³ This is yet another case of someone who was publicly a heretic, but who was never legally condemned as such. Note the term: "external ecclesiastical communion." This fact, like that of Nestorius, supports the Thesis of Bp. Guérard des Lauriers.

these things, by saying that he erred gravely, he seems to have correctly recognized most blessed Cyril in the end; he has disapproved of those things in which he had erred.¹¹

(c) Whatever is said by *some* of the Fathers in a more kindly way concerning the letter of Ibas, one is not permitted to discern from that the true sentence of the whole Council because Ibas, at everyone's request, was forced to anathematize Nestorius.

INSTANCE. And nevertheless it is a fact that the Three Chapters were disregarded by the Fathers of Chalcedon, which the Fathers of Constantinople II thought should be condemned. But this proves that there is a diverse sentence of the two councils concerning the same thing.

RESPONSE. *I concede* the major. *I distinguish* the minor: this proves that there is a diverse sentence of the Fathers in a doctrinal matter, *I deny*; in a question of prudence, *I concede*. Prudence judges correctly about particular things which can be done here and now. (Cf. Saint Thomas, *Quest. Disp. de Virtut.*, I, art. 6, ad 1). But at the time of the Council of Chalcedon, circumstances were present which were different from those in the sixth century, when the controversy concerning the Three Chapters was agitating both the Greeks and Latins. A pious love of peace motivated the Fathers of Chalcedon, that as a result they spared Theodoretus and Ibas because of their public abjuration, lest many of their followers abandon Catholic truth. The Fathers, however, of Constantinople II anathematized the *person* of Theodore of Mopsuesta, who was a promoter of Nestorianism, and the *writings* of Theodore, Theodoretus, and Ibas, lest the Nestorians misuse the Three Chapters for the purpose of seducing the Catholics.

INSTANCE. Vigilius, the Roman Pontiff, contradicted, in the very same circumstances, regarding the Three Chapters.

Here is the fact. In the year 548, after the publishing of the decree entitled *Judicatum*, and likewise in the year 553 in the decretal letter to Eutychius, dated December 8th, which begins with the word *Scandala*, and finally in the second *Constitutum*, which is dated February 23, 554,

Vigilius condemned and anathematized the Three Chapters. But on May 14, 553, he offered to the Emperor the first *Constitutum*, in which the condemnation of the person of Theodore of Mopsuesta is not granted. The writings of Theodoretus, "preserving in all things the reverence for his person," are condemned in a more general way. Concerning Ibas it is decided, "also in the very often recalled letter of venerable Ibas, the inviolate judgement of the Fathers sitting in Chalcedon remains."

RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. Vigilius contradicts himself on a point of doctrine, *I deny*; regarding prudence, *let it pass*.

(a) In point of fact, Vigilius never approved of the Three Chapters, but for some time said that nothing ought to be added to the sentence of Chalcedon. For this reason, he says in the first *Constitutum*: "Nor do we permit anyone, either through addition, subtraction, or change, or in any way, to bring in anything of rash newness, to what has been judged in the Council of Chalcedon by the consent of the representatives of the Apostolic See." He said this since the Pope feared lest the authority of the Council of Chalcedon seem to be harmed. It should be added that the first *Constitutum* ^{to be} is thought to never have had a definitive ^{to be} for publication. Nor was it ever published. Certainly the quality of the document shows that nothing has been determined *ex cathedra*. (Cf. Muzzarelli, *De auct. Rom. Pont.* tom. II, cap. IX, § 5)

(b) In what concerns prudence, this is not the place to examine whether Vigilius always used the greatest prudence. But the words of P. de Marca ought to be heard: "It has indeed been observed by scholars that the inconstancy of Vigilius, which seemed ^{to be} the case, is to be attributed to prudence and mature counsel: but they have not taught that his manner of acting was judged according to canonical discipline."

INSTANCE. In the second *Constitutum*, Vigilius incorrectly tried to say that the letter to Maris was incorrectly attributed to Ibas. Therefore he erred.

RESPONSE. *I concede* the antecedent. *I distinguish* the consequent: Vigilius erred in a

mere fact, *I concede*; in a dogmatic fact, *I deny*. The distinction is clear from what we have said above.

OBJECTION IV. The sixth ecumenical Council, Constantinople III (680) in Session XIII condemned the letter of Honorius the Roman Pontiff to Sergius in this manner: "Reconsidering the dogmatic epistles which were written to Sergius, once patriarch of this imperial city, which may God preserve, both to Cyrus, who was then bishop of Phasis, and to Honorius, once Pope of Ancient Rome; similarly also the epistle from him, that is, Honorius, written to the same Sergius, and finding them entirely different from the Apostolic teachings and the definitions of the holy councils, and of all reliable Fathers, and following the false doctrines of the heretics; we in every way reject them, and execrate them as noxious to the soul." But Catholic doctors think that there is an error contained in this judgement of the Council regarding a dogmatic fact. *Proof of the minor*. Juan de Torquemada said concerning the condemnation of Honorius: "It is believed that the Orientals did this by an evil and sinister information, having been deceived concerning the aforesaid Honorius." (*Summa de Ecclesia*, II, 93) Bellarmine affirms: "that these Fathers were deceived by false rumors, and not having understood the letters of Honorius, incorrectly number Honorius among the heretics." (*De Rom. Pont.*, IV, II)

RESPONSE. (a) By the authority of a few doctors nothing is concluded against the universal doctrine of the Church.

(b) *I distinguish* the major. The sentence of the Council concerning Honorius was approved, as it stands, by the authority of the Roman Pontiff, *I deny*; that it was pronounced at a council before its approbation, *I concede*. Therefore, since there was no sentence *ex cathedra*, no argument can be made against infallibility in dogmatic facts. This was evident also to Juan of Torquemada. For he said: "He was not judged so [i.e., a heretic] either by the Apostolic See or by the Latin Fathers. (*Loc. cit*) But Leo II teaches that the sentence of the Council must be understood in this sense, that Honorius sinned not by teaching, but by *permitting* and *neglecting*. (*Epist. ad Imp.* and *Epist. ad Hisp.* in Mansi, tome XI, p. 276, 1050)

(c) Torquemada seems to look at only the *particular* fact of the person of Honorius, in which the Church could err "from an evil and sinister information concerning the aforesaid Honorius," especially when he defends the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff with regard to the *books* of the doctors "by approving some, and condemning others." (*op.cit.*, lib. II, 108) Bellarmine seems to have looked at the sentence of the Council regarding the person of Honorius, and not regarding his text.

ARTICLE IV
[37]
WHETHER DISCIPLINARY MATTERS ARE THE OBJECT OF
INFALLIBILITY

[37.1] I. DISCIPLINARY MATTERS are those which *by the positive law of the Church are prescribed or prohibited for the purpose of directing Christ's worship and life*. Therefore disciplinary laws, as such, are subordinated to the positive and natural law of God, and serve in the observance of these same things.

[37.2] II. THE EXTENSION OF INFALLIBILITY TO DISCIPLINE is more easily understood, if we say a few things first. [1] The principle must be considered, on which the disciplinary law is based. The principle, however, is either *general*, and is the very legislative power of the Church, which cannot be denied without denying the faith, or *particular*, namely that truth of faith or morals with which the disciplinary law is connected, for example, the precept of lay communion under one species of bread, which contains the truth of the real presence of Christ under each species. It is evident, however, that disciplinary things, *precisely in a general or particular principle of this kind is immune from error*.

[37.3][2] The disciplinary law is in itself *general*, if something is prescribed for the whole Church; it is *particular*, if ordinances are made for one particular Church or some particular Churches. The thesis of the infallibility of the Church regards only the universal discipline.

[37.4][3] The end of the disciplinary laws is the holiness and order of the Church. From this it is clear that [A] laws which are merely disciplinary can be changed according to the necessity of times and places, but the Church cannot in a law of universal discipline, however much it is changed, prescribe or forbid something which is contrary to faith and morals. [B] Since the proportion of the laws to the circumstances ~~X~~ is a question of

prudence, infallibility does not seem *per se* to demand that all the laws of the Church attain the highest degree of prudence. Therefore, passing over the question whether that which is established in the general discipline be *optimum*, we assert that nothing can creep into the general discipline of the Church which is contrary to faith and morals.

[37.4][4] When the Church established a certain feast without any further will to define, the doctrine which is expressed by this feast seems to be theologically certain, but it must not be said that it must be believed by divine faith. Furthermore we distinguish between a feast, by which some *dogmatic truth* is celebrated, and that by which a *fact* is celebrated, for example, the translation of the house of Loreto.

Thesis: DISCIPLINARY MATTERS ARE THE OBJECT OF INFALLIBILITY.

ARGUMENT I. The Church is subject to no errors in doctrine of faith or morals. But the Church would err in faith or in morals if the *general discipline* were contrary to either of these. *Proof of the minor*. In establishing an erroneous discipline of this type, the ecclesiastical power would be ordering something *in the practical order* contrary to what Christ has established. In observing the same discipline, however, the Christian people would be professing a false faith: since "through the multiplication of exterior acts the movements of the will and the concepts of reason are declared *in a most efficacious manner*." (Ia. IIæ q. 98, art. 3)

ARGUMENT II. The Church ⁱⁿ is determining the object of its infallibility does not err, as we have seen. But the Church has affirmed its

infallibility in disciplinary matters by words and deeds. First, the Apostles joined to their prohibition of the *suffocated animals, the blood, and the idol sacrifices* these words: "*It has seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us.*" St. Augustine said: "The Church of God ... does not approve those things which are against faith or a good life, nor is it silent about them, nor does it do them." Likewise recalling those things "which the Church does throughout the whole world," he adds: "and hence to dispute whether it should be done in such a way ^{is not} pertains to the most insolent insanity." *Epist. 169 ad Januar. De variis consuetudinibus regionum, cap. V. St. Thomas Aquinas* proves that those things are suitable which are done in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist; he himself offers as the solution "the custom of the Church, which cannot err, since it is led by the Holy Ghost." IIIa. q. 83, art. 5. The *Council of Trent*, in session XXII, can. 7 declares: "If any one should say, that the ceremonies, vestments, and outward signs, which the Catholic Church makes use of in the celebration of masses, are incentives to impiety, rather than offices of piety; let him be anathema." Pius VI condemned the doctrine of the Pistoians, by which it is construed that it is possible that the discipline which is established and approved by the Church, be dangerous and lead into superstition. He condemned it with this note: *False, rash, scandalous, pernicious, offensive to pious ears, insulting to the Church and to the Spirit of God, by whom it is ruled, at least erroneous.* Bull *Auctorem fidei*, n. 78. Cf. Pius IX, encycl. *Quanta Cura*, 8 Dec. 1864. Here the axiom applies: *Lex supplicandi, lex credendi.*

OBJECTIONS

OBJECTION I. The infallibility of the Church is such that the internal piety of faith and morals be preserved. But disciplinary matters pertain only to external order and worship.

RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major: The scope of infallibility is the preservation of internal things, including external things, *I concede*; excluding them, *I deny*. And *I distinguish* the minor: disciplinary matters pertain to these external things

completely apart from matters of faith and morals, *I deny*; in connection with them, *I concede*. Saint Thomas says: "Through multiplied exterior acts the interior movement of the will and the concept of reason is most efficaciously declared." From this it happens that discipline is a certain practical profession of faith. Accordingly the repetition of the doxology, *Gloria Patri*, expresses the dogma of the Trinity.

INSTANCE. Sometimes disciplinary laws were harmful. Therefore it is not impossible that the Church err in making laws.

RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent: disciplinary laws have been harmful to some and *per accidens, I concede*; to the universal Church and *per se, I deny*. In making laws, one must pay attention to the common good. Saint Augustine teaches this in his epistle 98 to Vincentius: "To some these things will not be of benefit. Should therefore the medicine be set aside, because the suffering of some is incurable? ... But you must also pay attention to the very many in whose health we rejoice."

INSTANCE. No one would affirm that in making ecclesiastical laws there was never used more rigor than what was necessary. Therefore it can happen that the Church can err in disciplinary matters.

RESPONSE. *Let the antecedent pass. I distinguish* the consequent: from this it follows that the Church can err concerning the prudential application to particular persons, *I concede*; with regard to the substance and morality of the law, *I deny*. There can be at times an error of prudence in those laws; but the universal laws of the Church are free from doctrinal error. (Cf. John of St. Thomas, *Tract. de auctor. Summi Pont.*, disp. III, art. 3; Melchior Canus, *De loc. Theol.* lib. V, 5, conclusion II).

OBJECTION II. In the Roman Breviary errors are found. From this it follows that the axiom *lex orandi, lex credendi* is not valid.

RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent: in the Breviary are found errors concerning faith and morals, *I deny*; in private facts and events, *I subdistinguish*: to be subjected with modesty to the

authority of the Apostolic See, *I concede*; to be expunged on the authority of private persons, *I deny*. There is no question of faith in these cases. Concerning the authority of the Roman Breviary in historical facts, one should consult Benedict XIV, *De servorum beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione*, lib. IV, p. II, cap. XIII, no. 7, 8.

(a) That position ought to be rejected which holds that the Roman Breviary has no authority in historical facts, as well as the position of those who hold that to oppose facts of this kind is nearly heretical.

(b) The safe and true position is that there is no small weight of authority to be attached to the historical facts which are related and approved in the Roman Breviary, in such a way, however, that it can be considered not forbidden, with due modesty, and with a serious foundation, that those things which occur in historical facts express difficulties, and to subject to the judgement of the Apostolic See, that it weigh their truth and strength, if at some time there is reason to do a correction of the Roman Breviary."

(c) Benedict XIV (*loc. cit.*) adduces Cardinal Ursini, who later became Benedict XIII, who writes this: "The Roman Breviary is the highest authority in those things which pertain *per se* to ecclesiastical worship, but has lesser authority in what pertains to private facts or deeds, which are at times related in the lives of the saints, in such a way that one could not seek an argument, where especially the more ancient monuments are opposed. For the Church itself, which uses them, does not make judgements of firm and infallible truths concerning whatever is inserted in its Breviaries, since often in varying circumstances it has changed and corrected some things on occasion." (Benedict XIII, *Dissert. de Reliquiis S. Bartholomaei*, art. VII, Rome, 1724).

(d) Here it will help to add certain *postulata* of the Vatican Fathers in this regard.

[1] Many bishops of France: "It would be opportune that the Breviary be reformed, particularly with regard to the lessons, which have not been sufficiently purified of apocryphal stories."

[2] Many of the bishops of Germany: "The Roman Breviary contains in certain places things which are not worthy of faith as certain history, and seem to be not completely in conformity with sound exegesis of Sacred Scripture; for this reason we ask that for the purpose of correcting some of the places of this type, the Breviary be subjected to an accurate revision."

[3] Some bishops of central Italy: "They seek in the Breviary, however, only that recognition by which those places only be corrected which are not in accordance with critical history." *Collectio Lacensis*, tome VII, 844, 875, 882.

Question: *Is it heretical to assert that the Church can err in some law which strictly obliges the whole Church?*

Resp. (a) John of Saint Thomas thinks this way: "in that which pertains to the substance and morality of the law, which the Pontiff commonly proposes, as a rule of morals to be followed, it would be *heresy* to assert that the Church could err, in such a way that it could either permit or prescribe something destructive, or against good morals, or the natural law or the divine law." (b) Melchior Canus distinguishes between certain morals handed down by Christ and the Apostles to the Church, and other morals which were introduced after the Apostles. If someone says that the Church could err in the prior matters, he should be considered a heretic, because in such a case he makes Christ and the Apostles the authors of the errors. But if he holds that in the latter matter the Church could err by some law or custom, he should not be considered a heretic. But it is certain that he who would hold that the Church could err in this latter type of laws, should be noted by other names.

persons, *I deny*. There is no question of faith in these cases, Concerning the authority of the Roman Breviary in historical facts, one should consult Benedict XIV, *De servorum beatificatione et beatorum canonizatione*, lib. IV, p. II, cap. XIII, no. 7, 8.

[37.17] (a) That position ought to be rejected which holds that the Roman Breviary has no authority in historical facts, as well as the position of those who hold that to oppose facts of this kind is nearly heretical.

[37.18] (b) The safe and true position is that there is no small weight of authority to be attached to the historical facts which are related and approved in the Roman Breviary, in such a way, however, "that it can be considered not forbidden, with due modesty, and with a serious foundation, that those things which occur in historical facts express difficulties, and to subject to the judgement of the Apostolic See, that it weigh their truth and strength, if at some time there is reason to do a correction of the Roman Breviary."

[37.19] (c) Benedict XIV (*loc. cit.*) adduces cardinal Ursini, who later became Benedict XIII, who writes this: "The Roman Breviary is the highest authority in those things which pertain *per se* to ecclesiastical worship, but has lesser authority in what pertains to private facts or deeds, which are at times related in the lives of the saints, in such a way that one could not seek an argument, where especially the more ancient monuments are opposed. For the Church itself, which uses them, does not make judgements of firm and infallible truths concerning whatever is inserted in its Breviaries, since often in varying circumstances it has changed and corrected some things on occasion." (Benedict XIII, *Dissert. de Reliquiis S. Bartholomæi*, art. VII, Rome, 1724.

[37.20] (d) Here it will help to add certain *postulata* of the Vatican Fathers in this regard.

[37.21] [1] Many bishops of France: "It would be opportune that the Breviary be reformed,

particularly with regard to the lessons, which have not been sufficiently purified of apocryphal stories."

[37.22] [2] Many of the bishops of Germany: "The Roman Breviary contains in certain places things which are not worthy of faith as certain history, and seem to be not completely in conformity with sound exegesis of Sacred Scripture; for this reason we ask that for the purpose of correcting some of the places of this type, the Breviary be subjected to an accurate revision."

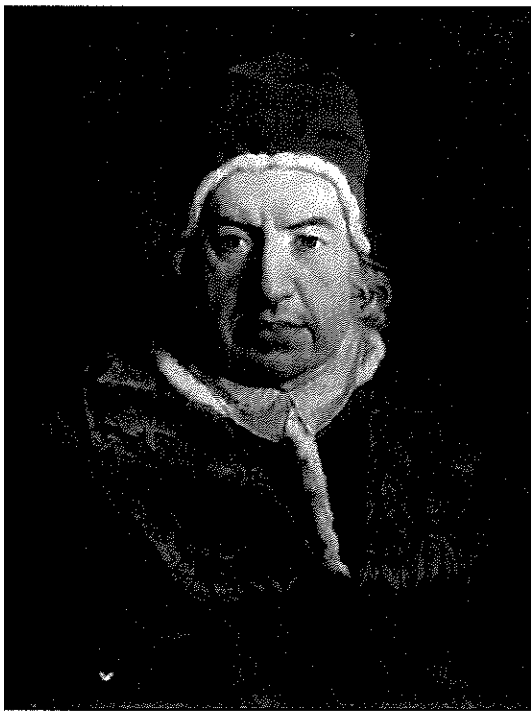
[37.23] [3] Some bishops of central Italy: "They seek in the Breviary, however, only that recognition by which those places only be corrected which are not in accordance with critical history." *Collectio Lacensis*, tome VII, 844, 875, 882.

[37.24] Question: *Is it heretical to assert that the Church can err in some law which strictly obliges the whole Church?*

[37.25] Resp. (a) *John of Saint Thomas* thinks this way: "in that which pertains to the substance and morality of the law, which the Pontiff commonly proposes, as a rule of morals to be followed, it would be *heresy* to assert that the Church could err, in such a way that it could either permit or prescribe something destructive, or against good morals, or the natural law or the divine law." (b) *Melchior Canus* distinguishes between certain morals handed down by Christ and the Apostles to the Church, and other morals which were introduced after the Apostles. If someone says that the Church could err in the prior matters, he should be considered a heretic, because in such a case he makes Christ and the Apostles the authors of the errors. But if he holds that in the latter matter the Church could err by some law or custom, he should not be considered a heretic. But it is certain that he who would hold that the Church could err in this latter type of laws, should be noted by other names.

ARTICLE V
[38]
WHETHER THE CANONIZATION OF SAINTS IS THE OBJECT OF
INFALLIBILITY

[38.1] I. THE NOTION OF CANONIZATION.
Canonization is the *ultimate and definitive sentence, by which the Church declares that someone led a holy life and has been received into heaven, and proposes him to all the faithful for veneration and invocation.* By canonization, therefore, three things are established: [1] that the canonized person was eminent in the sanctity of morals; [2] that he has been received into heaven; [3] that he should be venerated and invoked. From this it is understood that men, who are placed among the saints, are proposed to the faithful as an example to be imitated and venerated, ^{and} that this happens with a sentence which is ^{final} ~~denial~~ and definitive for the whole Church. Cf. Ben. XIV., o.c. lib. I. 39, n. 14.



POPE BENEDICT XIV

[38.2] II. CANONIZATION AND BEATIFICATION
come together in this, that each is a public testimony of the Church concerning the virtues and glory of a man which is listed in the catalogue of those in heaven. But there is between canonization and beatification the following differences. [1] Canonization, and not beatification, is considered to be the definitive and ultimate sentence. And this is the principal reason, as Benedict XIV teaches: "[The ultimate difference between beatification and canonization should not be established in the permission to venerate or in its limitation to particular persons or places, which is had in beatification, but not in canonization, but in the final and definitive sentence concerning sanctity, which orders the veneration due to other saints in the universal Church." [2] The judgement of the pope in beatification is not commanding, but indulgent and permitting. These things must be understood concerning both *formal beatification*, which is preceded by an examination with the approbation of virtues and miracles, and *equivalent* beatitude, by which a veneration already given, where there is reputation of virtues or of martyrdom, is approved. We leave the other types of the veneration to the disputations of educated men, who never cease to sift some popular errors from the truth by means of a critical piety.

[38.3] III. THERE ARE THREE POSITIONS CONCERNING THE INFALLIBILITY OF THE CHURCH IN THE CANONIZATION OF SAINTS. [1] It is the opinion of some Catholics that the Church can err absolutely in the canonization of saints. But they teach that it is rash to assert that in fact the Church has erred in these definitive judgments. Among those who do not teach that the Roman Pontiff cannot err in canonization must be numbered even Cajetan, because of those things

which he taught in the *Tractatus de indulgentia adversus Lutherum*, chap. VIII — [2] Others, on the other hand, among whom is Valentia, teach that the infallibility of the Church in canonizing saints cannot be denied without *heresy*. [3] The third position is that of Canus, who said: "Those who withdraw faith from the Church in these things we think are not heretics, indeed, but *rash, impudent, and irreligious*." *De locis theol.* lib. V. 5. Benedict XIV approved this position in o.c. lib. I. 43, n. 27. Cf. Salmant. *De fide*, disp. IV. dub. II § 3. n. 46; J. of St. Thomas, l.c., etc.

[38.4] IV. CONCERNING THE PRINCIPLE, WHICH MUST BE CONSIDERED TO THE FOUNDATION OF THIS THESIS. Aquinas exposes his position concerning canonized saints in this way: It is certain that it is impossible that the judgement of the Church can err in those things which pertain to faith...In other sentences, however, which pertain to particular facts, as when it concerns possessions or crimes or things of this nature, it is possible that the judgement of the Church be erroneous because of false witnesses. *The canonization of saints holds a middle place between these two*: because the honor which we pay to the saints ^{is} a type of profession of faith, by which we believe in the glory of the saints, it must be piously believed, that even in these things the judgement of the Church is also not able to err." *Quodl.* IX. art. 16. The word *piously* should not be considered to weaken the certitude, however, which is evident from the quoted article, in which it is posited not as an opinion ^{but} as a certitude that the Church cannot err in canonization. What is meant is the highest grade in the genus of pious faith. Concerning this you should see Bened. XIV, o.c. lib. I. 43, n. 13.

[38.5] St. Thomas therefore brings this argument: "*The honor which we pay to the saints is a kind of profession of faith*." And so the canonization of saints is connected with those things which pertain to the faith, in which the Church is not able to err. But what is this connection? No canonization is contained in what is immediately revealed, and no canonization can be said to deduced from revealed truth by logical necessity, as

in the case of theological conclusions. But canonization is a certain special *profession* of faith, which is evident from the prefatory remarks and which will appear ever more from the arguments: as such, however, it is connected to the faith itself. Therefore it is subject to that special and supernatural Providence, by which Christ promised to be always with His Church. For this reason St. Thomas, about to expose his doctrine in this matter, starts out from "divine providence, by which He directs His Church by the Holy Ghost, in order that it not err."

[38.6] Having posited these things, we will undertake to prove the thesis as a *sententia certa*, omitting however the controversy, by precisely what grade of error the opposite opinion is accusable.

[38.7] Thesis: THE CANONIZATION OF SAINTS IS THE OBJECT OF INFALLIBILITY.

ARGUMENTS

[38.8] ARGUMENT I. The Church cannot err in determining those things which pertain to the profession of faith. But "the honor, which we pay to the saints is a certain profession of faith, by which we believe in the glory of the saints." S. Thomas, l.c. From this St. Thomas developed an argument in the same place in this manner: "Just as we are bound to believe that which is in Sacred Scripture, so are we bound to believe what is determined commonly by the Church. For this reason, he is judged to be a heretic who thinks against the determination of the Councils. Therefore the common judgement of the Church cannot be erroneous; thus it is the same as I said before," namely, "that the Church in such things [in the canonization of saints] cannot err."

^{handling} [38.9] ARGUMENT II. The Church cannot err in ^{handling} over a common rule of morals. But through the canonization of saints, there is proposed to us a common rule of morals. The *major* has been proved above. *Proof of the minor*. The law of Christian life in a canonized saint is proposed as in the example. "In the operations and ^{passions} of men, in which experience counts a

great deal, examples move more than words." (Ia. IIæ q. 34, a. 1) For the same reason, if the life of a canonized saint conflicted with reason and the gospel, an error would redound upon the doctrine of morals. For this reason, St. Thomas, in *Quodl.*, l.c., says: "In the Church there cannot be an error worthy of condemnation. But it would be an error worthy of condemnation if a sinner were venerated as if he were a saint, because some, aware of his sins, would believe this to be false, and so it would happen that they could be led into error. Therefore the Church in such things is not able to err." Nor is it surprising that the Roman Pontiffs have expressed a number of times the gravity of the causes of canonization with words expressed in a certain form, like John XXII while investigating the sanctity of St. Thomas Aquinas affirming that one must proceed with great maturity in "such a great business of faith." Nicholas V, in the process of canonization of St. Vincent Ferrer called the cause "most serious." Leo X said concerning the cause of St. Francis of Paula, that "it was a thing which touches the divine majesty and pertains forever to the worship of the universal Church."



POPE LEO X

[38.10] ARGUMENT III. *From the problems which arise if the Church is not infallible.* [A] If the Church could err in the canonization of saints, then the entire worship of the saints would be ~~out~~

called

into question. But this is a major problem. For if one admits a doubt concerning a saint who has been duly canonized, then the sanctity of all the other saints can be called into question. (b) If it were possible that the Church could err in the canonization of saints, it could happen that the Church could canonize someone who is in hell, and that the faithful would be begging the help of someone who is afflicted with eternal tortures. No one could fail to see that this is unworthy of the Church. Cf. S. Hieron. *Comm. ep. ad Philem.*

OBJECTIONS

[38.11] OBJECTION I. The Church is able to err in deciding controversies of merely human fact as to whether someone lived in a holy manner or not.

[38.12] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. The Church is able to err in questions of *particular* fact, *I concede*; in facts that are connected with the Faith, *I deny*. The canonization of saints is in the middle between those things which directly and *per se* pertain to the Faith and which are merely particular facts.

[38.13] Infallibility, therefore, which pertains to the Church for the purpose of preserving faith and morals, extends to the canonization of saints, lest the Church teach anything contrary to faith and morals.

[38.14] INSTANCE. Human testimonies are very often false. But the Church, interrogating witnesses concerning the life and miracles [of possible saints] relies upon fallible authority in the process of canonization. Therefore the judgement of the Church concerning the saints cannot be infallible.

[38.15] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the minor. The Church relies on infallible authority in canonization with the special help of the Holy Ghost, *I concede*; without this help, *I deny*. God, who adapts the means to the end, will provide that the Church, for the purpose of protecting the truth, will not be corrupted concerning the saints by some error or deceit on the part of the witnesses. For the Church is directed in judgements of this type "especially through the

influence of the Holy Ghost;" and "divine providence preserves the Church in such a way that it is not deceived in such things through the fallible testimony of men." (St. Thomas, *loc. cit.*)

[38.16] **OBJECTION II.** The Roman Martyrology is the authentic catalogue of the saints. But it can happen that in the Martyrology someone can be included who seems to be numbered among the saints without merit.

[38.17] **RESPONSE.** I distinguish the major. The Roman Martyrology is the catalogue of those who were *solemnly* canonized by the Roman Pontiff *inclusively, I concede; exclusively, I deny.* And *I distinguish* the minor. It can happen that in the case of *not* solemn canonization, *I deny;* in other cases, *let it pass.* The description given in the Roman Martyrology, given its nature and quality, does not involve a formal canonization, or even its equivalent. Furthermore, if something seems to be in need of correction in the Roman Martyrology, it ought to be referred to the Sacred Congregation of Rites. (Cf. Benedict XIV, *op. cit.* lib. I, 43, no. 13 and Laemmer, *De Martyrologio Romano*).

[38.18] **QUESTION:** Whether the Church is also immune from error in the beatification of the servants of God.

[38.19] **RESPONSE:** (a) Some theologians deny that the Church is able to err in the beatification of the servants of God. Their arguments are considered doubtful by many doctors as to whether they demonstrate with certitude what they wish to prove. Nevertheless it would be rash to assert that the Church has erred in the process of beatification. (Cf. Benedict XIV, *op. cit.*, lib. I, 42, no. 10)

[38.20] (b) That the judgements of beatification are not considered infallible is supported by the following. [1] Beatification is not the ultimate and definitive judgement. [2] Before one can go from a formal beatification to a canonization, the entire cause is repeated, and a vote is taken. "These things, indeed," Benedict XIV says, "are not mere formalities, but regard the substance of the judgement, and are not done without invoking the help of Almighty God. They seem to clearly show that the judgement concerning beatification is not considered infallible by the Roman Pontiffs themselves." (*Op. cit.*, lib. I, 42, no. 10)

[38.21] (c) What we have said here concerning beatification are said concerning beatification, whether formal or equivalent, which is already decided by the Apostolic See, and concerning a particular canonization, which, done by a bishop, is customarily confined to the limits of the diocese. Such a particular canonization seems to have been reserved to the judgement of the Roman Pontiff first by Alexander III, Innocent III, and finally in 1634 by Urban VIII, while canonization more strictly so called was the proper right of the Roman Pontiffs from the earliest times. Cf. Benedict XIV, *op. cit.*, liber I, 7 — 13; *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 1890, pp. 599 — 616 — This is worthy of notice also, that a particular canonization in the case that the cult of the saint constituted by it is spread throughout the Church, can be confirmed and solemnized by the consent of the Roman Pontiff, in order that it be equivalent to a canonization strictly so called.

ARTICLE VI
[39]
WHETHER THE APPROBATION OF RELIGIOUS ORDERS IS THE
OBJECT OF INFALLIBILITY

[39.1] I. THE NOTION OF A RELIGIOUS ORDER.

A religious order is *a society for the purpose of acquiring perfection through the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience under the fixed form of the institutes*. In any religious order, three things must be distinguished: [1] the *essence* of the religious state, which consists in the three aforesaid vows; by reason of this essence a religious order is of divine institution. [2] *The fixed form of the institutes*, by which order differs from order. These institutes are "supports for the purpose of avoiding those things which are renounced by the vow of religion, or in order to observe that in which man through a vow of religion promises that he will serve God." S. Thom. *Contra impugnantes*, cap. I. [3] *The suitability* or the utility of each order, with consideration to time, place, and persons.

[39.2] II. THE APPROBATION OF THE CHURCH. The approbation of religious orders involves two things: [1] a *doctrinal* judgement concerning the moral goodness of such a life, whether absolutely speaking the state of perfection to be acquired ought to be had, or the way to perfection; [2] a *prudential* judgement, whether in given circumstances it is a good idea to approve such an order.

[39.3] Approbation is fourfold: [1] *solemn* and *definitive*, which is the equivalent of canonization, and is reserved to the Roman Pontiff; [2] *experimental* and not yet definitively granted by the Roman Pontiff, which could be compared to a beatification, in the sense that it is not definitive; [3] *permissive*, on the part of the Roman Pontiff; [4] *episcopal*, which is never definitive.

[39.4] The Fourth Lateran Council, in the year 1215, taking precautions against the excessive

multiplication of orders, decreed, that no new orders could be established without the explicit approbation of the Apostolic See. This prohibition "through the long standing custom of approved by the Holy See is now so understood, that it is not illicit that a bishop found a religious congregation, but that no religious order properly so called may be had, unless the [definitive] authority of the Holy See should be added to it." Cf. Lehmkuhl, *Theol. mor.* (1898), t. I. n. 494. Religious orders, however, instituted before the Lateran decree, unless there had been added to the episcopal approbation at least a tacit supreme approbation by the Roman Pontiff, cannot be considered to have received a definitive sentence, but only an approbation of a lower grade.

[39.5] III. THE EXTENSION OF INFALLIBILITY TO THE APPROBATION OF RELIGIOUS ORDERS. It seems clearly that one ought to say that the Church is not subject to error in approving religious orders definitively with regard to *doctrinal* judgment. So say Bañez, Suarez, Billuart, and others. On the question of prudence Billuart says: "But a judgement about whether here and now it is expedient to approve ^{or} order is different. And it is not certain that such a judgement is infallible, since it depends not only on knowledge, but also on prudence. But he who asserts something against the common sense of the Church, which would be erroneous, would not avoid the note at least of rashness." *De reg. fidei*, diss. III. art. 5. The position of St. Thomas concerning the infallibility of the Church with regard to the substance of the order, or the doctrinal judgment, is fairly evident. For he brings forth this law: *Let it be permitted to no one without danger to his status, to dishonor either divine*

constitutions or the decrees of the Apostolic See. He therefore concludes: "Since therefore through the Apostolic See certain orders are instituted...he clearly makes himself damnable who attempts to condemn such an order." Contra impugn. cap. IV.

[39.6] *Thesis: THE CHURCH CANNOT ERR IN DEFINITELY APPROVING RELIGIOUS ORDERS WITH REGARD TO THE QUESTION OF DOCTRINE.*

ARGUMENTS

[39.7] *ARGUMENT.* The Church cannot err in the doctrine of morals. But in approving a religious order the doctrine of morals is taught. Ergo. *Proof of the minor.* A religious order is proposed to the faithful by the definitive approbation as an absolutely safe way, not only to the acquiring of virtue, but also *perfection*. But if the notion of such a life, considered in itself, contained anything which were against the Gospel or the natural law, then a sin would be proposed to the Church as a way to Christian perfection. I said: *to the Church*, for, as Sylvius says: "Although one order contains men of a particular type and a particular manner of living, nevertheless it pertains to the whole Church, not only because it serves the whole Church, but also because the whole Church must approve it, and admit that it is something good, and useful for acquiring evangelical perfection, after the Roman Pontiff approves it as such." *Controv. lib. IV. 2. art. 6.*

OBJECTIONS

[39.8] *OBJECTION I.* Some religious orders, approved by the Church, later ceased to exist, with

the result that they were abolished as if harmful or useless to the Church. Therefore the Church erred in approving these.

[39.9] *RESPONSE.* *I distinguish* the antecedent. Orders of this type were abolished because of the defect of the order in themselves, *I deny*; in the members, *I concede*. An order can be considered either objectively, in the very rule of its life, which the Church approves, and in this matter, no error of doctrine ever had to be corrected; or subjectively, in those who have embraced such a rule, and in this respect the orders at times had to be abolished. For indeed, who would say that the singular professed members of the orders are approved by the Church?

[39.10] *INSTANCE.* Melchior Canus said: "Therefore to either approve or disapprove of orders does not pertain to those things in which the Sovereign Pontiff cannot err." (*De locis theol.*, lib. V, 5, ad 4um) Therefore the thesis is weakened by the authority of this most learned man.

[39.11] *RESPONSE.* *I distinguish* the antecedent. This position of Canus pertains to a prudential judgement, *I concede*; to a doctrinal judgement, *I deny*. For the author in the cited place says, referring to the reason for his position, "For it depends not only on knowledge, but also on prudence." Bañez seems, however, to reconcile the position of those who, with Valentia, say that it is not possible that there be an error of prudence in this matter with the opposite opinion by saying: "Never does an error of this type harm the Church, although it could be (and indeed *per accidens*) harmful to certain persons." Cf. Bouix. *Tract. de jure regul.*, tome I, p. 241.

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QUESTION X

THE MAGISTERIUM OF THE CHURCH

The Savior, as light shining in the darkness, deigned to become for men the *way, the truth and the life*. (John XIV: 6) Through Him we come to the light, whom St. Peter professed as his leader and master, saying: "*Lord to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life.*" (John VI: 69) He Himself taught, *as one having power*. (Mark I: 22) From then on, the Apostles, constituted as the messengers of Christ, preached the gospel to the world, *having true power*. But whoever has accepted and followed the fundamental principle of the sixteenth-century reformers deny that such a faculty to preach with power transferred to the successors of the Apostles. Therefore we shall very diligently treat of the question of the magisterium, since it is the key to many controversies. We shall investigate:

FIRST. WHETHER CHRIST INSTITUTED A MAGISTERIUM.

SECOND. WHETHER THE TEACHING OF THE CHURCH IS THE PROXIMATE RULE OF FAITH.

THIRD. WHETHER THE CHURCH IS THE JUDGE OF CONTROVERSIES.

FOURTH. WHETHER THE NUMBER OF THINGS TO BE BELIEVED IS ABLE TO BE AUGMENTED BY THE MAGISTERIUM.

FIFTH. BY WHAT CENSURES PROPOSITIONS CONTRARY TO FAITH ARE CONDEMNED BY THE CHURCH.

SIXTH. BY WHAT FAITH TRUTHS PROPOSED BY THE CHURCH OUGHT TO BE BELIEVED.

ARTICLE I

[40]

WHETHER CHRIST INSTITUTED A MAGISTERIUM

[40.1] I. THE NOTION OF MAGISTERIUM.
The magisterium is the *right and duty of the Church to teach Christian truth by that supreme authority, which all are bound to obey in their hearts and their mouths*. Cf. Conc. Vat. *de fide et ratione*, can. III.: Pii

IX. ad archiepisc. Monac. et Frising. *Gravissimas inter*, 11 Dec. 1862.

The magisterium of the Church is greatly superior in authority to human teachers. And indeed, "according to this, one is said to teach another, because someone explains to another this discourse of reason, which he has done *in se* through natural reason; so the natural reason of the learner,

through the things proposed to him in his manner, as if by certain instruments, arrives at the knowledge of things known. Just as therefore the physician is said to cause health in a sick person by means of the operation of nature, so also man is said to cause knowledge in another by means of the operation of his own natural reason; and this is to teach. For this reason one man is said to teach another, and to be his teacher." St. Thomas. *Quæst. disp. de Veritate*, XI. art. 1 But the Church, the mistress of truth, not only infallibly *proposes* the truth, but also *prescribes* the truth to its subjects to be believed. All, therefore, are obliged to give the duty of true obedience to the power of the magisterium.

[40.2] II. THERE ARE FOUR FUNCTIONS WHICH WE INCLUDE IN THE WORDS MAGISTERIUM: *witness, guardian, interpreter, and judge.*

[40.3] [1] As a *witness*, it has the right to preach the truth everywhere and to all, just as it was written: "*But you shall receive the power of the Holy Ghost coming upon you, and you shall be witnesses unto me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and Samaria, and even to the uttermost parts of the earth.*" (Acts. I: 8) [2] As *guardian* "it has the right and the duty of proscribing false knowledge, lest anyone be deceived through philosophy and inane fallacy." The Fathers at the Vatican Council claimed this right against the moderate rationalists, ^{who} ~~and~~ asserted: "Human discipline must be treated with that liberty, that their assertions, although they are contrary to revealed doctrine, can be maintained as true, and cannot be proscribed by the Church." Cf. Conc. Vatic. sess. III. *de fide et ratione*, can. II and chap. IV. [3] As *interpreter* it declares the sense of the dogmas in such a way, so that no one may recede from that meaning; and it protects this right against those who contend "it is possible that at times one must give a different meaning to the dogmas which are proposed by the Church according to the progress of knowledge, which is different from that meaning which the Church understands and has understood." Cf. Conc. Vatic. I. c. can III. and chap. IV. [4] As *judge* it defines the truth when controversies arise, or for similar causes.

[40.4] III. SOLEMN AND ORDINARY MAGISTERIUM. The magisterium of the Church is not limited to those things only which are proposed by a solemn judgement of the Church, but the Vatican Council, sess. III, chap. III, teaches these things: "Wherefore, by divine and Catholic faith all those things are to be believed which are contained in the word of God as found in Scripture and tradition, and which are proposed by the Church as matters to be believed as divinely revealed, whether by her solemn judgment or in her ordinary and universal magisterium."

[40.5] IV. ADVERSARIES. Those who profess Christ have always affirmed that the Christian religion is a religion of authority. But the controversy arose, whether Sacred Scripture ^{was} ~~is~~ able to teach by itself, or was committed to the Church. Where the infallibility of the Church was rejected, there likewise the magisterium of the Church was rejected. We have heard preached since the sixteenth century *the internal testimony of the Holy Ghost* as the mystical foundation, which was most strongly opposed to the magisterium of the Catholic Church. But these are old things. The more recent Protestants, such as Schleiermacher, Ritschl, Lipsius, Sabatier, however much they dissented from the founders of Protestantism and among themselves, spread among many regions of non-Catholics the subjectivism of *the witnessing spirit* and *the religious experience*, under some lower form, for example, of vague rationalism and pantheism. Arguments are sought from texts, which are seen to favor the testimony of the spirit, such as Romans VIII: 16: "*For the Spirit himself giveth testimony to our spirit, that we are the sons of God,*" and John VI: 45: "*And they shall all be taught of God.*" But the key of all mystical rationalism is false philosophy, which in most cases smacks of neo-kantianism and inebriates inconstant minds with a certain sweetness mixed with a more interior religiosity, the dignity of the individual, and the liberty of the spirit.

[40.6] More immediately the system of the neo-Lutherans and Anglican unionism touch upon our thesis. The *neo-Lutherans* want an authority of

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magisterium, which is divinely constituted, but *where* it resides is something which they entirely neglect. Nor does it seem possible they can solve this problem, if they subject the magisterium of the Roman Church to private judgement. The custom of *Anglican unionism* is to appeal from the present church to a *future church*, as is evident from the book of Dr. Pusey entitled *Eirenicon*. And so they praise the magisterium which *does not exist*, but which *will exist*; nor is it even certain that it will be, but they hope it will be. From this it is understood that the magisterium is in fact rejected by the unionists.

[40.7] V. THE PRINCIPLE, WHICH DISPLAYS LIGHT TO THE ADVERSARIES is profound, which the Catholic Church teaches, the union of external and internal magisterium. Concerning this union St. Thomas teaches these things: [1] "A person who has the faith, in order that he attain his ultimate end, must believe God as a disciple would believe his teacher. Man's ultimate happiness consists in a supernatural vision of God: to which vision man cannot attain unless he be taught by God, according to Jn. 6:45: 'Every one that hath heard of the Father and hath learned cometh to Me.' Now man acquires a share of this learning, not indeed all at once, but by little and little, according to the mode of his nature: and every one who learns thus must needs believe, in order that he may acquire science in a perfect degree; thus also the Philosopher remarks (*De Soph. Elench.* i, 2) that 'it behooves a learner to believe.' Hence in order that a man arrive at the perfect vision of heavenly happiness, he must first of all believe God, as a disciple believes the master who is teaching him." (IIa IIæ, q. 2, a. 3) [2] For an explicit and fixed faith it is required that *credible things be proposed to man*. This, however, was done to the Apostles and prophets through immediate revelation, but to others through preachers of the Faith, and through the definitive sentence of the supreme authority in the Church. However, this principle of external proposition exists for the purpose that men in this world consider God as the teacher of credible things, and that they learn from Him by listening. But it would be a great error to assert that this external magisterium is sufficient in order to have faith. Let

us hear Aquinas: "Since man, by assenting to those things which are of faith, is elevated above his nature, it is necessary that there be in him something of a supernatural principle moving him interiorly, which is God." For this reason this axiom applies maximally to the faithful: "To teach interiorly is properly the work of God." *Contra Gent.* IV. 17. It follows that the magisterium of the Church does not exclude the internal voice of the Spirit, but demands it.

[40.8] *Thesis: CHRIST INSTITUTED THE MAGISTERIUM.*

ARGUMENTS

[40.9] ARGUMENT I. *From Sacred Scripture.* The magisterium of the Church is the function of teaching with power. But (a) the Church in teaching as a representative of Christ, and (b) they are guilty who repudiate the preaching of the Church. *Proof of the minor.*

[40.10] [A] Christ said: "*As the Father hath sent me, I also send you.*" (John XX: 21); "*He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me.*" (Luke X: 16) St. Paul claims for the Apostles the authority as of legates of Christ: "*For Christ therefore we are ambassadors, God as it were exhorting by us.*" (II Cor. V: 20) Likewise: "*By whom we have received grace and apostleship for obedience to the faith, in all nations, for his name.*" (Romans I: 5) Likewise: "*destroying counsels, and every height that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every understanding unto the obedience of Christ.*" (II Cor. X: 4-5) The same thing is expressed by the apostles in the Council of Jerusalem by this formula: "*For it hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us.*" (Acts XV: 28)

[40.11] [B] Christ threatens those who repudiate this teaching: "*He who does not believe, shall be condemned.*" (Mark XVI: 16; cf. Math. XVIII: 17; XXVIII: 18-20) St. Paul said: "*destroying counsels, and every height that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every*

understanding unto the obedience of Christ, and having in readiness to revenge all disobedience, when your obedience shall be fulfilled." (II Cor X: 4-6) He also said: "*But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach a gospel to you besides that which we have preached to you, let him be anathema.*" It is certain that what was committed, however, to the Apostles and disciples as the ordinary function of teaching, has transferred to their successors. This is evident from what we said concerning the perpetuity of the hierarchy and infallibility.

[40.12] ARGUMENT II. Christ did not permit that the means be lacking to His Church that both the firmness of faith in individuals and the unity of all be safeguarded. That nothing is more necessary to this end than the magisterium, I will demonstrate in a few words.

[40.13] [A] *From the necessity of the magisterium.* For the faith is weakened very much through those things which one's own mind suggests against the tradition of Christ. But this intemperance of one's own mind is curbed wisely by a certain teaching authority. This is true both because of the profundity of the mysteries and because of the presence of the danger of the movement of the passions, lest our own mind suggest error to ourselves. History demonstrates that most errors flow from the fact that men, having spurned authority, have followed their own minds. St. Thomas affirms that a man deviates from the rectitude of the faith "because though he intends to assent to Christ, yet he fails in his choice of those things wherein he assents to Christ, because he chooses not what Christ really taught, but the suggestions of his own mind." (IIa IIæ q. 11, a. 1)

[40.14] [B] *The unity of all.* The unity of the faithful in the faith arises from a fixed rule of faith, which all are bound to obey. But that fixed rule of faith, which unites all the faithful, is the one, living, and visible authority of teaching, that is, the magisterium. Therefore Christ instituted the magisterium.

[40.15] ARGUMENT III. *From tradition.* What the Fathers thought is easily proven [A] by the

authority of those who commend the unity of the Church in faith; for only the power of teaching, being similar to the form, is able to unite the multitude of Christians into one faith. [B] By the clear testimonies of the ancients, which we adduced above concerning infallibility. [C] The public practice of the Church, striking all heresies with the anathema; most serious documentation of this can be found in the acts of the councils and the decrees of the Roman Pontiffs. (d) The well-known saying of the apologists, which St. Augustine interprets with these words: "The true religion...can in no way be correctly entered into without a certain serious command of authority." *De utilitate credendi*, chap. IX.

OBJECTIONS

[40.15] OBJECTION I. The Savior said: "*You have one master.*" (Matth XXIII: 8) Therefore the magisterium pertains only to God.

[40.16] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. There is one **primary** master, *I concede*; secondary, *I deny*. And *I deny* the consequent. The correct faith proceeds from Christ. But *Christ* does not speak immediately to us but through his Church. Cf. St. Thomas, IIa IIæ q. 6, art 1. As a result of this, the supernatural concept of life through Catholic doctrine shines forth in a most beautiful manner from the *living magisterium*: while the system of the *private spirit* smacks of *naturalism*, and indeed incredulity has abused the cited text in order that it extol the religion of the spirit as a religion of liberty, to be bound by no dogma, ~~or~~ Scripture, and no authority of the Church. — The same is true for the interpretation of Matthew XX: 25-27 and I Cor. III: 21-23.

[40.17] INSTANCE. The vision of the teacher is the principle of doctrine, as St. Thomas teaches in the *De Veritate*, XI, art. 4. But the Church lacks a vision of revealed things, since the mysteries of faith are not seen. Therefore the Church cannot be the principle of doctrine or a teacher.

[40.18] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. The vision of the principal teacher is the principle of doctrine, *I concede*; of the instrumental teacher, *I*

subdistinguish: in natural teaching, *let it pass*; in the magisterium of the faith, *I deny*. And *I distinguish* the minor: the Church lacks in itself the vision revealed supernatural things, *I concede*; in its principal cause, i.e., in God, *I deny*. And the conclusion is denied.

[40.19] Revealed mysteries, with regard to the whole body of the Church, are not seen, if one is talking about the essence of the mysteries. But they are manifest and clear to Christ who is the head of the Church. In Christ, therefore, who is the principal Teacher, there is the vision of the teacher; however, in teaching men, He uses the instrument of the Church.

[40.20] INSTANCE. Truth must not be embraced by us because of authority, but because of a consciousness of what is true.

[40.21] RESPONSE. *I distinguish*: and these two things cannot be associated, *I deny*; they are associated in a holy way in the soul which by faith lives under authority which is divinely constituted, *I concede*. They love the truth who hear the Church, which they revere in their intimate consciousness and love as true. Nor is an intrinsic vision of the dogmas required in order that they be considered true. But the heroes of the faith lived and died for a truth, which they had accepted in their hearts because of God with extrinsic evidence from the legitimate magisterium. To obey the gospel pertains to piety. Cf. Romans X; Thessalonians II: 13; Philippians I: 27.

[40.22] OBJECTION II. Saint Paul, proclaiming Christian liberty said: "*But prove all things; hold fast that which is good.*" (I Thess.: V: 21) Therefore the magisterium is in vain.

[40.23] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent: dubious private doctrines must be proved, *I concede*; the certain doctrine of the Church, *I deny*.

[40.24] The distinction is evident [A] from the context; for it is read: "*Despise not prophecies. (verse 20) But prove all things. (verse 21).*" During the time of the Apostles, private prophecies of this type were given out by many people. (I Cor. XIV: 29) Among

the Thessalonians, some were true, and others completely false. (II Thessalonians II: 2) For this reason, St. Paul said: "*Despise not prophecies. But prove etc.*" [B] It is evident from other places in Scripture, e.g., I John IV: 1, where it is read: "*Dearly beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits if they be of God: because many false prophets are gone out into the world.*" Who, however, would say that by this statement, Saint John is despising the authority of the Church? [C] In the Greek text, it is read: *Panta de doximazete*; by the structure of the phrase, *panta*, because of the particle *de*, refers to the preceding things, i.e., the charisms (Rosenmüller). Furthermore, Tertullian disapproves of the abuse of the same text by the heretics of his time. *De Præscrip.*, IV. Furthermore the texts by which we have demonstrated the principle of authority are clear.

[40.25] INSTANCE. St. John said to the faithful: "*And as for you, let the unction, which you have received from him, abide in you. And you have no need that any man teach you; but as his unction teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no lie. And as it hath taught you, abide in him.*" (I John II: 27) Therefore only the Holy Ghost exercises a magisterium over individuals, and not the Church.

[40.26] RESPONSE. St. John is excluding merely human teachers, *I concede*; the magisterium of the Church, *I deny*. Not by a single word is the magisterium of the Church proscribed in the text. In fact, the faithful are clearly supposed to have learned their faith from the Church. But the machinations of the heretics are condemned. For this reason the Apostle (*loc. cit.* v. 26) says: "*These things have I written to you, concerning them that seduce you.*" Furthermore, it is necessary that to the unction of the Holy Ghost the proposition of the external truth be joined; nor did the little children of Saint John fail to join the operation of internal grace with the external magisterium of the Apostles.

[40.27] Other texts which are customarily adduced by non-Catholics merely show the internal operation of grace without excluding the ecclesiastical magisterium, and therefore they prove nothing.

ARTICLE II
[41]
WHETHER THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH IS THE PROXIMATE
RULE OF FAITH

[41.1] I. THE RULE OF FAITH IS THE INFALLIBLE AND EXTRINSIC MEASURE, WITH REGARD TO MEN, OF THINGS TO BE BELIEVED. It is said to be *measure*, since the intellect of the believer must be measured according to it. It is *infallible*, because the measure of faith, just as the faith itself, must be entirely certain. It is *extrinsic*, because "the faith, with regard to assent, which is the principal act of faith, is from God *interiorly* moving through grace." (IIa IIæ q. 6, a. 1) I said: *of things to be believed*, in order to signify the entire Catholic doctrine and its true meaning; *with regard to men*, because we are not speaking here about the angels or about those manifestations of truth, which happen to someone in an extraordinary manner, or about private revelations, but concerning the common faith and the common order, which Christ gave to the faithful.

[41.2] II. THE DIVISION OF THE RULES OF FAITH. This division flows by itself from St. Thomas' explanation of the faith which is to be infused by God. "Two things are requisite for faith. First, that the things which are of faith should be proposed to man: this is necessary in order that man believe anything explicitly. The second thing requisite for faith is the assent of the believer to the things which are proposed to him. Accordingly, as regards the first of these, faith must needs be from God. Because those things which are of faith surpass human reason, hence they do not come to man's knowledge, unless God reveal them. To some, indeed, they are revealed by God immediately, as those things which were revealed to the apostles and prophets, while to some they are proposed by God in sending preachers of the faith, according to Romans X: 15: 'How shall they preach, unless they be sent?'"

(IIa IIæ, q. 6, a. 1) Finally he treats of the assent, which "is from God interiorly moving by grace." From this we gather three things:

[41.3] [1] The first rule of faith is First Truth, and all other rules of faith are based upon divine truth revealing, Cf. St. Thom. Ia, q. 16, a. 5. Cajetan, In IIam IIæ q. 2, art. 6. This rule, however of First Truth is supposed in all others.

[41.4] [2] Those things which are commonly called rules of faith are *five* in number: *Sacred Scripture, divine tradition, the Church, ecumenical councils, the Roman Pontiff*. For by these means things which must be believed ^{are} proposed by God and the believer is directed in his faith.

[41.5] [3] *Sacred Scripture* and *divine tradition* contain in themselves the entire deposit of revelation (cf. Conc. Trid. sess. IV); but these cannot speak a sentence, and cannot define the true sense and true interpretation. The *Church, the councils*, and the *Roman Pontiff* propose revealed truths from the deposit of Sacred Scripture and tradition, and manifest the true sense of revealed things until the end of the world. Therefore Sacred Scripture and divine tradition are called *inanimate* and *remote* rules, whereas the Church — that is, *the Church dispersed, the councils, and the Roman Pontiffs* — are the *living* and *proximate* rule.

dependent judgement

[41.6] III. IN WHAT SENSE THE CHURCH IS SAID TO BE THE PROXIMATE RULE OF FAITH. St. Thomas in the IIa IIæ, q. 5, a. 3 says: "Now the formal object of faith is the First Truth, as manifested in Sacred Scripture and the teaching of the Church, which proceeds from the First Truth. Consequently, whoever does not adhere, as to an infallible and Divine rule, to the teaching of the Church, which proceeds from the First Truth

manifested in Sacred Scripture, has not the habit of faith, but holds that which is of faith otherwise than by faith." From this the following things are posited:

[41.7] [1] *The formal object quod* of faith, or that which is principally attained by faith, is First Truth in being, or God as exceeding natural reason; the *formal object quo* or *sub quo* of faith is the veracity of God revealing, as connoting First Truth *in cognoscendo*; the *adequate material object* are all revealed things, that is, God Himself and all things as they are ordered to Him.

[41.8] [2] The *motive of assent* of faith is the veracity of God revealing. St. Thomas says: "Faith adheres to all the articles of faith by reason of one mean, viz. on account of the First Truth proposed to us in Scriptures, according to the teaching of the Church who has the right understanding of them." (IIa IIæ q. 5, a. 3, ad 2)

[41.9] [3] *The proximate rule of faith* or the means of proposing the things to be believed is the doctrine of the Church, *which proceeds from the First Truth*, for we believe "on account of the First Truth proposed to us in Scriptures, according to the teaching of the Church who has the right understanding of them."

[41.10] Since these things are so, the Church is said to be the rule of faith not in that sense that it would be the *formal object quod* or *sub quo* of faith, but as a *minister of First Truth*; it is a *condition*, by which First Truth proposes and explains Itself and other things to be believed. In other words, divine revelation is the infallible rule *per se* which is fitting to the faith, but *per accidens*, namely on our part, it is fitting to the faith that the proximate rule of faith be the Church. Cf. Cajet. *Comm. in IIam IIæ* 1. art. 1.; Salmant. *De fide*, disp. I n. 159.; disp. II. n. 104.; Joan a S. Thoma, *De fide*, disp. I. art. 2. n. 17. But this is not at all to say that the proposed doctrine excludes Sacred Scripture, since it supposes it. We have the Church as our proximate rule, since it is necessary that the true meaning of Sacred Scripture and tradition, which are the remote rules of faith, be explained by the Church with authority.

[41.11] IV. Question: *Do we believe the holy Church or in the holy Church?* Resp. It is quite well known that in the Apostle's Creed, in which the

word *in* is omitted, is in common use in the Church. But Constantinople II inserted the *in*: "*Et in unam, sanctam, catholicam, et apostolicam ecclesiam.*" Therefore this word, although some, e.g., those who were congregated in the council of Basle, abused this, nevertheless it can be taken in a good sense. Cf. Turrecremata, *Summa de Ecclesia*, lib. I. 20. More accurately the particle *in* should be absent, since most take the meaning of that particle to refer to the ultimate end of our movements. St. Thomas: "If we say: 'In the holy Catholic Church,' this must be taken as verified in so far as our faith is directed to the Holy Ghost, Who sanctifies the Church; so that the sense is: 'I believe in the Holy Ghost sanctifying the Church.' But it is better and more in keeping with the common use, to omit the 'in,' and say simply, 'the holy Catholic Church,' as Pope Leo [Rufinus, *Comm. in Sym. Apost.*] observes."

[41.12] V. THE SYSTEM OF THE PROTESTANTS. [1] The Protestants abhor the very name of an *ecclesiastical* rule. They contend that Scripture alone is the rule of faith. It is the common law of the reformers. When creeds were established, since it was necessary that the broken unity be healed, many times did they admit authority, but only a *conditioned* authority, *inasmuch* as it was in accordance with Sacred Scripture. But no such authority is admitted by the Socinians and Arminians.

[41.13] [2] In this period, certain Protestants preach another rule: there is no rule of faith except *primitive Christianity*. But this is only *normative*, that is, a norm which binds reason and conscience. Primitive and authentic Christianity remains nowhere, and cannot be found unchanged in any group. Dogmas must not be received from an ecclesiastical society, divinely endowed to teach the truth; instead the *individual* should find in the primitive Christianity what is pure, but which has been corrupted in *society* i.e., the Church. It [primitive Christianity] is the only pure source. But the very source of the Christian religion is the Founder and His immediate collaborators. Sacred Scripture indeed is considered a rule, but secondary

and derived, since the principal rule of faith is seen to be the historical fact of primitive Christianity.

[41.14] *Thesis: THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH IS THE PROXIMATE RULE OF FAITH.*

ARGUMENTS

[41.15] ARGUMENT I. *From Sacred Scripture.* The proximate rule of faith is said to be that by which the Faith is proposed to men proximately and immediately. But Sacred Scripture teaches that the Faith must be proximately and immediately proposed by the Church. Therefore the Church is the proximate rule of faith. *Proof of the minor.*

[41.16] [A] By the quotations from Sacred Scripture, we have proved the magisterium of the Church, i.e., the right and duty of teaching the Faith. But this right and this duty are precisely exercised, where the Faith is proximately and immediately proposed to men. Ergo.

[41.17] [B] To this pertains what the Savior commanded to the Apostles and to their successors, saying: *Go and teach; preach the gospel.* Likewise the statement of St. Paul, which teaches: *The Church is the pillar and ground of truth, and faith is from hearing.* Rom. X: 17. Likewise the formula of the Apostles, by which those congregated in Jerusalem declare the doctrine of faith: *It has seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us,* Act. XV: 28. In these words there is no doubt that the living voice of the Church is understood.

[41.18] [C] Sacred Scripture also indicates on the one hand the very great firmness of the Church, and on the other hand attributes inconstancy to the private spirit. St. Paul declares this firmness when he writes: *"And he gave some apostles, and some prophets, and other some evangelists, and other some pastors and doctors, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ."* He indicates the inconstancy of those who do not follow the rule of the Church with these words: *"That henceforth we be no more children tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine by the wickedness of men, by cunning craftiness, by which they lie in wait to deceive."* And of heretics he says:

"Ever learning, and never attaining to the knowledge of the truth." II Tim. III: 7. And St. Jude, describing the characters of the heretics, says: *"These are they, who separate themselves."* (v. 19)⁶⁴

[41.19] ARGUMENT II. *From tradition.* The Church is correctly thought to be the rule of faith, if it is wrong to dissent from the Church, if the private spirit corrupts the faith, and if it must be considered to be the safe norm of belief. But by the testimonies of the Fathers these three things are confirmed. *Proof of the minor.*

[41.20] [A] St. Ignatius, martyr, St. Polycarp, Hermas, and all of the Fathers prohibit dissent from the Church. The truth of this fact is attested to by the witnesses whom we cited in proof of the unity and infallibility of the Church.

[41.21] [B] St. Ignatius, martyr, attacking the heretics, destroys the private spirit with this statement: *"They mix Jesus Christ with themselves."* Trall. VI: 2. St. Ireneus said concerning the heretics: *"Each of them, completely perverse, is not abashed to preach himself, perverting the rule of faith."* Adv. her. lib. III. 3. Hegesippus describing the heretics: *"who each one separately has introduced his own opinion."* Therefore they are castigated for the fact that they opposed their private opinion to the public doctrine of the Church. Cf. Eus. E.H. lib. IV. 22.

[41.22] [C] The direct precepts concerning the norm of believing are most plentiful. St. Ireneus said: *"The preaching of the Church is the firm and true rule, by which one and the same path of salvation is shown in the whole world."* Adv. her. Origen: *"Let the ecclesiastical preaching be preserved, handed down by the Apostles through the order of succession, and which remains until the present time."* Tertullian: *"What the Apostles preached, that is, what Christ revealed to them, I here prescribe*

⁶⁴ Other noteworthy texts: *"And account the longsuffering of our Lord, salvation; as also our most dear brother Paul, according to the wisdom given him, hath written to you: As also in all his epistles, speaking in them of these things; in which are certain things hard to be understood, which the unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other scriptures, to their own destruction."* (II Peter III: 15) *"Understanding this first, that no prophecy of scripture is made by private interpretation."* (II Peter I: 20)

should not be proved in any other way, except through those same Churches, which the Apostles themselves founded." *De præscrip.*, chap. 21. *St. Ambrose*: "Stay in the Church; there is the most firm place for your mind." *Ep.* LXXII. ad Vercell. Eccl. n. 41. *St. Augustine*: "I would not believe the Gospel, unless the authority of the Catholic Church moved me." Finally the Fathers considered nothing to be prior or more ancient than that each follow the faith of the universal Church, of the councils, and of the Roman Pontiffs.

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[41.23] ARGUMENT III. *From the necessity of a proximate rule.* The faithful need a rule, by which all the things to be believed, in all times and every time, can be proposed. But such a rule is the Church alone, and not Scripture, nor primitive Christianity. The *major* is sufficiently certain; for the faith requires not only an interior divine influence, but also an exterior *proposition* of the truth, which, to be sure, is not made to individual men through immediate revelation. *Proof of the minor.*

[41.24] [A] *The Church* is able to propose: [1] *all things*, that is, what it preaches with a living voice as written and handed down doctrine as well as the meaning of each of them. [2] *To all men*, for both the educated and the illiterate can very easily hear the Church, although they have made no previous studies. [3] *In all times*, for the voice of the Church was heard before the writing of the New Testament, before the translations of Sacred Scripture, and before the invention of the printing press.

[41.25] [B] *Sacred Scripture* is able to propose: [1] *not all things*, because not all things are written in Sacred Scripture; some things are handed down, for example, the dogma of the inspiration of this or that book, which is not drawn from Sacred Scripture. Cf. many things in the tract on tradition. [2] *Not to all*, "for the truth of faith is contained in Holy Writ, diffusely, under various modes of expression, and sometimes obscurely, so that, in order to gather the truth of faith from Holy Writ, one needs long study and practice, which are unattainable by all those who require to know the truth of faith, many of whom have no time for study, being busy with other affairs. And so it was necessary to gather together a clear

summary from the sayings of Holy Writ, to be proposed to the belief of all. This indeed was no addition to Holy Writ, but something taken from it." (IIa IIæ q. 1, art. 9, ad 1) [3] *Not in every time.* It is a certitude that many years elapsed before all the books of the New Testament were written. Then, for a period of fourteen centuries, because printing had not yet been invented, books were rare and expensive. Finally the investigation concerning the true meaning of Sacred Scripture was, is, and will be a matter requiring a long, long time.

[41.26] [C] *Primitive Christianity*, although the Christian religion was, no doubt, perfect from the beginning, nevertheless ~~it~~ cannot be considered to be, for that fact, a living and proximate rule of faith. [1] If primitive Christianity is continued nowhere, that rule, since it is a labor to research antiquity in a historical and scientific manner, would be of benefit only to a few, and after a long time and with the danger of many errors. [2] Such a rule is *arbitrary* both in positing the limits of the original and incorrupt Christianity, and in assessing the corruption of any subsequent church. [3] *It subverts* entirely *the society* of the faithful, i.e., the Church, since it constitutes a dogmatic individualism, having abolished the bond of a permanent norm. [4] If that is had by means of primitive Christianity, then the true light of the truth is *the Church*, not the primitive one, but that which Christ and the Holy Ghost preserve incorrupt until the end of time. Cf. arg. I & II.

[41.27] *Confirmation.* Certain facts declare how necessary a rule of authority is: the interpretation of Sacred Scripture would be entirely without rule; the meaning which each person assigns is transferred into Sacred Scripture; the sects lacking any living authority, are completely torn to pieces; the Protestantism of the seventeenth century began to be rationalism, and in the eighteenth century lapsed into ~~the~~ *deism*. Schleiermacher in the nineteenth century said to the dried bones in the field of Protestantism: *I will infuse into you a spirit and you will live*, but this did not happen at all. He tried to create a Christian life and love without Christian dogma. So the loss of faith has followed the loss of a true rule of faith.

OBJECTIONS

[41.28] **OBJECTION I.** Faith is from God alone. But if the Church is the rule of faith, then the faith is not from God alone. Ergo.

[41.29] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the major: te faith is from God alone with regard to the consent of the believer, *I concede*; with regard to the proposition of what should be believed, *I subdistinguish*: is from God principally, *I concede*; proximately, *I deny*. Man, in assenting to those things which pertain to faith, is elevated above his nature; but "it is necessary that this be in him, by means of a supernatural principle moving him interiorly, which is God." (IIa IIæ, q. 6, art. 1. Also Ia q. 111, 1, ad 1: "Two dispositions concur in the virtue of faith; first, the habit of the intellect whereby it is disposed to obey the will tending to Divine truth. For the intellect assents to the truth of faith, not as convinced by the reason, but as commanded by the will; hence Augustine says, 'No one believes except willingly.' In this respect faith comes from God alone."

[41.30] **INSTANCE.** Faith is from an interior hearing. Therefore the proposition of the Church is superfluous.

[41.31] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the antecedent: faith is from an interior hearing exclusively, *I deny*; inclusively, *I concede*. Although divine truth which is heard interiorly *per se* is a suitable rule of faith by itself, nevertheless for us, according to the *ordinary* law of providence, divine truth is not manifested by the light of faith interiorly unless *the condition is fulfilled that the Church propose the truth*. I have said: according to the *ordinary* law of providence. For one cannot consider to pertain to the rule what happens extraordinarily by divine help. What Saint Thomas says concerning the twofold locution of God and the twofold hearing of man pertains to this subject: "There is a certain exterior locution by which God speaks to us through preachers, and a certain interior, by which he speaks to us by divine inspiration." But in those persons who first received and taught the faith, as in the Apostles and prophets, the faith arose from an interior hearing; this can happen in others in an

extraordinary way. However, it is ordinarily through an exterior hearing that "the faith arises in the hearts of the faithful, who receive the knowledge of the faith through other men." *Questiones Disp. de Veritate*, XVIII, art. 3. Therefore the Church is the visible rule of faith.

[41.32] **INSTANCE.** First Truth proposes and explains itself and other things to be believed. Therefore the magisterium of the Church is superfluous.

[41.33] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the antecedent. First Truth proposes and explains itself, with regard to the infusion of grace, *I concede*; with regard to the determination of doctrine, *I subdistinguish*: mediately through the Church, *I concede*; immediately, *I deny*. Although our faith has authority only from the revelation of God the Father, through the Son and the Holy Ghost, by ordinary providence, what things ought to be believed, and what their meaning is, is known by hearing the Church. Cf. St. Thomas: *In Sent.* IV, dist. IV, q. 2, art. 2; q. VI, art. 3, ad 1; IIa IIæ, q. 5, art. 3. For this reason is Church is very aptly called by Cajetan "the mistress of the object of faith."

↓ [41.34] **OBJECTION II.** Catholics believe as pertaining to faith that the Church is the rule of faith. But the Church cannot be the rule of this article. Therefore the rule of the Church is not extended to all things which must be believed. *Proof of the minor.* If we believe the Church because it proposes itself to be believed, then the authority of the Church, concerning which there is controversy, is supposed.

[41.35] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the proof of the minor. If we believe the Church, because it proposes itself to be believed, the authority of the Church is supposed, proved by arguments drawn from elsewhere, *I concede*, gratis, *I deny*. The Church is seen and believed in a diverse way. Cf. Question III, art. 2. It is seen by the evidence of credibility; once this condition of evidence is fulfilled, the faithful person, through the grace of faith "*adheres, as to an infallible and divine rule, to the doctrine of the Church, which proceeds from first truth manifested in the sacred Scriptures.*" (IIa IIæ q. 5, art. 3) But just as there is no need for another light, when the light itself is seen, so

there is no need for another rule of faith besides the Church, when the Church itself is proposed for belief.

[41.36] INSTANCE. The Catholics prove from Sacred Scripture that the Church is the rule of faith, as it is an inspired book. But they prove the inspiration of Sacred Scripture from the authority of the Church, as it is the rule of faith. But this is a vicious circle.

[41.37] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major: Catholics use this method of arguing against those who reject the inspiration of Sacred Scripture, *I deny*; among those who profess inspiration, *I concede*. Under the same distinction, *I deny* the minor and the conclusion. Catholics who dispute against those who reject inspiration are accustomed to approve the authority of the Church from Sacred Scripture as it is a *historical book*, and from there to prove the inspiration of the Scriptures from the authority of the Church, once it is confirmed by the arguments. In controversies, however, which are held with orthodox protestants or with Catholic theologians, inspiration is used against the former *ad hominem*, and among the latter in virtue of the principles of the faith, concerning which there is agreement among Catholic theologians. That disputation of theologians, however, is established for the purpose of strengthening the faithful, and not for the purpose of persuading those who have no faith.

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[41.38] OBJECTION III. In John V: 39, we read that Christ says to the Jews: "*Search the scriptures, for you think in them to have life everlasting; and the same are they that give testimony of me.*" But these words signify that Sacred Scripture is the proximate rule of faith, and not the Church.

[41.39] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major: Christ spoke these things in order to convince the incredulous *ad hominem*, *I concede*; in order to establish a rule of faith for the faithful, *I deny*. And *I deny* the minor and the conclusion.

[41.40] The word *scrutamini*, in Greek *ereunate*, is understood to have been said *per se* in the imperative mood or in the indicative mood. Given this, if the word is taken in the imperative mood, no rule is prescribed for Christians, but the Jews, rejected the preaching of Christ, are confounded *ad*

hominem by the invocation of the testimony of the Scriptures, in which they glory. It is the same thing as if Christ said: "You will not be able to obtain the fruit which you think you have in the Scriptures, namely eternal life, because by not believing in the testimony of the Scriptures concerning Me, *you do not wish to come to Me*, that is, you do not want to believe in Me in whom there is the fruit of those Scriptures, in order that in Me *you have life*, which I give to those who believe in Me." (St. Thomas, *Expos. in Joannem*, chap. V, lect. 6, no. 11) Cf. Matth. XII: 3, XIX: 4, XXI: 16, XXII: 31, 32

[41.41] INSTANCE. In Acts, XVII: 11, the Jews of Berea are praised for being more noble, *who received the word with all eagerness, daily searching the scriptures, whether these things were so*. And so they are praised inasmuch as they required that the doctrine of the Apostle be in conformity with Sacred Scripture. Therefore Sacred Scripture is the proximate rule of faith.

[41.42] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent: this examination was done before their conversion, *I concede*; after their conversion, *I subdistinguish*: in order that they examine the faith with doubt, *I deny*; in order that they be confirmed more and more in the faith, *I concede*. Indeed, even if the Jews of Berea, who were examining the Scriptures, had the faith, nothing follows. For even Catholics, ~~they~~ examine the Scriptures, e.g., the prophecies of the Old Testament, by which they penetrate the motives of credibility more profoundly. But Saint Luke narrates that the Jews of Berea in general received the word with all eagerness, examining the Scriptures, and then adds, "*Many of them believed.*" Therefore the examination seems to have been done *before* the Jews of Berea embraced the religion of Christ.

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[41.43] OBJECTION IV. It is necessary that the rule of faith be incorrupt. But the strictly primitive Christianity is incorrupt. Therefore it should be for us the rule of faith.

[41.44] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the minor: primitive Christianity is incorrupt and perseveres incorrupt in the Church, *I concede*; it remains entire or whole in no group, *I deny*. Gréillat, the author of dogmatic individualism, asserts three things which

he does not prove. He holds that primitive Christianity is the proper rule of faith; I do not see, however, who would be able to interrogate that Christianity if it is nowhere to be found, and where would someone find it, unless he had very great knowledge? It is furthermore false that the doctrine of Christ remains incorrupt in no group: in fact we

have proven the contrary, namely that infallibility has been given by God to the Church. Finally, he does not distinguish between those things by which the essence of the doctrine is changed, and those things by which the unchanged doctrine progresses and is applied to the life of men.

ARTICLE III

[42]

WHETHER THE CHURCH IS THE JUDGE OF CONTROVERSIES

[42.1] I. THE CONNECTION OF INFALLIBILITY WITH THE JUDGEMENT OF CONTROVERSIES. The question is about the *definitive* judgement of controversies in matters of faith and morals. But that a judgement of this type demands an infallible authority is proven by the nature of a *right judgement*, the nature of faith, and the dignity of the Sacred Scriptures.

[42.2] [1] But first *the rectitude of judgment consists in the cognitive power apprehending a thing just as it is in reality, and this is due to the right disposition of the apprehensive power*. But the right disposition consists "directly on the part of the cognitive power, and indirectly on the good disposition of the appetitive power." (IIa IIæ, q. 53, a. 3, ad 1) But faith, whose proper object is the *essence of God*, exceeds on the one hand the natural cognitive power; on the other hand the judgement of men concerning the truths of the faith is seriously corrupted by the inordinate movements of pride and concupiscence. The cognitive power of the judge of controversies must be directed by a higher light; the appetitive power must be ~~restrained~~ ^{restrained} by a higher power. But the Spirit of God is able to effect both of these things, assisting the Church in infallibly deciding controversies.

[42.3] [2] *The nature of the faith* demands the absolute certitude of a definitive judgement; for the certitude of faith excludes any doubt whatsoever. But "we must observe that in every case brought up for judgment, the final sentence belongs to the supreme court, even as we see that in speculative

matters the final sentence touching any proposition is delivered by referring it to the first principles; since, so long as there remains a yet higher principle, the question can yet be submitted to it: wherefore the judgment is still in suspense, the final sentence not being as yet pronounced." (Ia IIæ q. 74, art. 7) Therefore, since the final sentence in matters of faith pertains only to God, no fallible authority, but an infallible Church, through which First Truth manifests Himself to men, is able to be the *supreme judge* in controversies concerning the Faith.

[42.4] [3] *The dignity of Sacred Scripture* is that it be truly believed to be the word of God. But it is necessary that the judge concerning the word of God be God Himself. For "a sure judgment about a thing is formed chiefly from its cause, and so the order of judgments should be according to the order of causes. For just as the first cause is the cause of the second, so ought the judgment about the second cause to be formed through the first cause: nor is it possible to judge of the first cause through any other cause; wherefore the judgment which is formed through the first cause, is the first and most perfect judgment." (IIa IIæ, q. 9, a. 2) But the first cause puts an end to the controversies concerning the meaning of His word, pronounced in Sacred Scripture, by the ministry of the infallible Church.

[42.5] II. THERE ARE FOUR OPINIONS OF THE PROTESTANTS. In the camp of the Protestants all are absolutely intent that the evangelical liberty, as they say, not be overcome by the judgements of the

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Church. But they differ among themselves. [1] The Socinians, as is evident from the *Catechism* of Fausto Sozzini of Siena (1539 – 1604) assert that the controversies of faith ought to be settled *by individual human reason*. [2] The Lutherans and the Calvinists hold that any controversies can be settled *by Scripture alone*. Nevertheless, most of them add that Sacred Scripture is the judge, to the extent that it is interpreted not by the private mind of any particular man, but by the *Holy Ghost, who enlightens private men*. [3] In article 20 of the established Anglican church it states: *The Church has...authority in controversies of faith*, but they interpret the article in such a way that it is left to each one the power to research, if doubt should remain, even after the church has made its judgment. [4] The Puseyites do not deny that the controversies ought to be judged by the authority of the church, but they designate no church which exercises the function of an infallible judge. In short, an *objective judge*, who puts an end to controversies *alone and in an obligatory manner* is generally rejected by Protestants.

[42.6] The rationalist Protestants of our own age affirm that there is a light which shines interiorly by which the Christian believes, but exclude any authority which shines exteriorly.

[42.7] III. THE POSITION OF THE CATHOLICS. The definitive and supreme judgment in controversies of faith, whether they be of truths which are handed down or written, pertains to the Church. But there are two things which must be observed in this matter: [1] the Church, in making judgements, does not exclude Sacred Scripture, but examines it; it does not make it, but through an ultimate and living interpretation, it proposes it to the faithful. [2] The Church decides controversies equipped with the charism of infallibility, of which we spoke earlier. [3] The proposition of the Church does not exclude the internal movement of grace and dispositions, and the *lucid eyes of a pure heart*.

✓ [42.8] *Thesis: THE CHURCH IS THE JUDGE OF CONTROVERSIES.*

ARGUMENTS

[42.9] ARGUMENT I. *From Sacred Scripture*. The New Testament shows that the Church is the judge of controversies, and this is confirmed by the testimonies of the Old Testament.

[42.10] [A] We have proven by statements in the New Testament that the Church is the teacher and proximate rule of faith, but in the notion of each of these things, judgement concerning controversies of Faith is truly included. For nothing pertains more to a teacher and rule of faith than that it ~~free~~ ^{free} men who are disputing and agitated from the difficulties of doubt. OK

[42.11] [B] In the Old Testament it is written: "Ask the priests the law." (Aggeus II: 12); likewise: "For the lips of the priest shall keep knowledge, and they shall seek the law at his mouth." (Malach. II: 7); cf. Deut. XVII: 10; Ezech. XLIV: 15 – 23. Also the Savior said: "The scribes and the Pharisees have sitten on the chair of Moses. All things therefore whatsoever they shall say to you, observe and do." (Matth. XXIII: 2, 3) By these words the priesthood of the Old Testament is seen to have had the authority to decide religious controversies. But in the New Testament, there is a much greater necessity of this judgement, because of the large multitude of Christians, and because of the sublimity and abundance of revealed things. Therefore the Church, *a fortiori*, must be considered the judge of controversies.

[42.12] ARGUMENT II. *From tradition*. [A] It is certain from the testimonies of the Fathers that the Church is the rule of faith. But controversies cannot be ended except through a living rule of faith. [B] The acts of the councils and of the Roman Pontiff demonstrate that all controversies were ended from the very beginnings of the Church through the authority of the Councils and the Roman Pontiffs. [C] I confirm this same thing by a few statements of the Fathers. *St. Irenaeus* concerning the heretics, saying to those who did not observe the preaching of the Church: "They will fall justly into the ditch of ignorance which lies under them, *always seeking*, and never finding the truth." *Adv. Har. lib. V. 2. cf. III. 24.* *Tertullian* rejects private examination with these words: "Where is the end of the searching? Where is the place of believing? Where does the finding stop?"

At Marcion? But Valentinus also proposes: search, and you will find." *De prescrip.* XXX. St. Jerome: "I was able to dry up all of the little rivers of propositions by one sun of the Church." *Dial. contra Luciferian.* chap. II.

[42.13] ARGUMENT III. *From necessity.* In order that controversies be *definitively* decided, it is necessary to have a certain, objective, and obvious judge. This judge, however, [A] is not [1] individual human reason, nor [2] ~~status~~ ^{Scripture}, nor [3] Sacred Scripture with a private spirit, nor [4] Sacred Scripture with the Holy Ghost in a private spirit, nor [5] any fallible Church, but [B] is only the Catholic Church. It is therefore the judge of controversies. The *major* is sufficiently clear, for a *certain* judge is required lest there be a place for doubting; *objective*, in order that he unite the multitude of the subjects; *obvious*, that is, someone whom all may approach.

[42.14] [A] It is not [1] individual human reason which cannot be a *certain* judge. For the mysteries of faith exceed the understanding of human reason, but the judgement concerning truths which exceed human reason would be entirely uncertain. Nor can individual reason be considered an *objective* judge. Finally it is not an *obvious* judge, since men, for the most part, lack the intelligence, disposition, and time which are required for these judgements. Cf. Romans XI: 13; II Cor. X: 5.

[42.15] [2] ~~Nor status~~ ^{First Fall}. The position of the Caeseropapists must be avoided, since no power has been conceded to the civil principality in matters of faith. This will be confirmed by arguments later.

[42.16] [3] *Nor Sacred Scripture with the private spirit.* For it is not a certain judge with regard to us. First, because many times the precise meaning of Sacred Scripture is disputed; also because it often happens that controversies arise not because of truths that are written but because of truths which are handed down. It is not *objective*, because a book is a dead judge, who cannot hear both sides of those who are litigating, and therefore is unable to pronounce a sentence. Cf. Canus, *Loci theol.* III. 7. It is not *obvious* both because the sufficient knowledge of the *authenticity* and *sense* of Sacred Scripture, owing to defect of mind and heart, or care of

temporal things, etc. cannot be acquired by at least the majority of human beings, and because Sacred Scripture is at times obscure, as St. Peter teaches, ~~talking about~~ ^{saying concerning} the epistles of St. Paul. (II Peter III: 16. Cf. IIa IIæ q. 1, art. 9, ad 1um).

[42.17] [4] *Nor Sacred Scripture with the Holy Ghost in the private spirit.* It is not a *certain* judge, first of all, because the very judgement of the Holy Ghost is gratuitously asserted, and because it is rather foolish to assert that the Holy Ghost speaks to private persons, but to deny that He does so to the universal Church. It is not *objective*, both because the limits of the Holy Ghost and of the private spirits are not designated by any visible sign, and because some allege that the internal judgment of the Holy Ghost is ~~that~~ a dogma must be believed, whereas ^{others} say that it must be rejected, with the result ^{that} very often ~~that~~ each person absurdly believes that his own stupidities and dreams are to be entirely imputed to the Holy Ghost. It is not *obvious*, for who is it that, with the intention of settling the controversies, approaches the Holy Ghost with his adversaries.

[42.18] [5] *Nor any fallible Church.* A judge of this type is not certain, as it is evident, nor is it obvious, for there are many fallible churches to be found, and it would be impossible to figure out which one to go to.

[42.19] [B] *Only the Catholic Church must be considered to be the judge of controversies.* [1] The Church is a certain judge. But the foundation of this certitude is infallibility. For error of judgement is born either from ignorance or from an evil will or from pertinacity of those who contradict. But the Holy Ghost, by which the Church is ruled — which is clear from what we have said above — destroys these causes of false judgement: namely He destroys ignorance by teaching the truth; He destroys the evil will by inclining the hearts (Prov. II: 2) of the adversaries; He destroys the pertinacity of the adversaries by that firmness by which the Church is made the *pillar and ground of truth*. I. Tim III: 15. Cf. S. Thom. *In Isaiam*, Prol. Hier.

[42.20] [2] It is an *objective* judge, because the Holy Ghost assists the teaching Church, and not a private spirit. It is *obvious*, since the knowledge of things to be believed is obtained more easily through

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authority than through the private investigation of dogmas which is done through great difficulty.

[42.21] **Confirmation.** *From history.* For no one is ignorant of the fact that the systems of the Protestants for the purpose of settling controversies have produced nearly endless disputes, a flood of new sects, confusion, and incredulity in the sects themselves. Finally, because each one confides most of all in his own private interpretation, so each one has erred a great deal in explaining the Sacred Scriptures, as St. John Fisher in the sixteenth century shows to the reformers in his book entitled *A Confutation of the Lutheran Assertion*. How different it is in the Catholic Church, where however many disputes should arise, it remains always in its living unity.

[42.22] The excellence of the Catholic rule was for many non-Catholics, such as Newman and Manning, the first external sign by which they hoped to embrace the truth and peace in the Roman Church. Most recently A. Sabatier, who all the way to his death (April 12, 1901) was a most well-known teacher of modern Protestantism, in his posthumous work declared that the system of the Catholics concerning the infallible authority was much better in every way than the system of the reformed churches concerning Scripture alone.

OBJECTIONS

[42.23] **OBJECTION I.** Controversies must be settled by the word of God. But Sacred Scripture is the word of God. Therefore it will be the judge of these things.

[42.24] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the major. Controversies must be settled by the word of God which is proposed by a living judge, *I concede*; which is proposed only by a book, *I deny*. And *I distinguish* the minor: Sacred Scripture is the word of God excluding the handed down word, *I deny*; otherwise *I concede*. And *I deny* the conclusion.

[42.25] St. Thomas *says* three things are required in a judgement: First, that the judge take the matter to be judged; second, that he consider the merits of the cause; third, that he pronounce his

sentence. (*In Psalm. XXXIV*, no. 16) But no book could ever provide these things, since it is a dead judge.

[42.26] **INSTANCE.** Sacred Scripture is more easily approached than the Church. But *sacred* Scripture is the obvious judge. The antecedent is obvious, for the solemn and definitive judgements of the Church require a great labor.

[42.27] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the antecedent: Sacred Scripture is approached more easily than the ordinary judgement of the Church, *I deny*, the solemn judgement, *I subdistinguish*: as a judge, *I deny*; as a sacred book, *I concede*. The response to the rest of the objection is clear from what has been said.

[42.28] The ordinary judgement of the Church is readily available in the ordinary magisterium of the Church. This is sufficient for directing those who believe. When more serious controversies arise, the solemn judgements of the Church are not without their labor. But the controversy is settled in this manner.

[42.29] Sacred Scripture indeed is able to be accessed at least in these times and in regions where the ability to read and the abundance of books coincide; it is not, however, more easily approached *as a judge*, since it is *not* a judge. For this reason, Canus said: "But ~~if~~ some human nation the prescribed form of judgements would be such that there would be no living judges, but that controversy would be settled by digging into the books, besides the fact that such a form of judgement would be absolutely stupid, there would also be no end to the litigation." (*Loci theol.*, lib. III, 7)

[42.30] **INSTANCE.** In II Timothy III: 16 it is read: "*All scripture, inspired of God, is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct in justice.*" Therefore Sacred Scripture is more valuable in settling the controversies of faith.

[42.31] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the antecedent. Sacred Scripture is useful for these things, if the Church should explain them, *I concede*; if explained by private judgement, *I deny*. The response is evident from what has been said.

[42.32] **OBJECTION II.** St. Paul in I Cor. II: 15 teaches: "*But the spiritual man judgeth all things; and*

he himself is judged of no man." But in the system of the Catholics the spiritual man judges nothing. All is left to the judgement of the Church. They are deceived, therefore, who make the Church the judge of controversies.

[42.33] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. Paul calls a man spiritual who does not hear the Church, *I deny*; who hears it, *I subdistinguish*; and he judges the dogmas of the Church, *I deny*; many other things, *I concede*. The spiritual man is contrasted by the Apostle to the carnal man; the spiritual man is the justified man living in the state of grace. The carnal man fulfills his desire of the flesh. Cf. Galatians V: 19-21; Romans VII: 14; St. Thomas, in his commentary on First Corinthians, chapter III, lect 3. It is clearer than light that St. Paul did not concede to *spiritual men* the power to reject the Church.

[42.34] INSTANCE. What was not permitted to the Apostles must not be attributed to the Church. But the Apostles did not attribute to themselves the authority of a judge in settling the disputes of faith. For Saint Paul writes to the Corinthians: *But I call God to witness upon my soul, that to spare you, I came not any more to Corinth: not because we exercise dominion over your faith: but we are helpers of your joy: for in faith you stand.*

[42.35] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the minor. Apostles did not attribute to themselves a tyrannical authority, *I concede*; apostolic, *I deny*. This applies to the sentence of Saint Paul to the Corinthians. The Apostles in their epistles and in the Council of Jerusalem, and especially Saint Paul, in both epistles to the Corinthians, settled with authority disputes which arose concerning the faith. Therefore what is rejected by Saint Paul is the domination of pride, but not of authority. The word *kurioeuomen* (*Lat. dominamur; Eng. we exercise dominion*) must be taken in this sense: "*The kings of the Gentiles lord it over them; and they that have power over them, are called beneficent.*" (Luke XXII: 25) Likewise I Peter V: 3: "*Neither as lording it over the clergy, but being made a pattern of the flock from the heart.*"

[42.36] INSTANCE. The true religion is the religion of the spirit of Christ. But the spirit of Christ is the law of liberty and vision, which no evil eye knows, but which is apparent to the lucid eye

and those who are clean of heart. This is what St. James says in I: 25.

[42.37] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major: the spirit of Christ excludes the legitimate authority of magisterium, *I deny*; it requires it and sanctions it, *I concede*. The spirit of Christ, according to the modern philosophy of religion, is the religiosity of Christ, which He first lived, and by living, has not ceased to give us a type of seed to be developed. But they falsely suppose that Christ prescribed nothing with regard to dogma and authority. The contrary is proven is the thesis concerning the hierarchical constitution of the Church, and in the articles concerning the magisterium. What Our Lord said concerning those who are clean of heart and who have a clear eye, since we follow the Catholic system, they penetrate more profoundly into the religious life, as will easily be apparent to those who read the commentary of Saint Thomas Aquinas on St. Matthew. In the text of St. James, however, nothing is said concerning the magisterium, either for or against, but in my opinion, this seems to be only a comparison between the law of the Gospel and the Mosaic Law.

Article IV is skipped (It is covered in *de Revelatione*)

OBJECTIONS TO ARTICLE IV

[43]

[43.1] OBJECTION I. The Church cannot make up things to be believed. But if the number of things to be believed were augmented by the magisterium of the Church, then the Church would be making up things to be believed.

[43.2] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. The Church cannot make up things to be believed in *actu primo*, *I concede*; in *actu secundo*, *I deny*. Although the source of doctrine to be believed is said to be in *actu primo* because of divine testimony, in *actu secundo*, however, it is proposed definitively to men by the Church. For when certain controversies have arisen concerning the divine testimony, the matter is settled by the Church, inasmuch as it settles for us what *in se* had been always necessary to believe.

[43.3] INSTANCE. If the Church is able to make things to be believed by proposing them, it would be

a true source of doctrine, because the Church proposes it. But on the other hand, the ecclesiastical magisterium proposes a doctrine because it is true. But this is a circle.

[43.4] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. Through the proposition of the Church, a certain point of doctrine is known as true, *I concede*; becomes true, *I deny*. ^{For} Since no determined formula of things to be believed, even if it should be very ample, would be sufficient for the purpose of settling so many controversies over the centuries. Many things against arising errors must be determined by explicit words and also dubious things be declared in a clarified manner; for this reason, it happens that what revelation, and the remote rule of faith, that is, Scripture and Tradition, ~~always contained~~ ^{always contained} be more certainly known, although the Church had not yet exposed those doctrines in explicit words. Suarez said: "It is sufficient for this definition that some supernatural truth be implicitly contained in Tradition or Scripture, in order that, as the common consent of the Church increases, through which often the Holy Ghost explains or exposes Traditions or makes clear Sacred Scripture, the Church can ultimately use her definition, which has the power of a revelation in respect to us, because of the infallible assistance of the Holy Ghost. (*De Incarn.*, part II, disp. III. sect. VI. 4)

[43.5] OBJECTION II. In the faith, nothing must be innovated. But the faith is innovated by the multiplication of things to be believed. Therefore things to be believed should not be multiplied.

[43.6] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. Nothing ought to be innovated in faith with regard to sense, *I concede*; with regard to the words, *I deny*. The Church produces no new dogma *in se*, but needs new formulas in order that the old dogmas be determined against new errors. For this reason, Saint Thomas says: "The necessity of disputing with heretics made it necessary to find new names signifying the ancient faith concerning God." (Ia, q. 29, art. 3 ad 1)

[43.7] INSTANCE. Christ came to fulfill. Therefore there is no sanctioned progress of faith after Christ.

[43.8] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the consequent. After Christ there is no sanctioned material progress of faith, *I concede*; no formal progress, *I deny*. There is material progress when the matter itself of faith is augmented; there is formal progress if, the same faith, through a later definition of the Church is explained more explicitly with regard to us. Indeed this explanation flows from the intimate consciousness of the Church, and not from anywhere else, namely in the same dogma, the same meaning, and the same notion." (Vatican Council, constit. *Dei Filius*, chapter 4)

[43.9] INSTANCE. The truth of the faith is sufficiently explained in the doctrine of Christ and the Apostles. Therefore further explanations cannot be admitted in any way.

[43.10] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent: in the doctrine of Christ and the Apostles the truth of the faith has been sufficiently explained *per se*, *I concede*; *per accidens*, *I deny*. In the course of time many doubts have arisen owing to the weakness of the intellect and the cunning of the heretics and "since, according to II Peter III: 16, some men are so evil-minded as to pervert the apostolic teaching and other doctrines and Scriptures to their own destruction, it was necessary as time went on to express the faith more explicitly against the errors which arose." This is the norm of Saint Vincent of Lerins: "When you speak newly, do not speak new things."⁶⁵ (*Commonitorium*, chapter 27)

[43.11] Question I. *Did the Apostles know the dogmas of faith less distinctly than the Church afterward?*

[43.12] RESPONSE: Negative, with regard to the explicit understanding of the proper sense of the dogmas. In fact the contrary position is reprovved commonly by Catholic theologians even as rash, or as others say, erroneous. Suarez says: "But there are other contingent propositions which at the time of the Apostles had not yet come out, as, for example, that so and so is the pope or that this be a true council and similar things. It was not necessary that the Apostles know these things explicitly, but only in

⁶⁵ This formula is commonly reduced to *nove non nova*.

a universal way, since it was not necessary that all future things be revealed to them. (*De fide*, disp. II, sect. VI, 8) Cf. Sylvius, *In Ham IIa*, q. 1 art. 7.

[43.13] Question II. *Are the truths of the faith, before a solemn definition of the Church, considered to be de fide?*

[43.14] RESPONSE: All revealed truths contained in the deposit of the Church are *de fide*,

and for this same reason must be believed by divine faith by those to whom they are sufficiently made known. But sometimes a doubt arises whether they are proposed by the Church as something which is *de fide*. In this way it happens that *the fact* that such truths are *de fide*, is not always *de fide*. The definition of the Church, however, removes all doubt.

ARTICLE V

[44]

THE CENSURES BY WHICH THE PROPOSITIONS CONTRARY TO FAITH ARE CONDEMNED BY THE CHURCH

[44.1] I. THE DEFINITION OF CENSURE.

Both the act by which one errs and the object or matter of erring are called error. Here we will pass over the act of erring, and go directly to the object of error only, which in general we can call an erroneous or false proposition. Censure is defined, therefore, as *a qualification by which a note is attached to a proposition because of some opposition with the doctrine of faith*. If one looks at the sentence as branding a note, it is called an *active* censure; it is called *passive* if one considers the branded note. A censure which comes from the magisterium of the Church is called *judicial*; that which comes from theologians is called *doctrinal*. Here we are speaking about the judicial censure.

[44.2] II. THE DIVISION OF ERRONEOUS PROPOSITIONS AND CENSURES. Erroneous propositions are condemned [1] by a unique categorical censure, or determined in particular; [2] by many censures at the same time, which should not be considered synonymous, since they signify diverse grades of damnability and opposition with the faith; [3] *in globo*, as they say, namely when many propositions are noted in such a way that the ignominious qualification of each one of them is not expressed. But if many propositions are condemned *in globo* by a *cumulative* censure, by various notes *respectively*, such as the 45 articles of

John Wycliff in the Council of Constance and by Martin V, we hold these things concerning such a notation: *first*, that there is no note among those expressed which does not fall upon the condemned propositions, and *second* that there is at least one among these propositions that is worthy of these notes. [4] The propositions are condemned either *sicut jacent* (as they lie) e.g., the 65 propositions which Innocent XI condemned on March 2, 1679, or *in sensu ab assertoribus intento* (in the sense intended by the asserters), e.g., the 79 propositions of Michael Baius, or a censure done concerning any complete work containing erroneous doctrines.

[44.3] According to the diverse grades of opposition to the faith, a proposition is considered to be [1] heretical; [2] proximate to heresy; [3] smacking of heresy or suspect of heresy; [4] erroneous; [5] proximate to error; [6] smacking of error or suspect of error; [7] badly sounding; [8] captious; [9] rash; [10] offensive to pious ears; [11] scandalous; [12] blasphemous; [13] schismatic; [14] seditious; [15] injurious, and others which can be reduced to the ones that have been mentioned here.

[44.4] III. THE QUALITY OF THE DIVERSE CENSURES IS EXPLAINED. [1] A heretical proposition is *that which is immediately against the truth of the Catholic Faith immediately revealed and proposed by the Church for belief*. It is said to be

notoriously heretical, if it is so evidently opposed to the faith by the terms themselves that the person holding it could not evade the note of heresy. Suarez and the Salmanticenses teach that diverse grades of a heretical proposition very probably should not be admitted, against Turrecremata and others who, from diverse opposition to Sacred Scripture and tradition affirm that diverse grades arise. But the qualification of a heretical proposition does not depend on the heretical assent of the proponent, provided that the matter of the proposition is apt to effect a formal heretical assent.

[44.5] [2] A proposition which is *proximate to heresy* is opposed to doctrine which is considered to be *de fide* in the common sentence of nearly all, although it is not defined by the Church.

[44.6] [3] *Smacking of heresy* is a proposition which gives the occasion of fearing that there is a hidden heresy. The proposition *suspect of heresy* differs little, but which is said owing to a less serious evidence. But the savor of heresy many times from the circumstances and from the fittingness at least in words or accidents which are proper to heresy, is discerned. For example, I say this sentence: *faith justifies*. In the mouth of St. Paul it is true, but nevertheless in the mouth of the Lutherans smacks of the heresy of justification through faith alone. Certain propositions, however, seem to smack of heresy by themselves: *It is ridiculous to carry around the Sacrament of the Eucharist in public streets*. This smacks of the heresy either of denying the true Body of Christ in the Holy Eucharist, or of attacking sacred rites. Cf. III, q. 16, a. 8.

[44.7] [4] A proposition is said to be *erroneous*, which is immediately opposed to a truth which is mediately revealed, that is, to a theological conclusion. For example, this proposition: *Christ is not risible*, is said to be erroneous, for it arises from a premise of the faith (Christ is man) and from a premise which is known by reason (man is risible). Cf. Ia, q. 32, a. 4; IIa IIæ q. 11, art. 2.

[44.8] [5] *Proximate to error* and [6] *suspect of error* is said of a proposition for the same causes, proportionally speaking, which we stated concerning heresy.

[44.9] [7] Something is said to be *male sonans* (*sounding bad*) which has a meaning which is congruous with the faith, but words which are not congruous, for example, this proposition: *In God there are three relative essences*. With these words, although three essences or three natures in God are not posited, nevertheless a dissonance arises, since in the common use of Catholics the name essence is not reserved for signifying subsistence. But as St. Thomas teaches in Ia, q. 31, art. 2, from words pronounced in a disordered manner heresy is incurred. But it is necessary that the nature of the language be considered. Hence in the proposition: *in divine things the Father is the cause of the Son* sounds bad among the Latins, but sounds good in the Greek language, since the Greek word for *cause* is usurped for the word *principle*. Cf. St. Thomas *Contra errores Græcorum*, proœm. A proposition sounds bad either *ab intrinseco*, if the words by themselves are not suitable, or *ab extrinseco*, if the unfittingness of the words is understood from the circumstances of things.

[44.10] [8] A proposition is said to be *captious* or *seductive of simple minds*, which, by means of words which do not sound bad, imply or bring a meaning which is not fitting to the faith.

[44.11] [9] A proposition is commonly considered to be *rash* which is against the faith, but properly is that which affirms or denies something concerning the doctrine of faith without sufficient foundation. For "those things are said to happen rashly which are not ruled by reason." (IIa IIæ q. 53, a. 3, ad 2) Propositions are said to be rash *contrarily*, which are opposed to the common teaching of the Fathers and Doctors; *negatively* or *privatively*, which without a sufficient foundation departs outside of the teaching of the Fathers and Doctors. An example of this would be: *The world will end in a hundred years*.

[44.12] [10] *Offensive to pious ears* is a proposition which in fact says the truth, but in such a way that it gives occasion to despising holy things. Example: *Saint Mary Magdalen, prostitute, pray for us*. Cf. Canus, *de locis*, lib. XII, 11.

[44.13] [11] *Scandalous* is that proposition, which in the matter of morals gives occasion to spiritual ruin.

not?

So it would be scandalous to say: *Many inconveniences arise from sacramental confession*. Practically the same thing is a *dangerous* proposition, which in the matter of morals says that something is licit or can be done absolutely speaking, which in fact cannot be done except when many circumstances are present. Example: *Man is able to be perfect without mortification, i.e., corporeal hardships*.

[44.14] [12] A proposition is said to be *blasphemous* which, at least in words and manner, insults God or His saints. I said *at least in words*, for it can happen that a proposition which includes heresy or error must be called *heretical* blasphemy, *erroneous* blasphemy, etc. An example of a blasphemous proposition is this: *Gregory the Great was the first Antichrist among the Roman Pontiffs*. One must add propositions which are *impious, atheistic, judaic, pagan*, which are easily distinguished by their very *ratio*.

[44.15] [13] A proposition is *schismatic* which is *opposed to the unity of the members of the Church*. It is opposed to charity "which not only links one person to another by the bond of spiritual love, but also the whole Church, in the unity of the spirit." (IIa IIæ q.

39, a. 1) Example: (*Pius X cannot be considered the Roman Pontiff*).

[44.16] [14] A proposition is *seditionous*, which is apt to withdraw obedience to the ruler and to excite tumults in a country. An example is Wycliff's statement: *There is no civil ruler when he is in the state of mortal sin*.

[44.17] [15] A proposition is called *injurious* which harms charity and justice which is due to one's neighbor, especially if it detracts from their honor, which in the Church is conspicuous by reason of dignity or status. Example: *The holy Fathers were guilty of many errors*.

[44.18] Finally condemned propositions can be affirmed [1] *simpliciter*, as in: *The difficulty of life does not contribute anything to the spiritual life*; [2] *modally*, whenever truth and probability are attributed to a condemned proposition, or where probability and certitude are denied to a true proposition. Example: *It is probable that the difficulty of life does not add anything to the spiritual life*.

ARTICLE VI

[45]

BY WHAT FAITH THE TRUTHS PROPOSED BY THE CHURCH OUGHT TO BE BELIEVED

[45.1] I. MANY KINDS OF FAITH. Faith is [1] divine; [2] divine and Catholic; [3] ecclesiastical; [4] human.

[45.2] [1] *Divine faith* or *theological faith* is said to be that assent which is immediately based on divine revelation. The object of this kind of faith is revealed truths, believed because of the truth of God revealing. [2] *Divine and Catholic faith*, or simply *Catholic faith*, is said of revealed truths which are manifested in the doctrine of the Church. The fact that the revealed truths are manifested by the Church pertains to faith *per accidens*, that is on our part.

From this it is clear that there is no essential difference between divine faith and divine and Catholic faith. [3] *Ecclesiastical faith* is based on the *assistance* of the Holy Ghost, by which the Church of Christ is preserved immune from any error in guarding the deposit of faith. Therefore it cannot be doubted that it is most firm and most certain. [4] *Human faith* is based on the authority of men. — With regard to faith which is *meditately and indirectly divine*, by which some theologians think that theological conclusions, properly so called, must

be believed, seems not to differ from ecclesiastical faith.

[45.3] II. THE DIVERSITY OF TRUTHS. [1] *Articles of faith* are the first things to be listed as truth to be believed. The *articles* are said to be the primary things to be believed, which involve a special relation to other credible things, so that the other things are in a certain way contained in them. It is evident, however, that credible things of this type are not divided on the part of the object *quo* and of the formal *ratio* of the faith, since this is unique, namely divine truth revealing. But they are divided from the point of view of the *object quod*, that is, of the mysteries, which are believed. Some divide up the Apostles' Creed into twelve articles, some into fourteen. Cf. IIa IIæ, q. 1, a. 6, and 8; *Comp. theol.* chap. 246.

[45.4] [2] *Dogmas* are those truths, which are contained in the written or handed down word of God, and which are proposed by the Church as having been divinely revealed either by her solemn judgment or by her ordinary and universal magisterium. Dogmas which are proposed by the solemn judgment of the Church are called *defined* dogmas, or they are simply called dogmas of faith. Dogmas which are proposed by the ordinary and universal magisterium, but without a solemn definition, are called *Catholic* dogmas, or *revealed dogmas* or truths *regarding faith*.

[45.5] [3] *Theological conclusions* formally so called, that is, precisely as they are deduced from premises, can never be called the object of *divine* faith. But if they are considered *materialiter*, i.e., as they are made up partly of a proposition *de fide*, they are considered to be a proper genus of truths. *Propositions of faith* are said to be those conclusions, called theological in the broad sense, which are contained in the premises by reason of meaning, that is, as a part in the whole, or as the singular in the universal, or as the implicit in the explicit. For in these, namely, we use merely an *explicative* syllogism.

[45.6] *Theological conclusions* understood in the strict sense, are held to be those which are perceived by a *deductive* syllogism, and in things which are related not immediately, but by reason of the natural connection, that is, as a property is contained in an

essence, or as an effect in is contained in a cause. Cf. q. IX, art 2.

[45.7] [4] Truths, of which the contradictory the Church has proscribed with a note that is beneath heresy, e.g., as rash.

[45.8] [5] Truths which by the common and constant consent of Catholics are considered certain, with the result that the contrary opinions, although not considered heresy, nevertheless are considered worthy of some censure.

[45.9] Theological conclusions strictly so called, and truths which we included in numbers 4 and 5, are also called truths which are theologically certain. — Cf. Conc. Vat. sess. III chapter III; Gotti, *Theol. schol.* t. I. tract. I, q. I.

[45.10] III. TRUTHS WHICH MUST BE BELIEVED BY DIVINE AND CATHOLIC FAITH. The following things must be believed by this kind of faith: [1] the articles of faith; [2] dogmas, which are proposed by the Church as having been divinely revealed, either by her solemn judgment or by her ordinary and universal magisterium; [3] Theological conclusions, which are called so *in the broad sense*. For all truths of this kind are based *immediately* on divine authority.

[45.11] Question I. *Whether a conclusion must be believed by divine faith, which is deduced as a particular conclusion from a revealed universal, and where the minor premise is not revealed, and which is not evidently certain but a contingent fact.*

[45.12] RESPONSE. If the minor positively and *evidently* is not certain, the conclusion could not be *de fide*. In what regards *contingent facts*, a conclusion *de fide* is not had unless the certitude of the fact entirely excludes all doubt. Therefore this proposition: *This host must be adored*, is not believed with divine faith, although the major is revealed: *Every duly consecrated host must be adored*. But the minor: *This host has been duly consecrated*, is only morally certain.

[45.13] Nevertheless a contingent fact is sometimes so certain that all doubt whatsoever is removed. In this case the conclusion, as a certain *part* of the major premise, seems to be *de fide*. Thus the proposition: *Pius X has been duly elected*, when one adds the acceptance of the Church, by which also an

illegitimate election becomes ratified, cannot be called into doubt. For this reason, the Salmanticenses, Billuart and others judge that very probably the conclusion is *de fide*, which would result from this argumentation: *Every man duly elected to be the successor of St. Peter is the Supreme Pontiff of the Catholic Church. But Pius X is duly elected to be the successor of St. Peter. Therefore he is the Supreme Pontiff of the Church.*

[45.14] Similarly authors, whom we have quoted, teach that the legitimate celebration of an ecumenical council, e.g., Trent, is manifestly certain. For it can be reasoned: *Any council, accepted by the Church as ecumenical, is the rule of faith. But the Council of Trent is considered by the Church to be ecumenical. Therefore it is the rule of faith.* Cf. Salmant. *de fide* disp. IV. dub. II. § 1-3 and Billuart, *De reg. fidei*, diss. IV. art. 9. Bañez, however, with others, denies that conclusions of this type pertain to faith; nevertheless, he has no doubt that it would be "very rash and scandalous if after the Church received someone as Roman Pontiff, someone would deny that he is the true Roman Pontiff." In IIam IIæ art. 10. dub. 2.

[45.15] QUESTION II. *Whether the facts connected with the right of doctrine, i.e., dogmatic facts, must be believed with the same faith as the dogmas themselves.*

[45.16] RESPONSE. Dogmatic facts must be believed by ecclesiastical faith. For these facts do not seem to be believed immediately because of divine revelation, but because of that infallibility which perpetually accompanies the Church in guarding and explaining revealed things.

[45.17] QUESTION III. *Whether private revelations must be believed by divine faith.*

[45.18] RESPONSE. Most authors affirm that private revelations, if there are motives of credibility, must be believed by divine faith, but not Catholic faith. Others say no, such as the Salmanticenses, *De fide* diss. I dub. IV § 1. 2. *By divine faith*, for the object of divine faith is First Truth revealing. But an object of this type is proposed, if God supplying, by a special influx, for the proposition of His Church, reveals a truth privately to men. Therefore private revelations are to be believed by divine faith. — *Not*

by Catholic faith, because the object of Catholic faith is First Truth, manifested *through the doctrine of the Church*. St. Thomas said: "At all times there have not been lacking persons having the spirit of prophecy, not indeed for the declaration of any new doctrine of faith, but for the direction of human acts." IIa IIæ q. 174, a. 6, ad 3.

[45.19] IV. CONCERNING THE TRUTHS WHICH MUST BE BELIEVED BY ECCLESIASTICAL FAITH. [1] Theological conclusions called so *in the strict sense*; [2] judgements of the Church concerning propositions, condemned beneath the note of heresy; [3] other heads of doctrine, unless I am mistaken, which by the common and constant consent of Catholics are retained as certain, must be believed by ecclesiastical faith, and it is necessary that all Catholics subject themselves to these same truths in conscience. They are not considered to be believed by *divine* faith, because we assent to them not immediately because of divine revelation, but because of the assistance of the Holy Ghost, who effects that the Church even in this kind of truth is free from error.

[45.20] QUESTION I. *Whether those propositions would be considered heretical which, outside of the matter of those things to be believed by divine faith, are opposed to the doctrines of the Church.*

[45.21] RESPONSE. In this place we establish three things: [A] "Now a thing may be of the faith in two ways, as stated above, in one way, directly and principally, e.g., the articles of faith; in another way, indirectly and secondarily, e.g., those matters, the denial of which leads to the corruption of some article of faith; and there may be heresy in either way, even as there can be faith." IIa IIæ q. 11, art. 2. So in propositions of which we are speaking, often heresy is indirectly defended. But they are not directly heretical.

[45.22] [B] Those propositions which are contrary to a theological conclusion, taken in the strict sense, are not considered by theologians to be heretical *simpliciter*, but erroneous and leading logically to heresy. The Salmanticenses teach that this type of error is "heresy in the second grade, that is, mediately, and secondarily, because although it is

opposed immediately only to a theological conclusion, mediately, however, it is repugnant to the assent of faith." *De fide*, disp. IX. dub. IV. § 3. From that perception however, Canus and some others seem to depart, saying: "This [conclusion which is truly theological] is considered to be a Catholic truth in such a way, as if it were revealed *per se* by Christ; and whoever opposes it is equally a heretic, as if he were opposed to the sacred books or to the tradition of the Apostles." *De locis*, lib. XII. 6. præc. 7.

[45.23] [C] In general it must be established that one cannot without error deny that those *qualifications* by which the Church reproves damnable propositions, with a censure which is beneath that of heresy, e.g., with the note of *rashness*, pertains infallibly to them. From this it plainly follows that a proposition must be considered without a doubt *rash* if the Church has branded it in this way. Furthermore propositions noted in such a way are not considered heretical in themselves. Nevertheless it must be judged from the grade of censure and from the greater or lesser connection of a proscribed doctrine with the doctrine of faith, whether the proposition attains heresy more proximately or more remotely. Cf. Joan. Turrecrem. *Summa de ecclesia*, lib. IV. pars. II.; Canus, *De locis*, lib. XII. 7-10; Suarez; *De fide*, disp. XIX.

[45.24] QUESTION II. *Into what error does he fall, who asserts that the Church, in making censures, which are inferior to the note of heresy, is not immune from error.*

[45.25] RESPONSE. It is agreed among all Catholic doctors that the *dogmatic* and *infallible* judgements extend to proposing truths which are *connected* with those things which are immediately

revealed, and to the condemning of errors, which are beneath heresy. Indeed this teaching of the doctors is the truth with which the theologians also agree, "so that they dispute among themselves," says Hurter, "whether the opposite opinion is heretical, or erroneous, or at least rash." *Theol. dogm. Comp.* ad. II (1903) p. 542. Bañez, however, says: "It is an error, or proximate to error, to assert that the Church can err in censures of this type." *In Ham Ille* II. art. 2 Cf. G. Wilmers, *De Christi Ecclesia*, p. 461-463.

[45.26] In consequence, the doctrinal judgements of the Church bind the consciences, and require the internal assent of the mind. This is confirmed by the Council of Constance, namely from the mandate of Martin V, concerning those suspected of the errors of Wycliff and Hus: "Likewise, let the especially learned person be asked, whether he believes that the decision of the sacred Council of Constance passed concerning the forty-five articles of John Wycliff and the thirty of John Hus described above, would be true and Catholic: namely, that the above mentioned forty-five articles of John Wycliff and the thirty of John Hus are not Catholic, but some of them are notedly heretical, some *erroneous*, others *audacious* and *seditions*, others *offensive to pious ears*." [Denz. 661]

[45.27] Likewise in the schema of the dogmatic constitution concerning the Catholic Faith of the Vatican Council there is this canon: "If anyone should say that it is licit to hold or to hand over opinions condemned by the Church, *provided that they are not condemned as heretical*, let him be anathema." The canon was omitted, however.

Question III. —

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QUESTION XI

THE POWER OF THE CHURCH

The power of the Church is twofold, namely *power of orders*, which is also called *sacramental*, and *power of jurisdiction*. Phillipps, Card. Franzelin and others also list a third type of power, which they called *magisterium*. But the more accurate position seems to be of those who retain the division into the twofold power, and refer *magisterium* to the power of jurisdiction (IIa IIæ q. 39, art. 3). Here we are speaking about the power of jurisdiction, which is called in a certain stricter meaning the *power of government* (*regiminis*). This power of government is contained in the complete *legislative*, *judicial* and *coercive* power. But concerning the coercive power, since it is rejected outright by some, and even with regard to spiritual punishments, and is rejected by others only with regard to the infliction of temporal punishments, there will be a twofold article concerning this. Therefore four things are here in question:

FIRST. WHETHER CHRIST GAVE THE CHURCH A LEGISLATIVE POWER.

SECOND. WHETHER CHRIST GAVE TO THE CHURCH A JUDICIAL POWER.

THIRD. WHETHER CHRIST GAVE TO THE CHURCH A COERCIVE POWER.

FOURTH. WHETHER THE COERCIVE POWER OF THE CHURCH EXTENDS TO TEMPORAL PUNISHMENTS.

ARTICLE I

[46]

WHETHER CHRIST GAVE TO THE CHURCH A LEGISLATIVE POWER

[46.1] I. THE DEFINITION OF THE LEGISLATIVE POWER. The legislative power is defined: *The power of making orders for the common good which oblige in conscience*. It is said *making orders for the common good*, since the law properly so called "is a certain order of reason for the common good, promulgated by him who is in charge of the community." Ia IIæ, q. 90, a. 4. It is

added: *which oblige in conscience*, since every law is considered to induce a certain obligation of conscience. Finally the definition involves, no less than the thesis, an *obliging*, *permitting*, and *irritating* law. Power in this whole question is understood concerning external and contentious power, and not only a voluntary power or a power of the internal forum. Legislative power is certainly

extended to precepts. A precept, however, involves an application of the law to those things which are ruled by law. (Ia IIæ, q. 90, art. 2 ad 1). They differ from the law in this [1] that by its nature it is transitory, and [2] it does not seem to be able to legislate for the whole community.

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[46.2] II. THE OBJECT AND SUBJECT OF THE LEGISLATIVE ECCLESIASTICAL POWER. [1] The object of this power is not truths of faith or morals to be defined. For it pertains to the magisterium to declare doctrine of faith and morals. But whatever is in discipline and in exterior matters, with the exception of the faith and the substance of the sacraments, is conducive to the worship of God and for the obtainment and protection of the salvation of souls, all of this, within the limits of the ecclesiastical society, can be the object of laws to be legislated by the Church. And since the Church has been instituted proximately by Christ for the purpose of procuring future happiness, *this celestial good*, is considered to be the *ratio formalis* under which human acts are directed by ecclesiastical laws. So the most noble power is referred to the legislative power, which is said to be *dispensatory* with regard to sacred things. Concerning this the Fathers at Trent declare: "This power has ever been in the Church, that, in the dispensation of the sacraments, their substance being untouched, it may ordain, — or change, what things soever it may judge most expedient, for the profit of those who receive, or for the veneration of the said sacraments, according to the difference of circumstances, times, and places." — In what pertains to *persons*, the laws of the Church oblige only and all baptized persons.

[46.3] [2] The subject of this power is those to whom the Savior committed His Church to be ruled. For power is "active potency with a certain preeminence." (St. Thomas, *In Sent.* IV. dist. 41. q. I, a. 1) But we have seen, when we treated concerning the hierarchical and monarchical constitution of the Church, that active and preeminent power was not given to a multitude, nor to a *secular principality*, but to a *sacred principality* or hierarchy, which Christ established

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upon the *rock* of the Supreme Pontiff. Cf. Q. XV concerning the primacy of the Roman Pontiff.

[46.4] III. ERRORS. [1] In the fourth century, Ærius denied the legislative power of the Church with regard to the law of fasting. [2] The Waldensians completely disregarded this same power. Second, Luther decreed that "by no right can laws be imposed upon Christians, either by men or by angels." *de Captiv. Babyl.* [3] The school of Marsilius of Padua, of the regalists, of the Pistoians limited the power of the Church to only counseling and preaching, so that with regard to exterior things, it possessed no faculty except by the concession of princes. [4] It seems that in general the right and jurisdiction in the Church must be denied by non-Catholics inasmuch as they reject the visible constitution of the Church and the hierarchy. Against errors of this type, and those connected to them, the doctrine of the Church must be examined in this article and in the three subsequent articles, which states: "Jesus Christ gave to His Apostles free commands regarding sacred things together with both the faculty of making laws in the proper sense, and a genuine power of judging and punishing which flows from this." *Encycl. Immortale Dei*.

[46.5] Thesis: CHRIST GAVE TO THE CHURCH A LEGISLATIVE POWER.

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[46.6] ARGUMENT I. The Church ^{has} been divinely constituted as a perfect society and kingdom. Cf. Q. IV. art. 1. But the faculty of making laws flows from the nature of a perfect society. Ergo. *Proof of the minor*. In a society the actions of the subjects must be directed according to the variety of things, times and places toward the common good. But this is done through laws, for the law directs the intention by showing what the act must be which is proportioned to the ultimate end. S. Thom. *In Sent.* II. dist. 41. art. 1. So the perfect society is not conceived of without a legislative power. Cf. S. Thom. *In Sent.* IV. dist. 49. q. I. art. 2, q. 5.

[46.7] ARGUMENT II. *From the words of Christ.* [A] Christ said to His Apostles: "Amen I say to you, whatsoever you shall bind upon earth, shall be bound also in heaven; and whatsoever you shall loose upon earth, shall be loosed also in heaven." But by these words the power of the Church is designated. *Proof of the minor.*

[46.8] [1] *From the obvious sense.* For to loose and to bind signifies supreme power, especially because of the added word *quacumque* (whatsoever), and of the metaphor *keys*, with which these words are connected in Matthew XVI: 19. [2] From the context in the verse immediately preceding, 15, 16, 17, He is speaking about the sins of the faithful to be judged in the external forum by the Church with authority. "Tell the Church. If, however, he will not hear the Church, let him be to thee as a heathen and a publican." There is, however, a certain connection between judicial power and legislative power.

[46.9] [B] The function of *feeding* the Church has been confided (John XXI: 15-18 and I Peter V: 2) and to the Church it is commanded: "Going therefore teach ye all nations...teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." (Matth. XXVIII: 20) But the Church cannot feed the faithful, nor can it teach all nations to observe unless it makes laws for the purpose of directing men in the various circumstances of times and affairs. The same thing is confirmed from the fact that power of this type existed in the Old Testament as it is written: "The scribes and the Pharisees have sitten on the chair of Moses. All things therefore whatsoever they shall say to you, observe and do." (Matth. XXIII: 2, 3).

[46.10] ARGUMENT III. *From the practice of the Church which comes down from the Apostles.* (a) [A] The Apostles commanded in the Council of Jerusalem, that they abstain from the animals sacrificed to the idols and from blood and from suffocated animals. (Acts. XV: 29) St. Paul gave a command to the Corinthians concerning secular judgements, concerning the fact that women praying had to have their heads covered, and concerning the conditions required in choosing a widow, concerning the judgement of accused

priests, etc. I Cor. VI: 4; I Cor. XI: 5; I Tim. V: 9-12; *ibid.* v. 19. All of these things pertain, however, to exterior matters. Ergo. "Since the Church now has the same power of establishing and ~~destroying~~ ^{abolishing} which it then had," (Cf. S. Thom. *In Sent.* IV. dist. 27. q. 3, art. 3. ad 2) the power of making laws belongs to the Church. [6]

[46.11] (b) That laws were made by the successors of the Apostles is testified to by the acts of the Councils and the collections of Canon Law. Hence there is the proposition which is branded as *heretical* by Pius VI: "[It is] an abuse of the authority of the Church that it use its power received from God, which the Apostles themselves used, in establishing and sanctioning exterior discipline." [Denz. 1504]

OBJECTIONS

[46.12] OBJECTION I. Whatever pertains to the spiritual direction of man has been abundantly ordered by Christ. Therefore the Christian religion excludes any laws of the Church.

[46.13] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. These things were ordered by Christ in their principles, *I concede*; in their application, *I deny*. And the effort of individual men and of the multitude must be directed toward a spiritual end, as is evident from the more complete notion of the hierarchy. For, "someone is said to have a kingdom because he has others under his providence." (St. Thomas, *In Sent.* IV. dist. 49, q. 1, art. 2; q. 5) It pertains to the provident ruler, however to direct his subjects toward their end. So it is necessary that there be a legislative power, not that the fundamental constitution of the Church or its principles be established, but in order that it might live more easily and more perfectly according to these principles.

[46.14] OBJECTION II. The object of legislative power is considered to be those things which are external. But external things are subject to the civil power. Therefore when the due object is removed, the legislative power collapses.

[46.15] RESPONSE. *Let the major pass.* For it does not pertain to our subject to review those

bold cases in which the Church can command merely internal acts. *I distinguish* the minor. The external matters of the citizens are subjected to the ruler of the civil power. *I concede*, of the faithful, *I deny*, since one of the faithful who is both soul and body, acts in an external manner not only as a citizen but also as one of the faithful. Therefore the Church also commands exterior things in its own sphere. "Just as it belongs to the secular authority to make legal precepts which apply the natural law to matters of common weal in temporal affairs, so it belongs to ecclesiastical superiors to prescribe by statute those things that concern the common weal of the faithful in spiritual goods." (IIa IIæ, q. 147, art. 3)

[46.16] **INSTANCE.** Laws concerning spiritual things pertain to a spiritual society. But exterior things are not spiritual things. Therefore there is not in the Church a faculty to also rule exterior things by laws.

[46.17] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the major. To the Church pertain the laws of those things which are spiritual by reason of their end, *I concede*; by reason of their object, *I subdistinguish*; by reason of their formal object, *I concede*; by reason of their material object, *I deny*.

[46.18] The *formal* object, or that which the power of the Church attains in exterior things, is *the ordering of its subjects to a spiritual end*. And its subjects who must be drawn to this end are *men*. For this reason one must admit the power of the Church in order that men might be directed, in a manner which is congruous with the *human* nature, toward exterior things, as toward a matter which is to be ordered to a higher end. St. Thomas, speaking about the sustenance of the ministers of the Church, said: "therefore, because the Church has the power to establish a law in those things which pertained to the worship of God, the wealth of those things which were to be given to the ministers of God by the people, were able to be taxed by the law of the Church." (*Quodlibetales*, II, art. 8.)

[46.19] **OBJECTION III.** Christ said: "*And in vain do they worship me, teaching doctrines and commandments of men.*" (Matth. XV: 9) But ecclesiastical laws are the commands of men. Therefore they have no usefulness.

[46.20] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the major. Christ reproves the commands of men *simpliciter*, *I deny*; inasmuch as they *contradict the commands of God*, *I concede*. And *I distinguish* the minor. Ecclesiastical laws are the commands of men *immediately*, *I concede*; *mediately*, *I deny*. The response is clear from the context, when the Savior in verse 6 said: "*and you have made void the commandment of God for your tradition.*" But just as pharisaism is reproved by Jesus, so the laws of the Church, which are made by authority which is granted by God, are sanctioned by this rule: "*Therefore he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God.*" (Rom. XIII: 2) (Cf. S. Thomas, *In Matth. loc. cit.*)

[46.21] **INSTANCE.** It is wrong to substitute the yoke of the Old Law with the yoke of new commands. But the ecclesiastical laws are a yoke imposed upon the faithful.

[46.22] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the major. It is wrong to substitute the old yoke with laws of the same *spirit*, *I concede*; of the same *quantity*, *I subdistinguish*: this would be an *imprudence*, *let it pass*; this would be *from an illegitimate power*, *I deny*. For the laws of the Old Testament have a preparatory character of the Jewish religion among the Gentiles; but we have received the spirit of Christ. Therefore the ecclesiastical laws regard one thing, that the spirit of the divine Founder of the Church be preserved and augmented. It should be added that the ecclesiastical laws obliging the multitude of the faithful in general are very few, and are restricted practically to the five precepts of the Church. The other laws, which fill the tomes of the law, pertain either to freely elected states, or to the correct performance of diverse functions. No one would deny, however, that in a very large society various laws cannot be repudiated without the loss of order itself.

ARTICLE II

[47]

WHETHER CHRIST GAVE TO THE CHURCH A JUDICIAL POWER

[47.1] I. THE NOTION OF JUDICIAL POWER. Judicial power is *the faculty of judging with authority concerning the true sense of laws, and concerning the actions of subjects with regard to those laws*. I said: *faculty of judging* or of handing down a judgement. But a judgment is an act of a judge inasmuch as he is declaring what right is. But right is the object of justice. Cf. IIa IIæ, q. 60, art. 1. But the proper act of justice is "to render to each one what is his due." (IIa IIæ q. 68, art. 11)

[47.2] *With authority*, for it concerns disputes and sentences which are prescribed and handed down in such a way that they must be obeyed. *Concerning the true sense of laws and the actions of the subjects*, whether, namely, actions of this type are in conformity with the sense of the laws or not. In a judgment four things are distinguished: [1] the *plaintiff*, by whom judgement is sought; [2] the *defendant*, who is called by the plaintiff into an action; [3] *the cause*, or the matter to be judged; [4] the *judge*, by whom the sentence must be pronounced after he has heard the disputes. But a judge is very aptly called by Aristotle: *living right*. Ethic. V. 6.

[47.3] II. THE SUBJECT AND OBJECT OF THE JUDICIAL POWER IN THE CHURCH. [1] The judicial power is common to the whole Trinity, but it is attributed to the Son by an certain appropriation: "*And he commanded us to preach to the people, and to testify that it is he who was appointed by God, to be judge of the living and of the dead.*" (Acts. X: 42) "*For neither doth the Father judge any man, but hath given all judgment to the Son.*" (John V: 22) But although there remains with God the highest authority to judge, nevertheless there has been committed by God to men a judicial power with regard to those men who are subjected to their jurisdiction. Cf. IIIa q. 59, a. 1-4. In general,

judicial power, which Christ gave to the Church, resides properly in the rulers of the Church. [2] With regard to the object, causes which the secular forum correctly claims for itself must be separated from the matter of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The general rule is that those causes pertain to the ecclesiastical forum which are subject necessarily to an ecclesiastical judge in order that the Church can fittingly attain for itself its own end, namely the salvation of souls. Furthermore the definitions of the Church, as well as its practice, the decrees of the Roman Pontiffs and of the councils and the approved teaching of Catholic doctors explain this.

[47.4] III. ERRORS. [1] It was necessary that those who reject the legislative power of the Church also reject its judicial power, because of the connection between these two things. [2] Some schools of jurisprudence consent to those who say that the Church is an association, but not a state in the true sense of the word. Among these are Pufendorf⁶⁶, Mosheim, and Böhmer. An association, however, as a type of imperfect and minor society is contained in a greater and perfect society.

Example: an association or group of businessmen in some civil society. Hence the effect is that if one excludes from the Church the notion of state or kingdom, then one must refuse to the Church the judicial power, and whatever else pertains to power in the true sense. [3] In fact, Pufendorf, in order to corrupt the social form of the Church, as well as those things which flow

⁶⁶ BARON SAMUEL VON PUFENDORF (January 8, 1632 – October 13, 1694) was a German jurist, political philosopher, economist, statesman, and historian. His name was just Samuel Pufendorf until he was ennobled in 1684; he was made a Freiherr (baron) a few months before his death in 1694. Among his achievements are his commentaries and revisions of the natural law theories of Thomas Hobbes and Hugo Grotius.

from it, as if in its very source, contended that Christ was not a legislator, but was like a legislator. [4] Van Espen in his work entitled *The Law of the Universal Church* says that before the twelfth century there was no external forum in the Church, but then an external forum arose owing to the concession of the emperors. This was again stated by many Jansenists and regalists.

[47.5] *Thesis: TO THE CHURCH HAS BEEN GIVEN JUDICIAL POWER IN THE TRUE SENSE BY CHRIST.*

ARGUMENTS.

[47.6] **ARGUMENT I.** The Church is a perfect society. But there is no perfect society unless it has judicial power. Ergo. The *minor* is evident, because any civil society uses that power both because laws are made in vain unless disputes concerning the sense of the laws and the actions of citizens relative to the laws can, where it is necessary, be brought before an authentic judge. Nor is the argument convincing, as some say, that the judicial power was conceded to the Church for the internal forum. For the Church, since it is a visible society, directs the life of its subjects externally as well. For the same reason, it is necessary that the sentences be pronounced by the Church in the external forum.

[47.7] **ARGUMENT II.** *From Sacred Scripture.*
[A] Christ said: "*But if thy brother shall offend against thee, go, and rebuke him between thee and him alone. If he shall hear thee, thou shalt gain thy brother. And if he will not hear thee, take with thee one or two more: that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may stand. And if he will not hear them: tell the church. And if he will not hear the church, let him be to thee as the heathen and publican.*" Matth. XVIII: 15-17. But by this sentence of Our Lord, judicial power is undoubtedly attributed to the Church. In fact, [1] the *defendant*, the *judge*, the *sentence*, and the *punishment*, are indicated, and therefore it concerns a true judgement. [2] In that judgement the judicial power is attributed to the *Church*, for we read: *Tell*

the Church; and if someone should not hear the Church. [3] The rulers of the Church are called *the Church*. This is evident both from the fact that even the princes of the synagogue are called *the Church*, and from the nature of the thing, since a judgement cannot be exercised by the universal multitude, and from what Christ adds to this: *Amen I say to you, what so ever you shall bind upon earth, etc.* l.c., verse 18. These words were not addressed to all, but to the Apostles and to the rulers of the Church, who are called *the Church*, just as magistrates, by which the State is ruled, are called *the State*.



SAMUEL PUFENDORF

[B] *St. Paul* writes to Timothy: "*Against a priest receive not an accusation, but under two or three witnesses.*" (I Tim V: 19) But by these words, it is evident that judicial power of the Church is designated. For it concerns the external forum: *But under two or three witnesses*. The defendant is indicated: *against a priest*; the accuser: *accusation*; the judge, namely the bishop, which in this case is Timothy. But the accusation would not happen unless a sentence could be pronounced by Timothy. This is confirmed [1] from the fact that

St. Paul informs the Corinthians of the idea that cases are to be judged in the Church. (I Cor. V: 12 – VI: 2) [2] From the fact that St. Paul exercised that power against Hymenæus and Alexander and against the incestuous Corinthian. (I Tim. I: 20; I Cor. V: 1-6)

[47.8] ARGUMENT III. *From Tradition.* [A] *St. Clement of Rome, St. Ignatius of Antioch, and St. Polycarp* teach that the faithful must obey their pastors. So St. Clement says: "Right is it, therefore, to approach examples so good and so many, and submit the neck and fulfill the part of obedience to those who are the leaders of our souls." (Cor. 63, no. 1) To be unwilling to obey is called "a vain sedition" by St. Clement. But these things are said concerning obedience in the external forum, and concerning the power of government, as is evident. Therefore these Fathers, at least, have handed over through their writings the principles in which the judicial power is included.

[47.9] [B] *Tertullian* affirms that judgments are made in the communities of Christians "with great weight," and are a supreme precedent of the future judgement. "If anyone should be delinquent in such a way that he is separated from the communication of prayer and from the community, and from all holy communication." St. Cyprian recalls that a private heretic, "because of many and grave crimes, was condemned by a sentence of ninety bishops. That Jovinus and Maximus "because of wicked sacrifices and crimes, proved in themselves, were condemned by a sentence of nine bishops," is narrated by the same St. Cyprian. Finally when Fortunatus and his associates, condemned at Carthage, appealed to Cornelius the Pope, Cyprian commends the rule by which it is necessary that "the accused bring their cause to that place where they have both accusers and witnesses of their crime." *Ep. 59 to Cornelius.* St. Ambrose accurately narrated the cause of Indicia the virgin, judged by the Bishop of Verona, and later by the Bishop of Milan. *Ep. 5 to Siagrium Veron.* St. John Chrysostom said: "That part which pertains to the bishop to treat in judgements certainly brings forth infinite hatred and infinite offenses." *De sacerdotio*, lib. 3.

[47.10] [C] In the collection which is called the *Canons of the Apostles*, the order of judgements is indicated with regard to accused bishops. *Can. LXXIII.* The Nicene Fathers against Arius, the Fathers of Ephesus against Nestorius, and the Fathers of Chalcedon against Dioscorus used a judicial method. *St. Athanasius* appealed from the judgement of the Eusebians to Julius I, the Roman Pontiff. In the Council of Sardica it is certain that ordinances were made in the use of appeals. Concerning these enough has been said. It follows that the Church, by its own right and not by the concession of the princes of the State, *from the beginning*, and not from the eleventh century, possesses this authority.

OBJECTIONS

[47.11] OBJECTION I. Christ, in saying, "*Tell the Church*," designates a particular community of a certain place, and not the universal Church. Therefore nothing is proved in the first proof.

[47.12] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. Christ designates a particular Church primarily, *I deny*; secondarily, *I subdistinguish*: a community joined to the universal Church, *I concede, separated, I deny*. The Savior said: "*Tell the Church*;" therefore no church, for example, that of Jerusalem or of Ephesus, is distinguished from the others. Therefore since none is distinguished, none is excepted. But since the universal Church cannot pronounce each and every sentence, the particular churches are therefore secondarily designated, not those which are separated, but those which are joined to the universal Church, to which, as to one moral body it is said: "*Whatever you shall bind...*" And if this power, in the opinion of the adversaries, is present in the particular Churches, how much more would it be present in the universal Church?

[47.13] INSTANCE. Matth. XVIII says that outside of fraternal correction, nothing is prescribed. For He says: "*But if thy brother shall offend against thee, go, and rebuke him between thee and him alone. If he shall hear thee, thou shalt gain thy brother.*" (verse 15) From this text the judicial power of the Church is in no way proved.

[47.14] RESPONSE. I distinguish the antecedent. Fraternal correction is the occasion of conferring the power, I concede; the term, I deny. Christ grants the general power of judging when He says: "*Whatever you shall bind*." That the ecclesiastical sentence is successively strengthened by the divine sentence is very clearly shown by these words: "*shall be bound also in heaven...shall be loosed also in heaven.*" Nor is there any doubt that power is expressed by these words which pertain to the establishment of the Church.

[47.15] INSTANCE. The rulers of the early Church were more arbiters than judges in their

functions. Ergo. Proof of the antecedent. The litigants were not bound to obey the pronounced sentence. Furthermore the power of coercing is proved by no convincing argument.

[47.16] RESPONSE. I deny the antecedent. I similarly deny the first part of the proof, for an accused person, if he should not hear the Church, should be treated as a heathen and a publican. "*And if he will not hear the church, let him be to thee as the heathen and publican.*" (Matth. XVIII: 17) We will treat of the power to coerce in the following article.

ARTICLE III

[48]

WHETHER CHRIST GAVE TO THE CHURCH A COERCIVE POWER

[48.1] I. THE NATURE OF COERCIVE POWER. Coercive power is *power of punishing criminals*. I said of *punishing*, that is, of forcing them through punishments. Therefore that power and the faculty of imposing penance are two different things. For [1] penance is considered to pertain to the internal forum, whereas punishment, as such, pertains to the external forum. [2] Penance is in the sinner in accordance with his will, but punishment is in him according to the will of the judge. [3] Through penance is sought first of all the reconciliation of friendship, but through punishment is sought first of all the restoration of the equality of justice. Furthermore ecclesiastical penances, whether there should appear in them the *ratio* of medicinal punishment or the *ratio* of vindictive punishment, more mediately regard the good of virtue and *edification*. Cf. II Cor. X: 11; Aristotle *Ethica* X: last chapter. But edification arises either from the emendation of the sinner or from the good of society. St. Thomas Aquinas says: "The punishments of the present life are not sought for themselves, because now is not the time of the ultimate retribution, but inasmuch as they are

medicinal, leading either to the emendation of the sinner, or to the good of the nation, whose peace is procured through the punishment of sinners."

[48.2] II. SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL PUNISHMENTS. A *spiritual* punishment is that which directly castigates the mind and separates man from spiritual goods, e.g., from suffrages or from the Sacrament of the Eucharist. A *temporal* and *corporeal* punishment is considered to be that which directly affects the body and the goods of fortune, as when someone is afflicted with proscription of his goods. A spiritual punishment is many times joined with the privation of some temporal goods, e.g., excommunication with infamy, cf. S. Thom. *In Sent.* IV. dist. 18, q. 2, a.1, sol. 3.

[48.3] III. ERRORS. Concerning the coercive power of the Church, there were two ways of erring. [1] Some asserted that no one could be punished by the Church unwillingly, but that the accused had to undergo the punishment *only by his own will*; the power of punishing in the external

forum totally pertains to the prince and in no way to the Church. [2] If the Church had any coercive power, they deny that it extended to temporal and corporeal punishments. (Marsilius of Padua, Van Espen, the Pistoians, Nuytz).

[48.4] IV. THE DECREES OF THE CHURCH CONCERNING ITS COERCIVE POWER. In 1327, John XXII declared heretical the proposition 5 of Marsilius of Padua. "That the whole Church joined together cannot punish any man with a coercive punishment unless the Emperor concedes this." In 1794, the proposition of the Pistoians was condemned by Pius VI, which said that the Church "does not have authority to demand obedience to its decrees otherwise than by means which depend on persuasion; in so far as it intends that the Church has not conferred on it by God the power, not only of directing by counsel and persuasion, but also by ordering by laws, and of constraining by forcing the inconstant and stubborn by exterior judgement and salutary punishments." It was condemned as "leading to a system elsewhere condemned as heretical." [Denz. 1505]. Pius IX condemned this doctrine of Nuytz, a professor in Turin: "The Church does not have the power of inflicting force." (*Syll.*, prop. 24). In the encyclical *Quanta Cura*, they are condemned who affirm that "the Church does not have the right to coerce with temporal punishments the violators of its laws."

[48.5] *Thesis*: CHRIST GAVE COERCIVE POWER TO THE CHURCH.

ARGUMENTS.

[48.6] ARGUMENT I. The Church is a perfect society. But coercive power pertains to every perfect society, as is evident. [A] For everyone agrees that it is the power of the ruler that the ruler or prince coerce men who are subject to him away from iniquity by punishments and rewards, and induce them to virtuous works. (S. Thom. *De Reg. Prin.* lib. I, no. 15.) [B] Authority is given for the purpose of preserving peace and justice, and for resolving disputes and discord. But neither the

good of peace can be preserved nor can the evil of confusion be resolved, unless they are coerced with punishments who corrupt the good of the order. For this reason, St. Thomas Aquinas says with truth: "Wherefore we find that the natural inclination of man is to repress those who rise up against him. Now it is evident that all things contained in an order, are, in a manner, one, in relation to the principle of that order. Consequently, whatever rises up against an order, is put down by that order or by the principle thereof. And because sin is an inordinate act, it is evident that whoever sins, commits an offense against an order: wherefore he is put down, in consequence, by that same order, which repression is punishment." (1a IIæ q. 87, a. 1; cf. *Ad Rom.* chap. XIII. 4)



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[48.7] ARGUMENT II. *From Sacred Scripture.* [A] Christ established this concerning the sinner: *If he should not hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen and a publican.* But with these words, coercive power is given to the Church. This is apparent [1] from the fact that such a great power of ordering is given to the Church, that the disobedient are considered worthy of the punishment of excommunication or of separation: *as a heathen*; [2] from the words immediately following: *Whatsoever you shall bind upon earth, etc.*

[8] St. Paul, both in words and deeds, claims for himself the power of punishing. First in words, for the Apostle writes these things to the Corinthians: "*What will you? shall I come to you with a rod?*" (I Cor. IV: 21) "*In a rod, i.e., of discipline will I come to you, to castigate you.*" (S. Thom. in l.c., lect. III.) Then in II Cor. X: 6, he says: "*And having in readiness to revenge all disobedience, when your obedience shall be fulfilled.*" He says, "*having in readiness*, that is, with a prompt and free mind, for the purpose of punishing disobedience." (S. Thom. in l.c., lect. I.) In II Cor. XIII: 10, St. Paul says: "*Therefore I write these things, being absent, that, being present, I may not deal more severely, according to the power which the Lord hath given me unto edification, and not unto destruction.*"

[48.8] [2] *By deeds.* St. Paul prescribes that those who do not observe the punishments pay a penalty. II Thess. III: 14: "*And if any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man, and do not keep company with him, that he may be ashamed.*" Notice the punishment and the purpose of the punishment: *that he may be ashamed.* (Cf. I Cor. V: 11; II John I: 10) In another place he affirmed that he will come in order to use the power of punishing: II Cor. XIII: 2: "*I have told before, and foretell, as present, and now absent, to them that sinned before, and to all the rest, that if I come again, I will not spare.*" Concerning the incestuous Corinthian, I Cor V: 3-5: "*I indeed, absent in body, but present in spirit, have already judged, as though I were present, him that hath so done, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, you being gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus; to deliver such a one to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ.*"

[48.9] **ARGUMENT III.** *From tradition.* It is certain from the testimony of absolutely reliable authors that in ancient times punishments were inflicted by the Church. But these punishments were established even against those who were unwilling and in the external forum. Ergo. The *major* seems certain with regard to spiritual punishments. But I will offer examples of temporal

punishments in the fourth article. The *minor* is obvious, since no one is ignorant of the fact that many rebellious and disobedient people were excommunicated, were forbidden to receive the sacraments, or be in the communion of the faithful, were degraded, and were afflicted with other punishments.

OBJECTIONS

[48.10] **OBJECTION I.** The Church, since it was instituted for the salvation of souls, must not punish except to correct the criminal. But no punishment corrects those who are unwilling. From this it is understood that there is no coercive power worthy of the name in the Church.

[48.11] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the major. In the Church, the correction of the criminal is the end of the punishment *inclusively, I concede; exclusively, I deny.* *I distinguish* the minor: no punishment corrects immediately those who are unwilling, *I concede; mediately, I deny.* I explain. The purpose of punishment is neither solely the restitution of the violated law, as is it asserted in the penal system which is called absolute, nor is it only the correction, whether social or individual, as the promoters of the relative system affirm. But both ends ought to be put together in a mixed fashion. So punishments are inflicted by the Church not exclusively so that those who are erring be brought back, but also in order that the equality of justice be in part re-established, although the ultimate retribution does not happen upon the earth. Cf. St. Thomas, *De regimine principum*, lib. I, 15; IIa IIæ, q. 58, art. 1; IIIa, q. 90, art. 2. St. Thomas says in the commentary on the Fourth Book of the Sentences, dist. 19, q. 2, art. 1: "In order that man rightly proceed in the way of salvation, three things ought to be weighed upon him by him who ^{has} care of him: ... Thirdly, if it should happen that ^{he} stray, that he be brought back to the right path; with regard to this it is said that he is corrected. Sometimes, indeed, the rectitude comes *from him*, namely in those cases in which he who has been delinquent mends his ways from a care which is imposed upon him; sometimes, however, the rectitude of justice

happen^① concerning him, through the infliction of punishments, even if he is not corrected on his part." The distinction of the minor is clear to everyone, namely that it happens that those who are unwilling, after they are inflicted with punishments, repent.

[48.12] INSTANCE. Nevertheless, ecclesiastical punishments have no other purpose except to coerce subjects from iniquity. But many times it is foreseen that those who are unwilling will not reform themselves because of the punishment. Therefore let us admit that the Church has no coercive power at least with regard to those who are unwilling.

[48.13] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. That such must be the scope of the Church, either with respect to the sinner himself, or with respect to others, *I concede*; with respect to the sinner alone, *I deny*. *Let the minor pass*. St. Thomas is witness to the fact that the evil of punishment is inflicted for the correction and ordering of the malice of the fault. (*De Malo*, I, art. 5, ad 7) But "even the punishment that is inflicted according to human laws, is not always intended as a medicine for the one who is punished, but sometimes only for others: thus when a thief is hanged, this is not for his own amendment, but for the sake of others, that at least they may be deterred from crime through fear of the punishment." (Ia IIæ, q. 87, a. 3, ad 2) Cf. *Contra Gentes*, lib. III, 144. For this reason, ecclesiastical authority, since it regards the common good of all, metes out punishments to the disobedient in order that fault of malice be ordered and coerced in others, as it is written: "*The wicked man being scourged, the fool shall be wiser: but if thou rebuke a wise man he will understand discipline.*" (Proverbs XIX: 25)

[48.14] Objection II. God must be served voluntarily. But if the criminal is prevented unwillingly from committing his past crimes, then God is not served voluntarily. Therefore the Church should renounce the coercive power, since it adds nothing to the worship of God.

[48.15] RESPONSE. *I concede* the major. *I distinguish* the minor: God is not served voluntarily by him who is unwilling, *I concede*, by others, *I deny*. The distinction is evident from the responses to the first objection. cf. St. Thomas, IIa IIæ, q. 108 art. 1; q. 158, art. 1, ad 3um.

[48.16] INSTANCE. Coercive power harms everyone. The New Law is not a law of fear but of charity. But coercive power has the purpose of inflicting fear upon the subjects. Therefore after the removal of the law of fear, a coercive power is harmful to everyone.

[48.17] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the minor. Coercive power has the purpose of inflicting fear upon those who have abandoned charity, *I concede*, upon those who have it, *I deny*. St. Thomas says concerning this: "The law of the Gospel is the law of love, and therefore those who do good out of love, and who alone properly belong to the Gospel, ought not to be terrorized by means of punishment, but only those who are not moved by love to do good, and who, though they belong to the Church outwardly, do not belong to it in merit." (IIa IIæ, q. 108, a. 1, ad 3um)

ARTICLE IV

[49]

WHETHER THE COERCIVE POWER OF THE CHURCH IS EXTENDED EVEN TO TEMPORAL PUNISHMENTS

2/22/11
[49.1] I. THE STATUS QUESTIONIS. Temporal punishments afflict the accused in the matter of a material good and fortune. The question at hand, however, is not whether the faculty is conceded to the Church to decide temporal and corporeal punishments [1] which are considered to pertain to the acts of penance, abstinence, and temperance, e.g., fasting; [2] by which only those penitents who *voluntarily* submit to punishment are castigated; [3] which are imposed in the internal forum or upon those who are subject to a penitential judgement. Here it is asked, however, whether power has been given to the Church of imposing [1] punishments which affect the body or the good of fortune directly; [2] in the external and litigious forum; [3] even upon those who are unwilling to undergo these punishments.

[49.2] II. THE PROPORTION BETWEEN TEMPORAL PUNISHMENTS AND THE CRIMES OF MEN. Concerning this proportion we will make some prefatory remarks in order that the power of the arguments are made more clearly apparent.

[49.3] The character of punishment is such that it is always a certain *corruption of the agent*. It is done in order that the order of the action take away the fault in such a way that "the evil which comes from the withdrawal of the form and integrity of the thing, has the nature of a pain." (Ia, q. 48, a. 5) Therefore just as it pertains to the *ratio* of fault that it harm an agent in its action, so "it pertains to the *ratio* of punishment that it harm the agent in himself." (*ibid.*, ad 4um) But the *corruption of the agent* or the evil of punishment, which *harms the agent in himself*, is "a privation of that by which the will is able to use any means whatsoever for any good operation." (*De Malo*, I,

art. 5) Because the movement of the appetite and the will is terminated by the *delectable* good, it is necessary that the punishment be opposed to the delectable good. The criminal, therefore, is punished by means of a privation of some delectable good. From this concept, the proportion of punishment between temporal punishments and the crimes of men, is easily understood. For since men delight a great deal in having corporeal and temporal goods on earth, it is suitable that there be a certain corruption of the agent if the criminal is deprived of certain temporal delights. Cf. St. Thomas Ia, q. 5, art. 6; *De Malo*, I, art. 4 ad 12um; J. Maus, *De la justice pénale*, 2nd edit. For this reason, given the nature of men, it is necessary that the coercive power be extended to the infliction of material force. We listed certain adversaries of the coercive power in the preceding article. Among these adversaries, some indirectly attack that coercive power by which the criminal is left to his conscience after spiritual punishments have been decreed by the Church; they deny that there is in the Church a power by which a criminal is forced to do satisfaction by temporal punishments. That error has been sufficiently condemned by the Church. The Bull *Auctorem Fidei* condemned this position of the Pistoians: "In that part in which the proposition insinuates that the Church 'does not have the authority to demand obedience to its decrees otherwise than by means which depend on persuasion; in so far as it intends that the Church has not conferred on it by God the power, not only of directing by counsel and persuasion, but also of ordering by laws, and of constraining and forcing the inconstant and stubborn by exterior judgement and salutary punishments' — leading toward a system

condemned elsewhere as heretical." [Denz. 1505] In the Syllabus, this thesis is noted: "The Church does not have the power of using force, nor does it have any temporal power, direct or indirect." [Denz. 1724] Cf. Dogmatic Brief *Ad apostolicam*, of August 22, 1851, by which the same doctrine of Nuytz is condemned. For the Pistoians and Nuytz directly attack the coercive power with regard to temporal punishment. For this reason, the meaning of the condemnation is so clear that the opinion, by which the power of coercing through temporal punishments is excluded from the Church, must be considered at least *erroneous* and *rash*. It does not seem apparent that it is heretical, however, because temporal punishments are not expressed in proper terms in the propositions of the Church. Nevertheless, Suarez considers the contrary doctrine to be *de fide*. Cf. Bouix, *Tract. de Judiciis*, p. I, pars 1, sect. 2, chap. 4, § 4. — In the encyclical *Quanta Cura*, Pius IX gravely reprehends those who assert that "it does not pertain to the right of the Church to coerce by temporal punishments the violators of its laws."

[49.4] THESIS. THE COERCIVE POWER OF THE CHURCH IS EXTENDED EVEN TO TEMPORAL PUNISHMENTS.

ARGUMENTS

[49.5] ARGUMENT I. The coercive power of the Church, granted to it for the sake of man, must establish punishments which are proportioned to the human nature. But the temporal punishment is proportioned to the human nature. For the criminal must be deprived by punishments of a certain delectable good. But men, especially evil men, delight a great deal in temporal goods. Therefore, the temporal punishment by which men are deprived of a good in this manner, is proportioned to the human nature. An explanation follows.

[49.6] (a) *With regard to the criminal himself*, very correctly St. Thomas says: "He who is in sin does not have a healthy taste in order that he be called back from sin by means of the sweetness of the divine good; but he has an attachment that is

infected by his disordered love of self; therefore through punishments which are contrary to his nature and will, he is called back from the sin." (*In Sent.* IV, 14, q. 1, art. 2, q. 1, sol 1)

[49.7] (b) *With regard to others*, "Now some who are not influenced by motive of virtue are prevented from committing sin, through fear of losing those things which they love more than those they obtain by sinning; else fear would be no restraint to sin. Consequently vengeance for sin should be taken by depriving a man of what he loves most. Now the things which man loves most are life, bodily safety, his own freedom, and external goods such as riches, his country and his good name. Wherefore, according to Augustine's reckoning (*De Civ. Dei* xxi), 'Cicero writes that the laws recognize eight kinds of punishment:' namely, 'death,' whereby man is deprived of life; 'stripes,' 'retaliation,' or the loss of eye for eye, whereby man forfeits his bodily safety; 'slavery,' and 'imprisonment,' whereby he is deprived of freedom; 'exile' whereby he is banished from his country; 'fines,' whereby he is mulcted in his riches; 'ignominy,' whereby he loses his good name. (IIa IIæ, q. 108, art. 3) Cf. *Contra Gentes*, lib. III, 141.

[49.8] (c) *In order that the equality of justice be restored*. "Every act of sin," St. Thomas says, "proceeds from disordered appetite for some temporal good." (Ia IIæ, q. 77, art. 4) Therefore, for the restoration of the balance of order, intemperance must be paid for by privation.

[49.9] ARGUMENT II. FROM SACRED SCRIPTURE. Sacred Scripture proposes both the *principles* on which the power of inflicting temporal punishment depends, and *examples*. Therefore this power has a sufficient foundation in Sacred Scripture. *Proof of the antecedent*.

[49.10] (a) *Principles*. Proverbs XIII: 24 says: "He that spareth the rod hateth his son: but he that loveth him correcteth him betimes." St. Paul says in I Tim. V: 20: "Them that sin reprove before all: that the rest also may have fear." Notice that the purpose of temporal punishment and public humiliation is that "the rest also may have fear." And more clearly, in I Cor. V: 5, concerning the incestuous

man: "To deliver such a one to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ." Notice that there is temporal punishment "for the destruction of the flesh" so that it may be useful for the soul, in order that the spirit may be saved.

[49.11] (b) *Examples*. Christ said: "And if he will not hear them: tell the church. And if he will not hear the church, let him be to thee as the heathen and publican." (Matth. XVIII: 17) From this pronouncement infamy flows, which is a privation of a certain temporal good. St. Paul sets down this law concerning the contumacious Christian: "And if any man obey not our word by this epistle, note that man, and do not keep company with him, that he may be ashamed." (II Thess. III: 14) Also in I Tim. V: 20: "Them that sin reprove before all: that the rest also may have fear." There is no doubt that embarrassment and public castigation are temporal punishments; similarly the destruction of the flesh inflicted upon the incestuous Corinthian. (I Cor. V: 5) Cf. St. Thomas, *In I Cor.* V, lect. 1.

[49.12] ARGUMENT III. FROM TRADITION. (a) From the most ancient times it was the custom that public sinners were forced to do public penance by excommunication and by a complete expulsion from the Church. But many temporal punishments, e.g., the prohibition from undertaking certain secular business, were included in that punishment.

[49.13] (b) There is the very ancient use of beatings and of prison which is proved by the testimony of the Fathers and the councils. So St. Gregory the Great writes to Januarius, the bishop of Cagliari: "If, however, you find that they are unwilling to mend their ways and to abstain from such things, We wish that you apprehend them with ardent zeal; if they are slaves, We want you to castigate them with blows and other pains, which are able to plead to their correction. If, however, they are free men, then they ought to be imprisoned in a fitting and severe prison in order to do penance." (Ep. lib. VI, 65) Here mention is made of ecclesiastical prisons, which are called *decaneta*. It is clear that prisons of this type, in which both lay people and clerics were locked up,

were in use even in the fourth century. Cf. Kraus, *Real-Encycl.*, B. I, p. 575. [c]

[49.14] (c) Other temporal punishments were exile, and fines, concerning which one should examine the decrees of the Roman Council in 503, and of the Council of Carthage in 398 and others.

[49.15] (d) In more recent times the Fathers of Trent decreed: "As to the persons who have fought, and those who are called their seconds (sponsors), they shall incur the penalty of excommunication, and the confiscation of all their property, and of perpetual infamy, and are to be punished as homicides, according to the sacred canons; and if they have perished in the conflict itself, they shall be for ever deprived of ecclesiastical sepulture." (Session XXV, 19) Cf. Session XXIV, 7; Session XXI, 6; Session XXIII, 1.

[49.16] (e) Finally the principle in virtue of which that practice flourished they openly describe. So Saint Augustine in the *Retractationes* II, 5, correcting his prior position, says: "I had not yet experienced either how much evil their impunity would dare to produce or how much the diligence of discipline could contribute to making them change for the good." He is talking about some who had caused a schism in the Church. Cf. *Epistle* 48 to Vincentius, and 50 to Boniface. St. Leo the Great said: "They who fear a temporal punishment sometimes come back to a spiritual remedy." (Ep. 4, 91, and 93)

OBJECTIONS

[49.17] OBJECTION I. The means are determined from the end. But the end of the Church is spiritual. Therefore it cannot use temporal punishments in order to attain its end.

[49.18] RESPONSE. I concede the major and the minor. I deny the conclusion. The argument of the adversary falsely supposes that man is in no way helped by temporal means in the pursuit of his spiritual end. But man, since he is composed of body and soul, is necessarily directed by corporeal means as well. But it has been clearly established that both by nature and by experience most people cannot be sufficiently restrained if temporal

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punishments are removed. Aristotle says: "The multitude obeys necessity more than reason." (*Ethics*, X, 9)

[49.19] **INSTANCE.** Christ, when many of His disciples went away, did not inflict force upon them, but said to the Twelve: "*Will you also go away?*" (John VI: 68) Therefore the Church has no power to inflict force.

[49.20] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the antecedent. In this place the free love of the faithful is commended, *I concede*; the power of the Church is excluded, *I deny*. Christ did not teach all things at the same time, but preached various points of His doctrine according to the circumstances. But the doctrine concerning the coercive power of the Church is not excluded by the objected text. For the power of which we have spoken is necessary for the procurement of the common good; it is nevertheless necessary that some individuals, in order that they please God, have a spontaneous love.

[49.21] **INSTANCE.** No one believes unless he wills to. Therefore to inflict force in order that man believe is always evil.

[49.22] **RESPONSE.** *I concede* the antecedent. *I distinguish* the consequent. It is evil to inflict force in order that an infidel believe, *I concede*; in order that he not impede the faith, *I deny*. Saint Thomas says: "Among unbelievers there are some who have never received the faith, such as the heathens and the Jews: and these are by no means to be compelled to the faith, in order that they may believe, because to believe depends on the will: nevertheless they should be compelled by the faithful, if it be possible to do so, so that they do not hinder the faith, by their blasphemies, or by their evil persuasions, or even by their open persecutions. It is for this reason that Christ's faithful often wage war with unbelievers, not indeed for the purpose of forcing them to believe, because even if they were to conquer them, and take them prisoners, they should still leave them free to believe, if they will, but in order to prevent them from hindering the faith of Christ. On the other hand, there are unbelievers who at some time have accepted the faith, and professed it, such as heretics and all apostates: such should be

submitted even to bodily compulsion, that they may fulfill what they have promised, and hold what they, at one time, received." (IIa IIæ, q. 10, art. 8)

[49.23] **INSTANCE.** Even this is true concerning heretics: No one believes unless he wills. Therefore the Church acts perversely by coercing heretics in the past with temporal punishments.

[49.24] **RESPONSE.** *I deny* the consequent: Saint Thomas says: "The Church does not prosecute them in order that by violence they be brought to belief, but in order that they not corrupt others, and in order that such a sin not remain unavenged." (*In Sent.* IV, dist. 13, art. 3) This indeed happens by law, since they are subjected to the Church inasmuch as they are baptized.

[49.25] **OBJECTION II.** The power which produces a cruel inhumanity is in itself evil. But the power by which the Church would be able to inflict force produces *per se* inhumanity. This evident from the nefarious crimes of the Inquisition.

[49.26] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the major. The power which produces a cruel inhumanity by the very use of it and *per se*, *I concede*; by some abuse and *per accidens*, *I deny*. And having denied the minor, I now proceed to the proof. *I distinguish*: it is evident from fictitious crimes, *I concede*; from true crimes, *I deny*. Abuse does not take away use. Besides, the adversaries adduce nothing older than that the tribunal of the Inquisition be the object of hatred [1] by attributing to it those things which do not pertain to the Inquisition, but rather to the old civil law, e.g., torture, and very cruel punishments; [2] by distorting the manner in which the Inquisition proceeded in its judgements, although we know that in this tribunal judgements are made in a true religious and humane manner; [3] By ignoring the fact that the inquisitorial punishments depended to a great extent on the civil government, and that the Inquisition itself, although it was an ecclesiastical tribunal, flourished by the spontaneous consent of both the civil and

ecclesiastical government, for the sake of the common good; [4] by criticizing the Church for crimes which were for the most part committed by the secular power without the consent of the Church, and instead with the disapproval of the Church; [5] by entirely departing from the truth with regard to the number of those condemned to death. To the contrary, there is customary saying in law: *The Church abhors blood.*⁶⁷

[49.27] INSTANCE. The coercive acts of the Church, if it should prevail, would bring a great number of heretics in danger of temporal punishments.

[49.28] RESPONSE. *I deny* the antecedent. What is objected here is entirely off the subject. "The Church, indeed, deems it unlawful to place the various forms of divine worship on the same footing as the true religion, but does not, on that account, condemn those rulers who, for the sake of securing some great good or of hindering some great evil, allow patiently custom or usage to be a kind of sanction for each kind of religion having its place in the State. And, in fact, the Church is wont to take earnest heed that no one shall be forced to embrace the Catholic faith against his will, for, as St. Augustine wisely reminds us, 'Man cannot believe otherwise than of his own will.'" Leo XIII, *Immortale Dei*, no. 36

[49.29] Besides heresy, although it is evil in itself does not now invade peoples, but rather is established among us, and because of a regrettable heredity of errors, quite a few ^{are} believed to err in good faith.

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[49.30] OBJECTION III. If the right to coerce through temporal punishments were in the Church, Christ would have given to the Church a material power to exercise that right. But the Church lacks material power.

⁶⁷ Concerning tolerance, not of errors but of persons, Balmes said, very correctly: "In matter of religion tolerance as well as intolerance can be found in a man who has religion as well as in a man who does not have it; neither one or the other of these two situations with regard to religion implies necessarily either tolerance or intolerance. Some persons imagine that tolerance is the property of the incredulous, and intolerance the property of religious men. But they are wrong. Who was more tolerant than Saint Francis de Sales? And who was more intolerant than Voltaire."

[49.31] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. Christ would have given to the Church a material power to be exercised either by the Church itself or by others for the Church, *I concede*; only to be exercised by the Church itself, *I deny*. The Church does not have material power formally, *let it pass*, virtually, *I deny*. I apply this to whatever case in which it must be said, ^{that it is} is considered to have a material force formally or immediately joined to itself. But certainly it has virtually a material force, that is, it has the right to appropriate to itself those through whom it might exercise that power. Concerning this the Fathers of the Third Council of the Lateran, in chapter 27, said: "Although the ecclesiastical discipline contained in the judgement of the priest does not effect cruel punishments, nevertheless, by the constitutions of Catholic rulers, it is aided in such a way that often men seek a salutary remedy when they fear that a corporal punishment might come upon them."

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QUESTION XII

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE

Having inquired about the rights and power of the Church in itself, we now consider the ecclesiastical society in comparison to the civil state. Nor does this question seem to be superfluous. In fact, it completes our disputations concerning the Church, and from what will be said, it will make very clear that she is the only director on earth toward the supernatural end. For it is asked

FIRST, WHAT SYSTEMS ARE THERE CONCERNING RELATIONS BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE;

SECOND, BY WHAT PRINCIPLES OUGHT THIS QUESTION BE SOLVED.

THIRD, WHETHER THE CHURCH IS SUBORDINATED TO THE STATE.

FOURTH, WHETHER THE CHURCH OUGHT TO BE SEPARATED FROM THE STATE, AND THE STATE FROM THE CHURCH;

FIFTH, WHETHER THE CHURCH HAS INDIRECT POWER OVER TEMPORAL THINGS.

ARTICLE I

[50]

WHAT SYSTEMS THERE ARE CONCERNING RELATIONS BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE

[50.1] CONCERNING THE RELATIONS BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE, THERE ARE THREE SYSTEMS. The first is that which wants the Church to be subject to the State. The second is that which separates the Church from the State. The third teaches that the Church has some power over the State.

[50.2] I. The system of those who subordinate the Church to the State.

[50.3] A. The theory of the Roman Empire concerning the Christian religion was: *Non licet*

esse vos. (It is not permitted for you to exist). The practice was *sacrificia aut morere (sacrifice or die)*. When peace was accorded to the Church by the Emperor Constantine in 313 through the Edict of Milan, the Christian peoples for one thousand years professed that it was necessary that the terrestrial kingdom be the handmaid of the celestial one, although in practice this was not observed by some princes. In the fourteenth century, William of Occam, John of Giandone and Marsilius of Padua began to put forth the idea

of the hegemony of the civil state over the Church as a *right*, and a true order of things. Marsilius of Padua propagated this in his work *Defensor Pacis*.

[50.4] The rule of Protestantism is this: *cujus regio illius et religio* (whose region it is, his also is the religion). Count Frederick III made the inhabitants of the Palatinate in Germany Calvinists from Lutherans, then Ludwig turned the same ones back in to Lutherans, and Frederick IV turned them back into Calvinists. In England, under the reign of Henry VIII and Elizabeth, and in Parliament in the year 1546, there was no ecclesiastical jurisdiction except through the king, under the king, and from the king. The doctrine, however, of the subordination of the Church in worship and discipline was called by many, especially in England *erastianism*, from Thomas Erasto, a Calvinist, the proponent of this doctrine († 1587). However, the power of the State over religion is called the *right of reforming the exercise of the religion*, and the *majestic right concerning sacred things*. For many years a title was sought by theologians for this fictitious right, and three were concocted: [1] the *episcopal system*; [2] the *territorial system*; [3] the *collegial system*.

[50.5] [1] According to the *episcopal system*, jurisdiction first belonged to the bishops. But their right was suspended through the Peace of Augsburg, and was conferred upon the civil prince with regard to exercise. But the status of suspension was made definitive. Hence the right of the prince is a *devolved power*. The author of this system was Matthew Stephani († 1646) *Tract. de jurisdictione* etc. (1611) [2] In the *territorial system*, a right concerning sacred things is attributed to the prince, not by a devolution from bishops, but because the Church is functioning in the territory of the State which is governed by the prince. So says Thomasius, *Vom Rechte eines Fürsten in Mitteldingen* (1695); *Vindicia juris majestatici circa sacra* (1699); and J.H. Böhmer, *Diss. de jure episc. principum evangelicorum* (1712). Not very far from this error is B. Carpzov, *Jurisprudentia eccl. seu consistorialis* (1645) which claims that in the beginning jurisdiction was with the princes, and then was taken by the bishops. [3] The *collegial system* consists in this, that the right of the prince over sacred things pertains to him as a *delegated right*. It is delegated to him by the communities or by the church, which is only an association whose

members are equal. For this association of men, who are distinct by no hierarchical grade, although it was the primordial subject of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, transfers the right over sacred things to the prince. Therefore from this source, the civil power has *collegial rights* over sacred things. Furthermore, there is attributed to the prince, in virtue of his principality, a right over sacred things. The collegial system, of which Pufendorf poured the foundations, was elaborated by Christian M. Pfaff († 1760) *Origines juris ecclesiastici* (1719).

[50.6] C. Gallicanism, Jansenism, Febronianism and Josephism hold that even in Catholic kingdoms, no small apart of the ecclesiastical government is conceded to the political power. For this reason, the system of indirect negative power over sacred things arose, which power is usually called the *majestic power over sacred things*. By some it is said that this right pertains to the very royal power itself, and that it is so deeply connected with it that the prince cannot abdicate the power over the church, unless he were to also abdicate the royal power. To this right is also referred [1] the *right of advocacy*, and of protection, by which the State, in establishing the ministers of religion, and in educating seminarians, and in promoting religious orders, is exercising its proper right; [2] the right of *supreme dominion* over ecclesiastical goods, which was a title to confiscate the possessions of the Church. [3] The *right of reforming*, which is the right of princes to extirpate abuses which may have occurred in the Church, and of urging the observance of the canons; [4] the *right of supreme inspection*, which subjects ecclesiastical discipline and the whole exterior activity of the Church to the administration of the State; [5] the *right of preventing* which blocks the operation of the Church by preventive laws, in order to make sure that the Church does not harm the State; [6] the *right of placet* and of *exequatur*, which is a power attributed to the civil majesty to prohibit the publication of bulls, encyclicals and other ecclesiastical acts, and of examining them in a civil court before they can be approved for execution. [7] the right of *appeal as if from an abuse*, that is, a right by which the State, clearly as the superior judge, admits in ecclesiastical affairs appeals from a sentence from an ecclesiastical judge and recourse to a prince.

[50.7] False opinions of this type were spread about in the fourteenth century, and became fixed in the minds by the Pragmatic Sanction⁶⁸ of 1438, and had not a few defenders, among them Pithou, *Les Libertez de l'Eglise Gallicane* (1594); Dupuy, *Preuves des libertez de l'Eglise Gallicane* (1639); Justinus Febronius, *De statu Ecclesiae et legitima potestate Romani Pontificis liber singularis ad reuniendos dissidentes in religione christianos compositus*, (1763); Eybel (†1805); Pehem (†1799); the Congress of Ems in 1786, the Synod of Pistoia in 1786, Nuytz, Dove, Bluntschli, Hinschius, Friedberg.



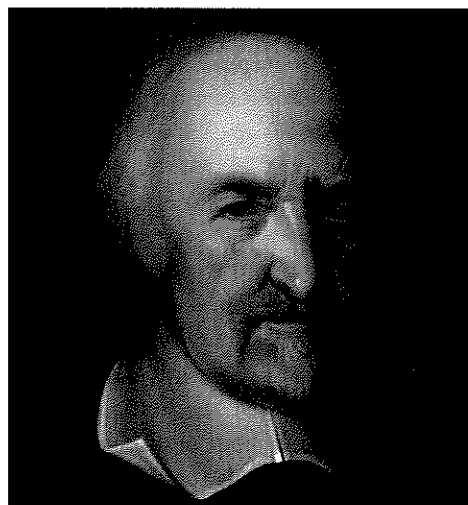
FRIEDRICH HEGEL (1770-1831)

[50.8] D. Hegelianism. *Hegel* (†1831), infected with the depravity of pantheism asserts that the State is the divine will (*göttlicher Wille*) which, as a present spirit unfolds itself in a real form, and in

⁶⁸ THE PRAGMATIC SANCTION OF BOURGES, issued by King Charles VII of France, on July 7, 1438, required a General Church Council, with authority superior to that of the pope, to be held every ten years, required election rather than appointment to ecclesiastical offices, prohibited the pope from bestowing, and profiting from, benefices, and limited appeals to Rome.

The Gallican church declared administrative independence from the Church in Rome, suppressed the payment of annates to Rome, and forbade papal intervention in the appointment of French prelates. While this did result in a loss of papal power in France, the movement of conciliarists itself was divided. In 1449, the Council of Basel was dissolved and the Conciliar Movement came to an end.

the organization of a world (*einer Welt*). The State is an absolute end unto itself (*Selbstzweck*) and is the ultimate end of each man (*Endzweck*). The State is the source of all rights. All religion is subjective. The State is objective. It knows. It wills. It rules. Hence the State absorbs all things including religion itself. Cf. *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*. This system consists, therefore in denying the rights of God and any order whatsoever to future goods. Precursors of this statolatry and caesaropapism were Thomas Hobbes (†1679) in his book *The Citizen* and in *Leviathan*, and Spinoza (†1677) in the work entitled *Tractatus theologico-politicus*.



THOMAS HOBBS (1588-1679)

[50.9] Leo XIII in his encyclical *Libertas* describes the statolatrical mentality of many modern people with these words: "They aggrandize the power of the civil government to such extent as to subject the Church of God to the empire and sway of the State, like any voluntary association of citizens."

[50.10] II. THE SYSTEM OF THOSE WHO SEPARATE STATE FROM CHURCH AND CHURCH FROM STATE. In this system the spiritual and temporal orders are dissociated, and separation is considered to be the due state of things, which in itself corresponds to the right order of each power. Those who adhere to this error, say that they ~~think~~ think in this manner, because the State and the Church are to each other as two *alien* powers, some even

saying *inimical*. Leo XIII describes the nature of this idea with these words: "Many wish the State to be separated from the Church wholly and entirely, so that with regard to every right of human society, in institutions, customs, and laws, the offices of State, and the education of youth, they would pay no more regard to the Church than if she did not exist; and, at most, would allow the citizens individually to attend to their religion in private if so minded. Against such as these, all the arguments by which We disprove the principle of separation of Church and State are conclusive; with this super-added, that it is absurd that the citizen should respect the Church, while the State may hold her in contempt." The system of separation is recognized in Machiavelli's *The Prince*, who reduced the place of morality to such a low state, that it was permitted to the civil power to care nothing about the moral law, except its utility. Cf. Suarez, *De legibus*, lib. III. 12. Immanuel Kant, ^{since} when he had set down in his *Critique of Pure Reason* the principles from which it would follow that there can be had no knowledge concerning the existence of God, in other works he separated the moral from religion, and the juridical order from the moral order. In such a way he destroyed the foundations of an ordered connection of both powers. In our time Cavour gave a new formula to an old error: *A free Church in a free State*. In general naturalists and rationalists, if they wish to avoid the doctrine of subjugating the Church to the State, fall into the system of the dissociation of each power.

[50.11] III. THE SYSTEM OF THOSE WHO TEACH THAT THERE IS A CERTAIN POWER OF THE CHURCH OVER THE STATE. The Catholics profess that the State is in a certain way subordinated to the Church but not all are in agreement about the nature of the subordination. There are three positions: The first holds that there is a *direct* power of the Church over the State, the second a *directive* power, the third an *indirect* power.

[50.12] [1] *Direct power* is said to be that in which states are subjected to ecclesiastical authority, not only in spiritual things, but also with regard to the affairs of the states which are temporal, by reason of itself, and that this is by the institution of Christ. From this they conclude that the civil power is derived in the secular prince

through a due and subalternate emanation from the Roman Pontiff. Among those who held this were John of Salisbury in his *Polycraticus*, Augustinus Triumphus or of Ancona, in his *De potestate eccles.* and others. [See book] But there are few doctors who promoted direct power in the Middle Ages. They are thought to have considered their system to mean that the *exercise* of the civil power pertains to princes by divine ordination.



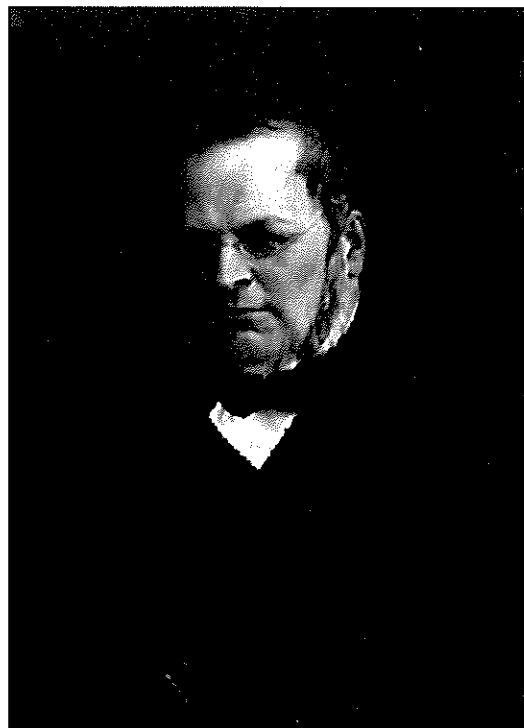
IMMANUEL KANT (1724-1804)

[50.13] [2] *Directive power*. The promoters of this system think that no jurisdiction and coercive power over temporal things has been given to the Church by God, but only that power which is exercised by teaching and exhorting. They teach, however, that the Roman Pontiffs, having exceeded the limits of this direction, have attained, either by a special title or by a peculiar possession or by positive human law, but not by divine law, the power of doing these things. Fénelon seems to follow this opinion, and Gosselin in his *Pouvoir du Pape au Moyen Age*. He, in explaining those things which the Roman Pontiffs did in the Middle Ages, used only a historical system, as he says, that is, the public law of that time, setting aside entirely a theological system which recognizes in many of the acts of the Pontiffs even a divine right.

[50.14] [3] *Indirect power* is said to be that which is not primarily and within the limits of the

same power, but is because of something else, and is over a distinct power. But this indirect power of the Church in temporal things is that by which temporal things are subject to the Church not by reason of themselves, *but inasmuch as they are referred to the end of religion*. In this system, therefore, the Church has the power of jurisdiction over spiritual things *principaliter*, and over temporal things secondarily, as if as a consequence, and *by reason of its connection with spiritual things*, or, as they say, *by reason of sin*. This seems to be the position of St. Augustine in *De Civitate Dei*, lib. V., 24; Innocent III. *Decret. Novit.*; St. Thomas Aq. IIa IIæ q. 60, art. 6 ad 3um, and elsewhere. John of Torquemada exposes the system of indirect power in seven chapters of Book II in the *Summa de Ecclesia*, and proves it, and refutes the position of those who defend that there is no power, and of those who assert that the Church has direct power over temporal things. The very term *indirect* seems to be indicated by him where he expresses his mind with these words: "The Roman Pontiff, although he does not have power *regularly* or *directly*, which is plenary over temporal things, as it is in spiritual things, nevertheless he has power over temporal things as a consequence, and this by his proper right, namely to the extent that it is necessary for the preservation of spiritual

things. o.c., lib II. 114; cf. 113, prop. 4. Bellarmine is also an excellent defender of indirect power in his *Tract. de Potestate Summi Pont. in rebus temporalibus* against Berkeley.



CAMILLO CAVOUR (1810-1861)

ARTICLE II

[51]

THE PRINCIPLES BY WHICH THE QUESTION BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE MUST BE SOLVED

[51.1] I. THE STATUS QUESTIONIS. It is asked what is divinely established concerning the relations between Church and State. This is not the same thing as to discuss the power of the Church over temporal things, conceded at one time to the Church, or to be conceded in the future [1] *by merely historical law*, [2] *by human positive law, public law of a particular time*, [3] *by some provisory law*, as they say, necessary in past times; [4] *by some dictate offered to the Roman*

Pontiff for the purpose of restoring society. Nor do we deny that the Church "in order avoid some great evil, or in order to preserve or obtain some great good." (Encyc. *Libertas*), sometimes concedes or tolerates in practice certain things, *whereas it always preserves its right*. However, we are talking here about the right, and it is necessary to indicate by what principles that erroneous doctrine, concerning the jurisdiction of the Church over the State, and the true one are established. But

principles of this type regard [1] the origin of each power; [2] the distinction and social perfection of these powers; [3] the proximate end of the State; [4] the proximate end of the Church; [5] the ultimate end of each power; [6] the order of powers which is evident from the end.

[51.2] II. THE FIRST PRINCIPLE: THE SOURCE OF POWER AND THE ORIGIN OF AUTHORITY, BOTH CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL, IS ONLY GOD. It is written in Rom. XIII: 1: "*Let every soul be subject to higher powers: for there is no power but from God: and those that are, are ordained of God.*" Therefore the question which we are discussing here must be solved not from some *new right*, but from the *divine law*, manifested in the natural law and in the precepts of the Gospel. For this reason, it is noted in the Syllabus, prop. 39: *The state of the commonwealth, inasmuch as it is the origin and source of all rights, exercises a certain right bound by no limits.* [condemned proposition] But the position of St. Thomas is absolutely true, which is that the spiritual power and the secular power are each derived from the divine power, and therefore the secular power is under the spiritual power *only to the extent that it is placed under it by God.* (Sent. IV. dist. 44 at the end.)

[51.3] III. SECOND PRINCIPLE: STATE AND CHURCH ARE DISTINCT SOCIETIES, AND EACH PERFECT IN ITS OWN ORDER. Concerning this, Leo XIII said in *Immortale Dei*: "The Almighty, therefore, has given the charge of the human race to two powers, the ecclesiastical and the civil, the one being set over divine, and the other over human, things. Each in its kind is supreme, each has fixed limits within which it is contained, limits which are defined by the nature and special object of the province of each, so that there is, we may say, an orbit traced out within which the action of each is brought into play by its own native right. But, inasmuch as each of these two powers has authority over the same subjects, and as it might come to pass that one and the same thing — related differently, but still remaining one and the same thing — might belong to the jurisdiction and determination of both, therefore God, who foresees all things, and who is the author of these two powers, has marked out the course of each in right correlation to the other." The Church,

therefore, and the State are distinct kingdoms by the ordination of God. This is explained by St. Thomas in these words: "The ministry, therefore, of the spiritual kingdom, since spiritual things are distinct from terrestrial things, has been committed not to terrestrial kings, but to priests, and principally to the supreme priests, the successors of St. Peter and Vicar, the Roman Pontiff." (*De Reg. Princip.* lib. I, 14.) Furthermore "secular power is under the spiritual power to the extent that it is placed under it by God, namely in these things which pertain to the salvation of the soul, and therefore, one must obey the spiritual power over the secular power in these matters. In those things, however, which pertain to the civil good, the secular power must be obeyed more than the spiritual power, according to the verse of St. Matthew XXII: 21: "*Render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's.*" There is no confusion, therefore, in the Catholic doctrine concerning each of the powers, but there is careful distinction of them. In this place, however, we must take note of the fact that it is at times denied by non-Catholics, that the Church is a perfect society, and we send the reader to Question IV, art. 1, where this second principle is demonstrated, inasmuch as it concerns the Church.

[51.4] IV. THE THIRD PRINCIPLE: THE PROXIMATE END OF THE CIVIL SOCIETY IS TO OBTAIN FOR THE HUMAN RACE THE TEMPORAL AND WORLDLY GOOD, PRESERVING, HOWEVER, THE *ratio* OF THE ULTIMATE END OF MAN, WHICH IS GOD. The first part of this principle, since it is easily conceded by non-Catholics, needs no explanation. Pope Leo XIII said, concerning the second part, that is, concerning the ultimate end, these things: "For one and all are we destined by our birth and adoption to enjoy, when this frail and fleeting life is ended, a supreme and final good in heaven, and to the attainment of this every endeavor should be directed. Since, then, upon this depends the full and perfect happiness of mankind, the securing of this end should be of all imaginable interests the most urgent. Hence, civil society, established for the common welfare, should not only safeguard the well-being of the community, but have also at heart the interests of its individual members, in such mode as not in any way to hinder, but in every manner to render as

easy as may be, the possession of that highest and unchangeable good for which all should seek. Wherefore, for this purpose, care must especially be taken to preserve unharmed and unimpeded the religion whereof the practice is the link connecting man with God." (*Immortale Dei*, no. 6) Therefore the position of those who say that the State is unto itself a unique and ultimate end, is excluded. St. Thomas repudiated this same error by this reasoning: "There must be the same judgment concerning the end of the entire multitude and of one. If therefore the end of man were *any good existing in himself*, and the ultimate end of the multitude to be ruled were similarly that the multitude should acquire any good whatsoever, and *to remain in it*... but because man is ordered to living according to virtue to an ulterior end which consists in enjoying God, it is necessary that there be the same end of the multitude of men as there is of one man. Therefore the ultimate end of the congregated multitude is not to live according to virtue, but through a virtuous life to arrive at the enjoyment of God." (*De Reg. Princ.* I. 14)

[51.5] V. THE FOURTH PRINCIPLE: THE PROXIMATE END OF THE CHURCH IS TO LEAD MEN TO ETERNAL HAPPINESS. This was proven in Quest. II, art 3. The key to this question is the *excellence of the ultimate supernatural end*.

[51.6] VI. THE FIFTH PRINCIPLE: THE ORDER OF POWERS IS JUST LIKE THE ORDER OF ENDS.

This rule is stated in the encyclical *Immortale Dei* concerning the ordered connection between each power: "There must, accordingly, exist between these two powers a certain orderly connection, which may be compared to the union of the soul and body in man. The nature and scope of that connection can be determined only, as We have laid down, by having regard to the nature of each power, and by taking account of the relative excellence and nobleness of their purpose. One of the two has for its proximate and chief object the well-being of this mortal life; the other, the everlasting joys of heaven." (no. 14) The end, however, is the most powerful of causes, and the final cause is the cause of other causes. For this reason, "it is necessary that the form of each thing that is because of an end be determined according to the proportion of the end." Ia IIæ, q. 95, a. 3. As a consequence, it happens that the end of the power is the measure of the power. He who exceeds such a measure certainly subverts the order constituted by God over things.

[51.7] VII. THE SIXTH PRINCIPLE: THE ULTIMATE END OF EACH POWER IS GOD. For God, as the Supreme Good is the supreme end. "For in all ordered agents and moving things, it is necessary that the end of the first agent and mover be the ultimate end of all things, just as the end of the general of the army is the end of all those who are fighting under him." *Contra Gentes*, III. no. 25.

ARTICLE III

[52]

WHETHER THE CHURCH IS SUBORDINATED TO THE STATE.

[52.1] I. STATUS QUESTIONIS. It is obvious when we consider the position of the adversaries. Hegelianism recognizes no rights of the Church, nor an exercise of right, unless it is defined by the civil power. Protestantism, which denies visibility to the essential things of the true Church of Christ, hands over the government of the Church to the temporal power. Regalism, by granting the right to the civil power which they call the *Exequatur*, and other things of this type, does not permit the Church complete freedom in accomplishing its affairs. All weaken the authority of the ecclesiastical society by exaggerating the force and power of the civil government, to the extent that they subject the Church of God to the power and wealth of the State, as if it were merely one of the voluntary associations of citizens. (Encycl. *Libertas*). Therefore we shall show that it does not pertain to the civil power to define what are the rights and limits of the Church within which it is able to exercise these same rights, and that the ecclesiastical power must exercise its authority without the pleasure and assent of the civil government, that is, that the power of the Church is in no way subject to the civil power. Cf. *Syllabus*, encyc. *Immortale Dei*, and *Sapientia Christiana*.

[52.2] II. THE INDIRECT AND DIRECT SUBORDINATION OF THE CHURCH IS EXCLUDED. Those who subject the ecclesiastical power, in principle, to the power of the State, teach that the Church is *directly* subject to the State. These people do not respect, obviously, either the quality of perfect society in the organization of Christ, nor the loftiness of the end, with which this organization is proximately endowed. But some think that the Church is subordinated to the State government, not by reason of itself, but *indirectly*, that is, with regard to the end of the civil power, as if the Church could be bound whenever the temporal good seems to demand it. Arguments which refute this doctrine can be taken either from

Sacred Scripture, which demonstrates that the mission of the Church must be fulfilled even if the secular powers are unwilling, and from the purpose of the Church, which, since it is most noble and the highest of all, must cede to the purpose of no secular power.

[52.3] *Thesis*: THE CHURCH IS IN NO WAY SUBORDINATED TO THE STATE.

[52.4] ARGUMENT I. *From Sacred Scripture*. Every government, even civil government, must obey Christ the Lord. But all things which touch upon religion are conceded, both in the gospels and the epistles of the Apostles, to the ecclesiastical power, without any subordination, whether explicit or implicit, to the civil government. Therefore the Church is in no way subordinated to the State.

[52.5] *Proof of the minor*. Christ said to St. Peter: "THOU art Peter and upon this rock I will build My Church." "TO THEE I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven." Similarly Our Lord said to the Apostles: "I send YOU." (Jn. XX: 21) He said: "All power is given to me in heaven and in earth. Going therefore, teach ye all nations; baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." This is what He said to the Apostles. Therefore nothing is said to the prince, nothing through the prince, nothing dependently on the prince; instead, even if the prince is unwilling. Hence Matthew X: 17-18: "But beware of men. For they will deliver you up in councils, and they will scourge you in their synagogues. And you shall be brought before governors, and before kings for my sake, for a testimony to them and to the Gentiles." Likewise Acts V: 29, where the Apostles are forbidden by the princes of the synagogue from preaching. But that the sufficiency of the Apostles to exercise the ecclesiastical power was not extinguished in their successors is proven by the

texts by which elsewhere the divine institution of the hierarchy and the primacy of Rome are shown.

[52.6] ARGUMENT II. *From the purpose of the Church.* The power of societies is derived from their purpose or end. But the purpose of the Church is not inferior to the ^{purpose} power of the State. Therefore the power of the Church is not inferior to the power of the State. *Proof of the minor.* A supernatural and spiritual end is not inferior to a natural and temporal end. We have proven, however, that the proximate end of the Church is the supernatural and spiritual happiness of men. But the proximate end of the civil society is temporal happiness. So it happens that the Church is in no way subject to the civil authority, nor is any other thing conceded to baptized rulers as if *de jure*, because they are not made rulers of the Church by their baptism, but sons of the Church.

[52.7] ARGUMENT III. *From tradition.* [A] In the first three centuries the tremendous number of martyrs fought for the liberty and independence of the Church. Likewise at the same time the *doctors* attribute to the pastors of the Church power over spiritual things, but none to the prince. It is written that the Church preached against the civil power even with regard to the validity of matrimony. Ignatius of Antioch *Ad Polyc.* V.; Justin, *Apol.* I. 15.; Athenag., *Legatio pro Christianis*, XXXII. XXXIII. From that time on, the Roman Pontiffs, the bishops and other prominent men have very often suffered much for the liberty of the Church, such as St. Athanasius, St. Martin I, St. Gregory VII, St. Thomas à Becket, St. Thomas More. It was a firm faith in the dignity of the Church which moved all these people, in such a way that they preferred any bitter suffering whatsoever rather than to see the Church as a slave. It should be noted that only the Catholic Church has constantly thrown off that yoke, which the Byzantines, Russians and the national churches of the Protestants were forced to carry.

[52.8] [B] *Hosius* of Cordoba openly stated to Constantius the Emperor: "Do not involve yourself in ecclesiastical matters...God has given you an empire, and He has confided to us ecclesiastical things." In St. Athanasius *Hist. Arian.* XLIV. *Lucifer Calarit.* we read: "How could you say that you are able to judge the bishops, for

unless you obey them, in what concerns God, you would be sentenced to death?" *Pro Athan. ad Const. imp.* lib. I. S. Ambrose: "It is written: *What pertains to God, give to God; what pertains to Caesar, give to Caesar.* To the emperor do the palaces belong, but the churches belong to the priest." *Ep. 20. Symmachus* the Pope, *ep. apol.* to Anastasius: "Because you are the Emperor, do you think that you can despise the judgment? Do you think that because you are the Emperor, you can strive against the power of Peter?" — Cf. Roskovany, *Monumenta cathol.*

[52.9] [C] "Nay, more, princes and all invested with power to rule have themselves approved it, in theory alike and in practice. It cannot be called in question that in the making of treaties, in the transaction of business matters, in the sending and receiving ambassadors, and in the interchange of other kinds of official dealings they have been wont to treat with the Church as with a supreme and legitimate power." (*Immortale Dei*) Constantine the Great said to the bishops: "You are the overseers in regard to those things which are within the Church. I, however, am the overseer in those things which are done outside the Church." in Eusebius, *Vita Constant.* lib. IV. 24. Similarly, Theodosius the Younger said to the bishops at the Council of Ephesus: "It is forbidden that he who is not listed in the catalogue of the most holy bishops involve himself in ecclesiastical business and consultations."

OBJECTIONS

[52.10] OBJECTION I. Whatever is in the State is subordinated to the State. But the Church is in the State. Saint Optatus said: "The State is not in the Church, but the Church is in the State." (*De schism. Donat.* III, 3) Therefore the State is superior to the Church.

[52.11] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. Whatever is in the State **formally** is subordinated to the State, *I concede*; **materially**, *I deny*. And with regard to the minor: the Church is in the State **formally**, *I deny*; **materially**, *I subdistinguish*: in a certain respect, *I concede*, **simpliciter**, *I deny*. Optatus, however, does not disagree with us, because he recalls this one thing, namely that the Church, often attacked in other places, "was safe in the Roman Empire," but not "among the

barbarian peoples." Therefore, he said "The Church is in the State," i.e., in the Roman Empire... "where there is the holy priesthood, purity, and virginity, which do not exist among the barbarian peoples, and if they did, could not be safe." — To whoever reads these things, it is clear that Dupin, Beaudouin, and the regalists very carelessly abused the statement of Optatus.

[52.12] Our distinction is seen to be entirely correct. For the Church, since it is supreme in its own order by the order established by God, cannot be considered a part which the State formally contains, as a whole contains its parts. To be materially in the State, however, that is, by living in it, does not have the effect that the Church is bound up with the civil power, which by divine law is exempt from the jurisdiction of the State. But not even by this is it true *simpliciter* that the Church, because of the habitation of a greater or lesser number of its faithful in a certain State, is contained materially in it, for the Church is circumscribed by no borders of a State, since it is a universal society and transcends all nations by its own end.

[52.13] INSTANCE. Citizens are subjected to the political power in external things. But the Church has members who are citizens, and in it can be seen many external things. Therefore under this respect the Church is subjected to the State.

[52.14] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. Men as citizens are subjected to the political power, *I concede*; as faithful, *I deny*. External things are subject to the State if they are merely temporal, *I concede*; if they are spiritual, *I deny*. And indeed the same men and citizens are able to be the faithful. As *citizens* they are subject to the laws of the State. As *faithful* they must obey the Church. But Saint Thomas very aptly says: "Man is not ordained to the body politic, according to all that he is and has; and so it does not follow that every action of his acquires merit or demerit in relation to the body politic. But all that man is, and can, and has, must be referred to God: and therefore every action of man, whether good or bad, acquires merit or demerit in the sight of God, as far as the action itself is concerned." (1a IIæ, q. 21, art. 4, ad 3um)

[52.15] But in what concerns external things, all these are not considered to be subject to the civil power unless you say that exterior things and

civil things are exactly the same thing. But the Church by divine right is a society which is also visible; by which it is understood that not all external things are civil, but some things are ecclesiastical. But ecclesiastical things are subjected to the sacred power.

[52.16] OBJECTION II. Power over religion was conceded to the kings of Israel. Therefore we cannot understand why the civil power lacks that same thing now.

[52.17] RESPONSE. *Let the antecedent pass*, and *I deny* the consequent. That there was, as it is alleged, a power over sacred things in the Hebrew kings is absolutely denied by very learned men, such as Suarez in his *Defensio fidei catholice*, III, and Bellarmine in his *Responsio ad apol. pro iuramento fidelitatis*. But was there truly under the Old Testament this type of power in the ruler? For there was a theocratic quality of the Israelite government in general and of the kings; furthermore the proximate end of the Jewish religion, since it was established for the purpose of founding a Judaic kingdom was both *temporal* and *spiritual*, as St. Thomas affirms in his *De reg. princ.*, I, 14: "Because in the Old Law terrestrial goods were promised not by demons but by the true God to be presented to a religion people, so in the Old Law priests are read to have been subjected to the kings, but in the New Law the priesthood is higher through which men are drawn to celestial goods."

[52.18] INSTANCE. Even Catholic rulers often gave commands in regard to ecclesiastical matters.

[52.19] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. The rulers did this by their proper right, *I deny*, by the right that was conceded to them by the Church or entirely usurped by them, *I concede*. Everyone knows that sometimes in the rulers something was desired and that at times the right was obtained by force from the bishops who were compliant with a government which was more bold than just. But certain things were tolerated for a while in order to avoid a greater evil; other things were positively conceded and approved, especially to those rulers who did not harm the laws of the Church by their own statutes, but confirmed them, such as Justinian the Emperor.

[52.20] OBJECTION III. That power belongs by its own right to the temporal power to see that nothing harmful come to the State. But it is necessary that all things be subject to this law of procuring the public safety. Therefore, for this reason, the civil power is able to rule ecclesiastical things.

[52.21] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. The obtainment of the public safety is the right of the civil power, provided that the divine law of order is observed, *I concede*; if that law is spurned, *I deny*. And *I distinguish* the minor. All civil things are subject to the safety of the State, *I concede*; ecclesiastical things, *I deny*. The foundation of the response is obedience, which both the State and the Church owe to God, who orders both powers. Indeed, certain men are bound to revere the civil authority. But it would be extremely stupid to say that the State is the source of all rights. Leo XIII said: "But where the power to command is wanting, or where a law is enacted contrary to reason, or to the eternal law, or to some ordinance of God, obedience is unlawful, lest, while obeying man, we become disobedient to God. Thus, an effectual barrier being opposed to tyranny, the authority in the State will not have all its own way, but the interests and rights of all will be safeguarded - the rights of individuals, of domestic society, and of all the members of the commonwealth; all being free to live according to law and right reason; and in this, as We have shown, true liberty really consists." (*Libertas*). Cf. St. Thomas, Ia IIæ, q. 95, art 3; q. 95, art. 4.

[52.22] INSTANCE. It can happen that the ecclesiastical power abuse its own right. Therefore it is necessary that the Church be restrained by the State.

[52.23] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. It is possible that abuses be found in defining a dogma, *I deny*; in the ordering of a particular discipline, *I distinguish*.⁶ It is legitimate because of possible abuse to absorb or obstruct the power of the Church, *I deny*; it is legitimate if there is certainly an abuse to follow the moral doctrine concerning law or unjust punishment, *I concede*.

[52.24] INSTANCE. There is a *jus cavendi* which pertains to each society. But the State is a perfect society. Therefore it enjoys the right to protect itself from the Church.

[52.25] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. Every society has the right to protect itself by just means, *I concede*; by unjust means, *I deny*. With regard to the minor: the State is an omnipotent perfect society, *I deny*; in its own order and determined by God, *I concede*. The *jus cavendi* (the right of protecting oneself) in the meaning of the adversaries, both in itself and in its means, is a very grave injustice: In itself, because the ecclesiastical power is displayed as a power which is in itself inimical to States, which is contrary to the institution of the Church which is divine, to the operation of the Church which is *per se* friendly to society and very salutary, to history which attributes the role of aggressor to the State in disputes and a defensive role to the Church.

[52.26] The unjust means are the *placet* of kings, the *exequatur*, and the appeal from abuse and other things of this type which have been invented. The first and second, ^{as when} by which the communication of the Roman Pontiff with the bishops and the faithful is impeded, and the exercise of the ecclesiastical power is made to be harmful to the State. It is inconsistent with the safety of the law, which is given to the Church by God.

[52.27] The third, the appeal from abuse, disturbs the order constituted by Christ. For appeals can only be made to a *superior judge*. But the pope alone is the superior of bishops; there is no place for the civil power in ecclesiastical affairs. Therefore right is violated if the ruler admits appeals from the sentences of bishops ^{or} presumes to reform the judgements of bishops and the Roman Pontiff. In brief the *jus cavendi* is a yoke imposed upon the Church.

[52.28] OBJECTION IV. The measure of the means which are legitimate for the State to use is *utility*. But the right of rulers over sacred things has a certain utility.

[52.29] RESPONSE. The measure of the means which the State may legitimately use is *justice*. For the purpose of the State, and of all things, "is ordered under God preceding ends under the ultimate end." (St. Thomas, *Contra Gentes*, lib. III, 17) The State, therefore, unless it wishes to make itself the ultimate end and god, tends towards its own end under God, who committed the right in sacred things and over sacred things solely to the

Church. When this is done, order and peace are observed, which is the greatest utility. For "Just like life in any man, so is peace in a nation, and just as health is nothing but the balance of the humors, so peace happens when each one retains his own order, and just as when a man's health recedes he tends toward death, so it is concerning peace: if it should depart from a nation, it tends toward its death." (St. Thomas, *In Mattheum*, XII, 2)

[52.30] **INSTANCE.** It is in the interest of culture that the Church be subject to the State. Therefore the right over sacred things cannot be separated from the State in which culture flourishes.

[52.31] **RESPONSE.** The first law of true culture is to obey the order which has been

divinely constituted; from this source the greatest goods, even temporal, have their origin. Peace is from order, as Saint Thomas Aquinas says (*In Matth.*, XII, 2): "Peace happens when each one retains his own order." Leo XIII said: "To wish the Church to be subject to the civil power in the exercise of her duty is a great folly and a sheer injustice. Whenever this is the case, order is disturbed, for things natural are put above things supernatural; the many benefits which the Church, if free to act, would confer on society are either prevented or at least lessened in number; and a way is prepared for enmities and contentions between the two powers, with how evil result to both the issue of events has taught us only too frequently." (*Immortale Dei*, no. 33)

ARTICLE IV

[53]

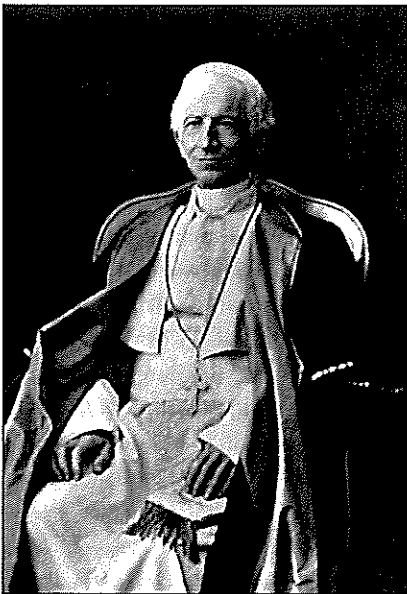
WHETHER THE CHURCH OUGHT TO BE SEPARATED FROM THE STATE, AND THE STATE FROM THE CHURCH;

[53.1] **I. STATUS QUÆSTIONIS.** As much as the Church preaches the *distinction* of each power, so it condemns their *separation*. But at the same time, while we reject separation, and admit *conjunction* of the two powers, we do not admit their *confusion*. "Each in its kind is supreme, each has fixed limits within which it is contained, limits which are defined by the nature and special object of the province of each, so that there is, we may say, an orbit traced out within which the action of each is brought into play by its own native right." (*Immortale Dei*) Therefore, preserving the distinction of the societies, true order demands that Church and State be connected not merely negatively, but *positively* by a mutual link. Therefore the scope of this disputation is to prove, what *should* be and not what in fact is in the various civil governments, or what could be obtained.

[53.2] **II. THE OBJECT OF THE COOPERATIVE
OPERATION OF THE CIVIL POWER AND THE**

ECCLESIASTICAL POWER. The common object and end of the operation of the civil government and of the ecclesiastical government is *the perfection of man*. But the perfection of men is contained in two kinds of goods, of which the one is *temporal* and the other *eternal*. But these goods must be bound together in an orderly way as a *single total good* in the *unity* of man. But this *ordered connection* of goods is necessary both in individual men and in the multitude, since "the same thing must be the judgement of the end of the whole multitude as of a single man." St. Thomas. *De reg. princip.* lib. I. 14. The end, however, of a human congregation or society, since it is also the end of *ruling* a society, is easily understood. The object and end of each power, while the action of neither is disturbed, is the *one, total* good of the society, which is connected in an ordered manner. These things having been said, it is clear that the good, which must be connected in an ordered manner in the citizens, requires the ordered connection of the two powers, of which God has given a

participation in the government of the human race. Leo XIII said: "The Almighty, therefore, has given the charge of the human race to two powers, the ecclesiastical and the civil, the one being set over divine, and the other over human, things. Each in its kind is supreme, each has fixed limits within which it is contained, limits which are defined by the nature and special object of the province of each, so that there is, we may say, an orbit traced out within which the action of each is brought into play by its own native right. But, inasmuch as each of these two powers has authority over the same subjects, and as it might come to pass that one and the same thing-related differently, but still remaining one and the same thing-might belong to the jurisdiction and determination of both, therefore God, who foresees all things, and who is the author of these two powers, has marked out the course of each in right correlation to the other. 'For the powers that are, are ordained of God.'!...There must, accordingly, exist between these two powers a certain orderly connection, which may be compared to the union of the soul and body in man."

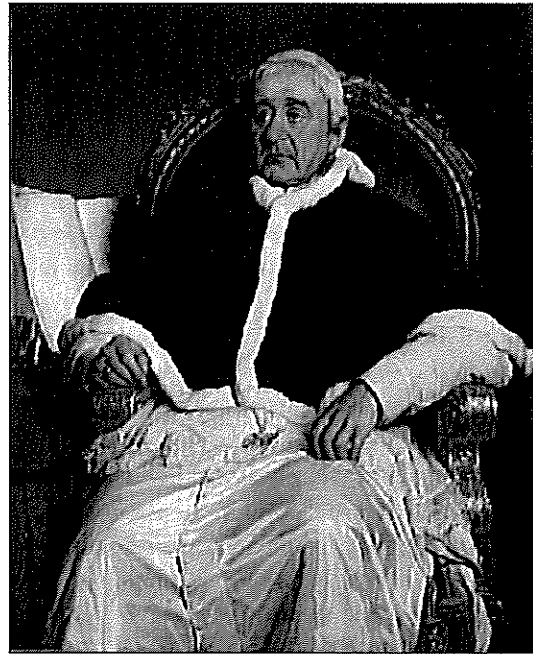


POPE LEO XIII (1878-1903)

[53.3] III. JUDGEMENTS OF THE CHURCH AGAINST SEPARATION. Gregory XVI said this concerning the separation of Church and State: "Nor can We predict happier times for religion

and government from the plans of those who desire vehemently to separate the Church from the state, and to break the mutual concord between temporal authority and the priesthood. It is certain that that concord which always was favorable and beneficial for the sacred and the civil order is feared by the shameless lovers of liberty." (*Mirari Vos*) Pius IX in the Syllabus lists this proposition 55: "The Church ought to be separated from the State, and the State from the Church." Leo XIII confirms the prescriptions of his predecessors in the encyclicals *Immortale Dei* and *Libertas*. In this last encyclical, he calls the false system of the reasons for separating Church and State "a pernicious idea." These things give no occasion for subterfuge.

2/28/11



POPE GREGORY XVI (1831-1846)

[53.4] *Thesis:* THE CHURCH MUST NOT BE SEPARATED FROM THE STATE, NOR THE STATE FROM THE CHURCH.

ARGUMENTS

[53.5] ARGUMENT I. *What God has joined together, let no man put asunder.* Mark X: 9. But God willed that the civil and ecclesiastical powers be joined. Indeed each power, inasmuch as it has come from God is ordered. If one disassociates the

reasons for Church and State, disorder arises. "For their subjects are the same, and not infrequently they deal with the same objects, though in different ways. Whenever this occurs, since a state of conflict is absurd and manifestly repugnant to the most wise ordinance of God, there must necessarily exist some order or mode of procedure to remove the occasions of difference and contention, and to secure harmony in all things." (Encycl. *Libertas*) — Add to this that God forbids that the State be separated from the Church. *Proof of the major.* [1] The State, because even the civil society is from God, as the State, must worship and revere God. [2] The State, or the civil power, is constituted in such a way, that it not only favors the temporal good of the citizens, but that it *helps* the citizens attain their eternal salvation. But this happiness is begun on earth, and is to be consummated in heaven, through the true religion which the Catholic Church contains. Therefore it is necessary that Church and State be joined together. We learn the same thing from St. Thomas, who says in the *de Reg. Principum*, I. 15.: "It pertains to each thing to *accomplish whatever is ordered to something else* as to an end, and he must pay attention that his work be *in accordance with the end*. In this way the sword smith makes a sword in such a way that it is suitable for fighting, and the builder must build the house in such a way that it is apt to be lived in. Because, therefore, the end of the life, by which we live well in the present, is celestial beatitude, it pertains to the duty of the king, for this reason, to procure the good life of the multitude *according as it is congruous* with the attainment of celestial beatitude."

[53.6] ARGUMENT II. Whatever things are ordered to procure one total good must coordinate their action into one. But the civil and ecclesiastical powers are ordered to procuring one total good, which is the good life of man and his happiness. Therefore Church and State must work together. The conclusion is most apparent from the help which [A] the State is able to give to the Church, and [B] the Church is able to give to the State.

[53.7] [A] *The help of the State.* St. Thomas says that the help which the State can give to the Church comprises a few things, since he teaches

that it pertains to the duty of the ruler "to procure the good life of the multitude by that reason according as it is congruous with the obtainment of celestial beatitude, namely that he *command* those things which lead to celestial beatitude, and that he *forbid* those things which are contrary to it, as much as possible." *De Regimine Principum* I. 15. And since the Church is composed of men, and not of separated souls, it is possible that it can be helped a great deal by temporal things. Because of these things Aquinas said: "For the good life of man two things are required: one principal thing, which is operation according to virtue (for virtue is that by which we live well); but the other is secondary and quasi-instrumental, namely the sufficiency of corporeal goods, of which the use is necessary for the act of virtue."

[53.8] [B] *The help of the Church.* In the Catholic Church there is found the true religion of Christ. The true religion of Christ is also able to protect even civil society. Therefore the Church should not be separated from the State. *Proof of the minor.*

[53.9] [1] That thing is perfected which is joined to Christ. But we are joined to Christ through the true religion of Christ. It is therefore plain that the State is perfect by its being joined with the Church in which Christ never ceases to live *as the head of His body*.

[53.10] [2] The supernatural order perfects the natural order. But the supernatural order has been constituted in the true religion of Christ. Ergo.

[53.11] [3] The Church of Christ has a *most noble, firm and efficacious moral doctrine*, which is the foundation of social life. It is *most noble*, since it teaches perfectly all of the duties of men toward God, the government, the domestic society, one's neighbors, subjects and oneself. It is *firm*, since it is founded *in religion*; if one should take religion away, society would only have a defective and very fluid morality. It is *efficacious*, since it *obliges in conscience*. Cf. Leo. XIII, encycl. *Arcanum, Diuturnum and Immortale Dei*. One should add that the Catholic Church preserves three principles which are maximally social: *the promotion of ordered progress, the antiquity of traditions, authority*.

[53.12] [4] History confirms that great benefits were given to peoples by the Church. "Christian Europe has subdued barbarous nations, and

changed them from a savage to a civilized condition, from superstition to true worship. It victoriously rolled back the tide of Mohammedan conquest; retained the headship of civilization; stood forth in the front rank as the leader and teacher of all, in every branch of national culture; bestowed on the world the gift of true and many-sided liberty; and most wisely founded very numerous institutions for the solace of human suffering. And if we inquire how it was able to bring about so altered a condition of things, the answer is—beyond all question, in large measure, through religion, under whose auspices so many great undertakings were set on foot, through whose aid they were brought to completion.” (*Immortale Dei*.) I pass over the prayers, the duties of heroic charity, and even monetary helps, by which the Church very often gave aid to the civil power. But even our own time, full of ruin, and with portends of many ruins, especially in a *moral crisis*, in which it languishes, confirms the divine sentence: *Miseros facit populos peccatum*. Proverbs XIV: 34.

[53.13] ARGUMENT III. *From tradition.* The early Church, despite the pressure of persecution, gave precepts, confirmed by examples, which are contrary to the separation of the powers. For apologists of the second and third centuries, namely St. Justin, *Apol. I.*, Theophilus of Antioch, *Ad Autolyc.* lib. III., Tertullian, *Apologia* tried to persuade the rulers that the State would not be impeded by the Christian religion, but helped by it. At times the Church used the protection of the State, when the occasion arose. In order to have assemblies of the faithful, the Church defended itself with the laws of the *altars of the sepulchers* or the *associations of people of lower rank*. In a similar way, when Paul of Samosata fell from the true faith and at the same time from his episcopal see, but did not want to leave his house in the church of Antioch, the ecclesiastical authority asked Aurelian the Emperor to expel the heretic from the church by means of the secular power. Eus. E.H. lib. VII. 30.

[53.14] St. Ambrose said, after the faith had been accepted by the emperors: “A good emperor seeks help for the Church, and does not refuse it.” *Ep.* 21. St. Gregory the Great said: “Power over all men has been given to the piety of our lords, for this end, that they be helped who seek good things;

that the way to heaven be opened wider; that the terrestrial kingdom become the handmaid of the celestial kingdom.” *Ep.* to Maurice the Emperor. St. Isidore Pelusiota: “The administration of things is composed of the priesthood and the kingdom. Although there is a great difference between them — the first is like the soul, and the second like the body — *they nevertheless both tend toward the same end, that is, the salvation of men.*” *Ep.* lib. III. 249. St. Nicholas teaches that the powers are distinct in such a way “that Christian emperors need the Pontiffs for eternal life, and the Pontiffs use imperial laws only for the course of temporal things, to the extent that a spiritual action be protected from carnal assaults.” (*Ep.* to Michael the Emperor.) St. Ivo of Chartres wrote to Paschal II: “Since the kingdom and the priesthood are suitable to each other, the world is well ruled, and the Church flowers and bears fruit.” (*Ep.* 238.) Constantine the Great wanted to be called an *episcopus ad extra*, that is, a defender of the faith. Charlemagne wanted to be called “a devout defender of the Church and its humble helper.” In a similar way was the Church defended by St. Louis, the King of France, and by other rulers who truly worshipped God.



SAINT LOUIS IX, KING OF FRANCE

OBJECTIONS

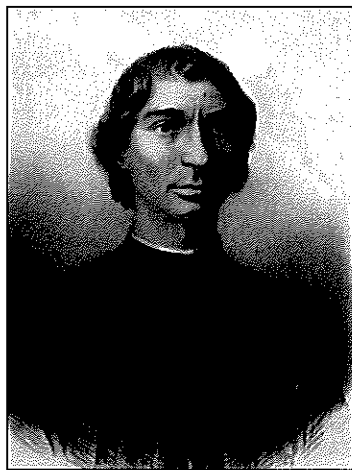
[53.15] OBJECTION I. Contraries expel each other mutually. But the Church and State are like contraries. Therefore the Church should be separated from the State.

[53.16] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. Contraries mutually expel each other from the same subject, under the same aspect, *I concede*; from a diverse subject or under a diverse aspect, *I deny*. With regard to the minor: State and Church are distinct, *I concede*; contraries, *I deny*.

[53.17] INSTANCE. Contrary ends indicate contrary powers. But the modern State regards as its ultimate end a terrestrial happiness, but the Church regards eternal happiness. But these are contraries.

[53.18] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the minor. The modern State, if it tends toward that, acts against the true nature of the State, *I concede*; according to it, *I deny*. The modern State, if it separates temporal things from eternal things, and God from man, adheres to the materialists. The fact that it does this very foolishly is proved in another place. But not even modern politicians can neglect the fact that religion is at least a moral force when there is an ordered connection of both powers, or because of the very happiness of temporal things, it sometimes appears to be very desirable.

[53.19] INSTANCE. Disparate things are separated by their nature. But the State and the Church are disparate, since the State rules bodies and the Church spirits.



NICCOLÒ MACHIAVELLI (1469-1527)

[53.20] RESPONSE. *I deny* the minor, and *I distinguish* the proof. By that partition of government, there is excluded a confusion of powers, *I concede*; an ordered connection, *I deny*. Neither the State, although proximately it regards temporal things, is a society of inanimate bodies, nor is the Church, which takes care of spiritual things proximately, is a body of separated souls. But each power, each in its own way, rules men. Therefore there is a need for an ordered concord between the two powers for the purpose of procuring the ordered combination of temporal things and eternal things.

[53.21] OBJECTION II. True philosophy demands that the civil society be a State which is called *of pure right*. But the State *of pure right* has nothing in common with the ecclesiastical power.

[53.22] RESPONSE. The State of pure right flows from false philosophy, *I concede*; from true philosophy, *I deny*. Machiavelli and Kant, having advanced a philosophy not worthy of the name, and infected with the errors of the materialists and skeptics, dissociated religion and morality from the civil law. From this the atheistic law was born, as well as atheistic politics. *Pure right* is therefore a *right without God*; let the atheists see how much this is in accordance with true philosophy.

[53.23] INSTANCE. Both powers must be kept within their limits. But the system which does this is the one which is expressed by the formula, *A free Church in a free State*. Therefore this system is true.

[53.24] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. Both powers must be kept within their natural limits, i.e., *their true limits*, *I concede*; their naturalistic limits, *I deny*. Men are ordered to a higher end. St. Thomas says: "It is incumbent upon each man to accomplish something which is ordered to something else as toward an end, and he must make sure that his work is in keeping with the end." (*De Reg. Princ.*, I, 15) The system of *a free Church in a free State*, which, in the sense of the adversaries, is not a liberty with concord, but a separation of the powers is contrary to this order of things, since *per se* it recedes from it entirely, in such a way that the divorce of the State from the Church is approved, the separation of the State from God and Jesus Christ. Finally, it is the profanation of the entire civil society.

[53.25] OBJECTION III. To have conflicts is evil. But the union of the powers generates perpetual conflicts. Therefore this union has nothing to make it desirable.

[53.26] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. Conflict is a certain evil, *I concede*; always the greatest evil, *I deny*. *I distinguish* the minor: the union of the powers generates perpetual conflicts and *per se*, *I deny*; some conflicts and *per accidens*, *I subdistinguish*: which were a lesser evil than separation, *I concede*; a greater evil, *I deny*.

31/11
[53.27] Those evils must be chosen which are lesser, since on earth it is impossible to avoid all evils. But the separation *per se* takes away the good of peace, and besides adduces the evil of conflict. But union, which is in conformity with the nature of each society *per se* favors peace. There were many more occasions for dispute than for union, e.g., the matrimony violated by the kings, or by the invasion of ecclesiastical goods. If, however, *per accidens* there were some disputes which arose from the system of union of Church and State, this evil cannot be compared with the good things which a Christian constitution of States brings to peoples. Cf. Leo XIII, Encyc. *Immortale Dei*, *Libertas*, and the Encyclical concerning America *Longinqua*, January 6, 1895.

[53.28] INSTANCE. The history of the Middle Ages is full of trickery and violence on the part of rulers against the Church. Therefore the system of union seems to be only a utopia.

[53.29] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. This is true concerning all of the rulers, *I deny*; concerning some, *I subdistinguish*. This type of vice affected the persons of the rulers, *I concede*; arose from the Christian constitution of States, *I again distinguish*: *per se*, *I deny*; sometimes *per accidens*, *I concede*.

[53.30] It is completely false that all of the rulers attacked the Church, since in nearly all of

by the kingdoms of Europe the civilization was founded by some saintly canonized king, or certainly by rulers who were amicably united to the Church or to the Roman Pontiff. It is indeed certain that many rulers had conflicts; but the conflicting parties were not able and did not dare to subvert the *Christian constitution* of their kingdoms. These very kingdoms had been constituted upon the principle of union of Church and State. Hence often there was a struggle on behalf of the Church, either by the peoples themselves or by the rulers, mindful of their duty against public enemies. In brief, there was no greater obstacle to the tyrant and the persecutor than the Christian constitution of his kingdom. For this reason, Leo XIII said: "There was once a time when States were governed by the philosophy of the Gospel. Then it was that the power and divine virtue of Christian wisdom had diffused itself throughout the laws, institutions, and morals of the people, permeating all ranks and relations of civil society. Then, too, the religion instituted by Jesus Christ, established firmly in befitting dignity, flourished everywhere, by the favor of princes and the legitimate protection of magistrates; and Church and State were happily united in concord and friendly interchange of good offices. The State, constituted in this wise, bore fruits important beyond all expectation, whose remembrance is still, and always will be, in renown, witnessed to as they are by countless proofs which can never be blotted out or ever obscured by any craft of any enemies. Christian Europe has subdued barbarous nations, and changed them from a savage to a civilized condition, from superstition to true worship." (*Immortale Dei*)

ARTICLE V
[54]
WHETHER THE CHURCH HAS AN INDIRECT POWER OVER
TEMPORAL THINGS

[54.1] I. STATUS QUÆSTIONIS. We are speaking here about *indirect* power, which is exercised not within the limits of the same power, but over a *distinct* power, independent *in its own order*, but which is *connected* to the first in some respect. And so the rule remains: *each one is supreme in its own genus*. And just as the State has no power over the sacraments or the institution of bishops, so the spiritual power does not take care of the creation of army officers, or of selecting the best type of weapons, or of other merely temporal matters.

[54.2] It concerns a true *power*, which must be obeyed. To assign to the Church a mere higher grade of honor or of excellence is not sufficient. Nor are we speaking about temporal power, which the Roman Pontiff exercised over his own lands, or in certain regions which subjected themselves to him by their own accord, or by the positive laws of nations. But we will treat about that power over temporal things which pertains to the successors of Peter *by divine right*. For that power, in view of its proximate end, is *spiritual*; it *directly* and *spiritually* directs spiritual things; it directs temporal things only to the extent that the supernatural end requires it. Therefore we ask whether by divine right a power over temporal things pertains to the Church, besides the fullness of power over spiritual things. This would be an *indirect* power, that is, as it is ordered to spiritual things, greater than a *directive* power, but lesser than a *direct* power.

[54.3] II. THE QUESTION MUST BE SOLVED BY THE ULTIMATE END OF MAN. The order of societies is known from the *ultimate end*. Therefore the ultimate end of man must be more intensely considered, in order to more easily arrive at conclusions. But the ultimate end of both individuals and of the whole multitude is *outside* of the limits of the civil society. For it is necessary that men tend in such a way that by living a

they virtuous life, that arrive at the *enjoyment of God*. For this reason St. Thomas says in the *de Regimine Principum* lib. I. 14: "It is a certain good extraneous to man, while he is living in mortal life, namely ultimate beatitude, which is expected in the enjoyment of God after death: because, as St. Paul says in II Cor. V: 6: 'While we are in the body, we are absent from the Lord.' And for the Christian man 'that beatitude is acquired by the blood of Christ.' and the Christian 'has received the pledge of the Holy Ghost in order to obtain it.' Man does not attain this end through human power but by divine power, according to the verse of St. Paul in Romans VI: 23: *The grace of God, life eternal*. Therefore to arrive at this end does not pertain to human government, but to divine government... The administration of the [spiritual] kingdom, therefore, in order that spiritual things be distinct from terrestrial things, has been committed not to terrestrial kings, but to priests, and principally to the Roman Pontiff, to whom all the kings of the Christian people must be subject, as if to the Lord Jesus Christ. So to him to whom the care of the *ultimate end* pertains, they must be subject who have the care of inferior ends, and to be directed by his power." I.c.

[54.4] III. ADVERSARIES. They should be directly refuted who admit no power of the Church over temporal matters, namely the authors and promoters of the *Declaration of the Gallican Church* (1682), art. 1, in which it claims that "by divine right princes are subject to no ecclesiastical power in temporal matters." For a greater reason the thesis attacks those who withdraw from the jurisdiction of the Church kings and other Christian princes in the very spiritual and ecclesiastical affairs. Indirectly the thesis refutes the systems of *direct* power and of merely *directive* power.

[54.5] *Thesis: THE CHURCH HAS INDIRECT POWER OVER TEMPORAL THINGS.*

ARGUMENTS

[54.6] **ARGUMENT I.** The indirect power of the Church over temporal things is a power over temporal things as they are ordered to a supernatural end. But there is no doubt that power, in the true sense of the term, over temporal things as they are ordered to a supernatural end pertains by divine right to the Church. Therefore an indirect power over temporal things pertains to the Church.

[54.7] *Proof of the minor.* They who have the care of antecedent ends must be subject to him who has the care of the ultimate end, and they must be directed by his power. cf. St. Thomas. *Contra Gentes*, lib. III, 109; *De Regimine Principum*, lib. I, 14. But the care of the ultimate end of man, by God's order, pertains proximately to the Church. Therefore, temporal things, as they are ordered to the supernatural good, which is the ultimate end of man, must be subject to the Church.

[54.8] **ARGUMENT II.** To govern is to lead that which is governed to its due end in a suitable manner. *De Reg. Princ., l.c.* However, temporal principality cannot lead peoples in a suitable manner to a due end, unless it is subject to the ecclesiastical power with regard to spiritual things. Therefore the civil power is subordinated to the ecclesiastical power with regard to spiritual things, that is, the Church enjoys an indirect power over temporal things.

[54.9] *Proof of the minor.* [A] The end of man and of the whole multitude of human beings, and consequently of the government of the multitude, is celestial things to which human things are subordinated. But celestial things are confided to the Church. Therefore the civil government, to which human things have been handed over, is bound to be subject to the Church with regard to the celestial end.

[54.10] [B] Since each power constituted by God must operate toward one ultimate end, there is no doubt that the subordination of one to the other is required; for otherwise peace would be

taken away in a conflict of the interests of the temporal and the spiritual power, since there would be no judge. But we have proven above that the Church is not subordinated to the State. The State, therefore, is subordinated to the Church with regard to spiritual things.

INNOCENTIVS III.
PONTIFEX CLXXVIII.
ANNO DOMINI MCGCVIII.



[54.11] [C] Sacred Scripture teaches that it is necessary to yield temporal things to supernatural goods, that is, that the civil good is not the ultimate end of man, but is *an end under an end*. Therefore the law of ordering each power according to God's idea is this: *For what doth it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and suffer the loss of his own soul?* Matth. XVI: 26. Cf. V: 29; VI: 31, and Luke XIV: 26.

[54.12] **ARGUMENT III.** *From tradition.* Although the exercise of the indirect power before the age of Constantine the Great was impeded to a great extent, the faithful were nevertheless ordered to support the ministers of the Church with temporal goods (I Cor. IX). Christians were forbidden to function in certain civil functions. Mamachi in *Antiq. Christ.* IV. The Apostles, when the priests and the elders objected the temporal good of the public tranquility to those who were preaching the gospel, the Apostles responded that the temporal good must be placed after the spiritual good. *We ought to obey God, rather than men.* Acts V: 29. *The Apostolic Constitutions* chap. 2, no. 34, St. John Chrysostom, in the *II Cor Hom.* XV. 5, and many doctors of the Middle Ages compare the order of State and Church to that order by which soul and body are joined together. Cf. St. Gregory Naz. Orat. 17., St. Augustine in *De*

Civitate Dei, XIX, 17: "This heavenly city, then, while it sojourns on earth, calls citizens out of all nations, and gathers together a society of pilgrims of all languages, not scrupling about diversities in the manners, laws, and institutions whereby earthly peace is secured and maintained, but recognizing that, however various these are, they all tend to one and the same end of earthly peace." Pope St. Gelasius said: "There are two things, august emperor, by which the world is principally governed: the sacred authority of the pontiffs and the royal authority. Of the two the greater is the weight of the priests, to the extent that they must render account to God for *the very rulers of men*." *Ep. to Anastasius the Emperor*. Pope St. Symmachus said: "We have both, each in our own place, received human powers, *until they do not set up their will against God*. Furthermore, if all power is from God, that power is greater which is placed above divine things. Defer to God with regard to us, and we will defer to God with regard to you. But if you do not defer to God, you cannot use that privilege, whose rights you despise." *Apologeticus adv. Anastasius imp.* IX.



POPE BONIFACE VIII (1294-1303)

[54.13] *Innocent III*. When Count William of Monte Pessulano asked that the Pontiff deign to legitimize his sons, in the year 1202, in the decree *Per venerabilem*, Innocent III responded that the matter, since it is temporal, must be referred to the

King of France: "You ought to know how to be subject to others, for which reason, without a possible injury to them, unless they were to give their assent, you would not be able in this matter to subject yourself to us." Likewise the Pontiff in the decretal *Novit*, in order to settle controversies between France and England in the year 1204, indicates the power of the Church over temporal things in this way: "For we do not intend to judge concerning the tract of land, but to judge concerning sin, the condemnation of which, without doubt, pertains to us, which we can and must exercise against anyone." Therefore he does not construct a direct power of the Church over temporal things, but nevertheless claims an indirect power of the Church. Boniface VIII, in the bull *Unam sanctam* signifies the same thing, affirming that the spiritual power can "judge the temporal power, if it has not been good." Similarly, "If the terrestrial power should deviate, it will be judged by the spiritual power." Hence the explanation of the bull given by Boniface VIII himself, when he wrote to King Philip: "For forty years we have been expert in the law, and we know that there are two powers ordained by God. Who, therefore, must or can believe that such stupidity and dullness would be or has been in our head? We say that in nothing do we wish to usurp the jurisdiction of the King...The King cannot deny, nor any of the faithful, that he is subject to us by reason of sin."



PHILIP IV, KING OF FRANCE (1285-1314)

[54.14] St. Thomas expresses in these words his position concerning the indirect power: "The secular power is under the spiritual power to the extent that it is subjected to it by God, namely in those things which pertain to the salvation of the soul." *Sent.* II, dist. 44, q. 2, art. 3, ad 4. "The secular power is subject to the spiritual, even as the body is subject to the soul. Consequently the judgment is not usurped if the spiritual authority interferes in those temporal matters that are subject to the spiritual authority or which have been committed to the spiritual by the temporal authority." IIa IIæ, q. 60, art. 6, ad 3. From this it is understood that the Church has power over temporal things, not absolutely, but inasmuch as God orders it. And because it is not absolute, it pertains to the secular power that it leave certain things to the spiritual power.

OBJECTIONS

[54.15] **OBJECTION I.** The perfect society cannot be inferior to any society. But the civil power is the perfect society. Therefore the Church enjoys no jurisdiction over the civil power.

[54.16] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the major. A perfect society is not able to be inferior to a society of the same order, *I concede*; or to a superior order, *I deny*. The civil power is supreme in its own order; that order is not supreme, however, but is inferior by its very nature to the order of supernatural goods.

[54.17] **INSTANCE.** The ruler, as a man, and not as he is a ruler, is ordered to the end of the supernatural good. Therefore the power of the Church cannot be exercised over him in regard to those things which pertain to him as ruler.

[54.18] **RESPONSE.** *I deny* the antecedent and the consequent. For indeed, first of all, the duty of the ruler depends upon the law of God which he possesses by a divine gift, and which the Church protects. Furthermore, it is necessary that the end of ruling the multitude be the end of the ruler. Since the end of the multitude is to enjoy God, the duty of the ruler depends on this end.

[54.19] **INSTANCE.** The State, as the State, since it is nothing after this life, is not ordered to the end of eternal happiness, but instead the

individual citizens are. From this the same thing must be concluded as above.

[54.20] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the antecedent. The State, as the State, has not been instituted for the purpose of possessing the eternal good, *I concede*; not for the purpose of promoting this same good, *I deny*. The State, to which the care of the temporal good proximately pertains, does not last, since there will be no more time (Apoc. X: 6), and this very inferiority of the end obviously shows that the State is not an ultimate end in itself, but is an end subordinated to the ultimate end of its citizens, which, if it does not promote, defects from its observance of duty. Certainly, furthermore "It is incumbent upon each one to accomplish what is ordered toward something else as toward its end, and it must pay attention to this, in order that its work be in conformity with the Faith." (*De regimine principum*, lib. I, 14)

[54.21] **OBJECTION II.** The doctrine of the subordination of the civil society to the ecclesiastical is founded in the theological concept of the State, that is, in those things which are mandated by Christ concerning the Church. But the juridical and philosophical concept of the State had been determined by the very nature of man *before* Christ. Therefore the juridical and philosophical concept since the precept of Christ, which is posterior, does not take away right of nature which is prior, must not be invoked or reduced to the theological concept.

[54.22] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the major. That doctrine is founded in the theological concept perfectively, *I concede*; exclusively, *I deny*. *I distinguish* the minor: the philosophical concept of the State had been determined relatively before the institution of the Church by Christ, *let it pass*; absolutely, *I deny*.

[54.23] Whatever is established concerning the determination of the concept of the State relative to the times before Christ, at no time was that concept so *absolute* that afterwards it was not necessary to consider God and the order to be given by God. Philosophy itself, unless it wishes to be entirely atheist or almost atheist, does not deny that it is possible that the State be subordinated to a power of a higher order and constituted by Christ as God; theology, however, demonstrates that this has been done. And so it happens that the

theological concept does not *exclude* the juridical and philosophical concept of the State, but *perfects* it.

[54.24] **INSTANCE.** That theological concept looks to destroying the autonomy of the State once the theocracy is constituted.

[54.25] **RESPONSE.** The theological concept of the State is only theocratic to the extent that it considers eternal things to take precedence over temporal things, just as the soul does over the body. Whether this is correctly called or improperly called a theocracy does not matter. This one thing ought to be considered very carefully by the adversaries: that State and Church must obey God and Christ, and that each power must tend in its own order toward that which is expressed in the Lord's Prayer: *hallowed by Thy Name*, (Matth. VI: 9) However the civil power cannot fittingly tend toward that due end unless it is subordinated to the Church with regard to spiritual things, to which the care of that most sublime end has been proximately confided. So, therefore, the majesty of the subordinated State is increased, for "the more efficaciously something is ordered to its end, to that same extent is it better." (IIa IIæ, q. 152, art. 5)

[54.26] **OBJECTION III.** The Lord said, "*My kingdom is not of this world.*" (John XVIII: 36) But the system of indirect power falls into the idea that the sacred power also attains temporal things, or those things which are *of this world*. Therefore that system contradicts Sacred Scripture.

[54.27] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the major: the kingdom of Christ is not of this world, *I concede*; it is not in this world, *I deny*. *I distinguish* the minor. The Church, by reason of the indirect power, attains temporal things as a material object, *I concede*; as a formal object, *I deny*.

[54.28] Since the Church is in the world, the most wise God has doubtlessly ordered the relation of the Church to the other power. However, from the notion of the ends, the *ratio* of the order follows, in such a way that the Church does not attain temporal things in themselves and formally, but as they regard spiritual things.

[54.29] **INSTANCE.** Nevertheless there seems to be no great distance between the indirect power and the direct power.

[54.30] **RESPONSE.** The distance is very great: *theoretically* because in the system of indirect power the supreme Pontiff does not have regularly power over temporal things, that is, direct and full, but only as a consequence. Hence practically he has a limited power "inasmuch as it is necessary for the preservation of spiritual things, for the direction of the faithful toward eternal salvation, and for the correction of sins, and for the preservation of peace in the Christian people." (Turrecremata, *Summa de Ecclesia*, II, 114) Finally Catholic men do not recede from this precept of the Holy Father Leo XIII: "The Church, therefore, possesses the right to exist and to protect herself by institutions and laws in accordance with her nature. And since she not only is a perfect society in herself, but superior to every other society of human growth, she resolutely refuses, promoted alike by right and by duty, to link herself to any mere party and to subject herself to the fleeting exigencies of politics. On like grounds, the Church, the guardian always of her own right and most observant of that of others, holds that it is not her province to decide which is the best amongst many diverse forms of government and the civil institutions of Christian States, and amid the various kinds of State rule she does not disapprove of any, provided the respect due to religion and the observance of good morals be upheld." (*Sapientia Christiana*)

QUESTION XIII

COUNCILS

We have treated twelve questions concerning the Church. In this tract, the first of the theological *loci* has been completed, and is also the foundation of all the others. *Councils* are the second *locus*. We therefore ask

FIRST, WHAT IS A COUNCIL AND WHAT KINDS OF COUNCILS THERE ARE.

SECOND, BY WHOSE AUTHORITY AN ECUMENICAL COUNCIL MAY BE CELEBRATED.

THIRD, WHETHER AN ECUMENICAL COUNCIL IS INFALLIBLE.

FOURTH, WHETHER AN ECUMENICAL COUNCIL IS ABOVE THE POPE.

FIFTH, WHETHER AN ECUMENICAL COUNCIL IS NECESSARY.

ARTICLE I

[55]

WHAT IS A COUNCIL AND WHAT KINDS OF COUNCILS THERE ARE

[55.1] I. THE CONCEPT OF A GENERAL COUNCIL. A *council*, from the Greek *synodos*, or as it has been called by others, a *congregatio*, *conventus*, a *synodale concilium*, *conventus synodalis*. It is a coming together of bishops under legitimate authority for the purpose of judging and legislating concerning ecclesiastical affairs. I said of bishops, that is, of judges *per se*, but a diocesan synod or a meeting of one bishop and his clergy is not contained in the definition, since for many centuries the word *council* has been restricted to merely a meeting of bishops. It is added, *concerning ecclesiastical affairs*, that is, concerning matters of faith, morals, or discipline. Cf. Benedict XIV, *De syn.* lib. I, cap. 1.

[55.2] There are two kinds of councils: 1° *General*, which we will discuss principally, and 2° *particular*, which are subdivided into national, provincial, and diocesan. The first council concerning matters of faith was held in Jerusalem. (Acts. XV: 6) Councils around the middle of the second century were held in Asia Minor, as Eusebius

relates in *H.E.* V. 16. Church History is loaded with examples of many councils celebrated over the centuries.

[55.3] II. THE ECUMENICAL COUNCIL. The general council or ecumenical council, which comes from the word *oikoumene*, ("the inhabited world"), is a meeting of bishops convoked from the whole world for the purpose of judging and legislating concerning ecclesiastical things under the authority of the Roman Pontiff. I said [1] *from the whole world*, for in this way an ecumenical council is distinguished from a national council, to which are convoked the bishops of a certain patriarchate, kingdom, or nation, where the patriarch or primate presides, and from the provincial council, to which bishops of one ecclesiastical province are convoked, where the metropolitan presides. [2] By the term *convoked*, we mean that it is right that all be called, but it is not necessary that all come together, provided that the princes of the Church are congregated in such a number that those congregated are considered to

represent the Catholic Church. [3] Finally we say *under the authority of the Roman Pontiff*. This authority is exercised by convoking, presiding, and confirming.

[55.4] These things having been said, [1] ecumenical councils are divided into those which are convoked by the Roman Pontiff, and those not convoked by him; they are also divided into those confirmed by the Roman Pontiff and those which are not confirmed. The term *ecumenical* is more strictly taken to pertain to confirmed councils. [2] The second division should not be neglected. For some councils are said to be ecumenical by action, and others by acceptance. They are ecumenical by *action* if those things which are expressed in the definition are fulfilled from the convocation all the way to the confirmation. They are ecumenical by *acceptance* if something should be lacking, but where the explicit or tacit consent of the bishops and of the Roman Pontiff, recognizing a valid council, should supply for whatever is lacking.

[55.5] III. WHO SHOULD BE CONGREGATED INTO AN ECUMENICAL COUNCIL. [1] Bishops *per se* ought to be called, in order that they might make a decisive act as judges in the true sense of the term, and as proper constitutive members of a council. For such is the divine constitution of the Church, that the principal roles in its government belong to those who are called bishops. This is evident (a) from those things which we said above concerning the hierarchical constitution of the Church and concerning the subject of infallibility; (b) from the practice of the Church.

[55.6] Even cardinals who are not bishops are to be summoned and have a decisive vote. But it is controverted whether this right to vote is by an ordinary right or by privilege and custom.

[55.7] [2] Since the whole business of the council, as Canus says, concerns the power of jurisdiction and not the power of orders, they also should be summoned to the council, and by right have a decisive vote, who are bishops not yet consecrated, but have episcopal jurisdiction. Furthermore, the superior generals of orders and exempt abbots, blessed by a bishop, although the right of a decisive vote does not pertain to priests and deacons, nevertheless, enjoy this right.

[55.8] [3] Bishops who are titular, or who are named *in partibus*, in the opinion of many doctors, because they lack jurisdiction, *de jure* are not to be called to the council (Canus, Suarez, Billuart). Others give to them a right of a decisive vote because of jurisdiction *in actu primo*, which they have with respect to the Churches of their titles (Lucius Ferraris). Others, finally, think that jurisdiction is attached to consecration in such a way that jurisdiction pertains to bishops not singularly, but as they are gathered together and acting as a council (De Voti, Phillips).

[55.9] [4] Many others, although they do not give to these any right of decisive vote, nevertheless say that they can be called, namely the following: men who are outstanding in prudence and wisdom, who discuss the matters to be treated, and can help the Fathers by counsel; princes who protect the Fathers; heretics and schismatics, in order that they treat of matters or that they render account for themselves in a council, etc. But only those are called the Fathers of the council to whom pertains, either by ordinary right, or by concession, the right of a decisive vote.

[55.10] IV. HOW MANY BISHOPS ARE REQUIRED IN ORDER TO MAKE A COUNCIL ECUMENICAL. In Canus, we read this: "It is not sufficient for a general council if the convocation is general, when so few are congregated, that the greater and better part of the provinces seem to have been left behind. This is especially true if the cause is legitimate why the bishops are not at the synod. But if, through the malice of evil men, one or another province should be absent, the title of general council is not lost for this reason. But if through negligence or any other occasion some bishops are absent, the council would not lose its title of general, unless we would want to call into question whether the four councils of Nicea, Ephesus, Constantinople and Chalcedon were general councils." Those things are evident, namely that a council must have such a congregation of bishops as is necessary for the representation of the whole Christian name. Is it necessary that the greater part of bishops come to the council? It is not necessary, provided that there is a sufficient number of bishops, and from so many places, that they are considered to represent the Church dispersed throughout the world.

[55.11] V. THE ORIGIN OR INSTITUTION OF COUNCILS. The origin of councils is not merely human, but probably divine, and certainly apostolic. The following proofs are adduced for the divine origin. [1] The words of Christ: *"For where there are two or three gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."* Matthew XVIII: 20, which the Council of Chalcedon used, (ep. *ad S. Leonem*), as well as St. Celestine (ep. to the Council of Ephesus) and the Sixth Ecumenical Council in its Acts VII which indicate that councils have their origin in Christ. [2] It is probable that the Apostles, inasmuch as they were filled with the Holy Ghost, celebrated their councils by the admonition of this same Holy Ghost.

[55.12] VI. THE CATALOGUE OF ECUMENICAL COUNCILS.

1. Nicea I (325) when St. Sylvester was the Roman Pontiff, against the Arians. To this council is customarily connected the Council of Sardica in the year 346, and approved by Julius I. At Sardica the faith of Nicea was confirmed.

2. Constantinople I (381) when St. Damasus was the Roman Pontiff against the Macedonians.

3. Ephesus (431) when St. Celestine was the Roman Pontiff, against the Nestorians.

4. Chalcedon (451) when St. Leo the Great was the Roman Pontiff against the Eutychians.

5. Constantinople II (553) when Vigilius was the Roman Pontiff, because of the three chapters.

6. Constantinople III (680) when Agatho was the Roman Pontiff, against the monothelites.

7. Nicea II (787) when Adrian I was the Roman Pontiff, against the iconoclasts.

8. Constantinople IV (870) when Adrian II was the Roman Pontiff, against Photius.

9. Lateran I (1123), Calixtus II being pope, against investitures.

10. Lateran II (1139), when Innocent II was Roman Pontiff, because of the schism Peter Leo the antipope.

11. Lateran III (1179), when Alexander III was pope, against the Waldensians and Albigensians.

12. Lateran IV (1213), when Innocent III was Roman Pontiff, because of the expedition to Jerusalem.

13. Lyons I (1245) when Innocent IV was the Roman Pontiff, against Frederick II.

14. Lyons II (1274), when Gregory X was pope, because of the union of the Greeks.

15. Vienne (1312), when Clement V was the Roman Pontiff, because of the case of the Templars.

16. Constance (1414-1418) in that part which Martin V confirmed, but not in all parts. The scope of this council was union of the Church, and the extirpation of the heresy of Wycliff, Hus, and others.

17. Florence (1439), when Eugene IV was the Roman Pontiff, because of the union of the Greeks.

18. Lateran V (1512) when Julius II and Leo X were Roman Pontiffs, against the schism of Pisa, and for the purpose of promoting peace among the Christian princes.

19. Trent (1545 - 1563) when Paul III and Pius IV were the Roman Pontiffs, against the Protestants, and for the purpose of restoring discipline.

20. Vatican (Dec. 8, 1869 to July 18, 1870), when Pius IX was Roman Pontiff, against the modern errors, and in which the dogma of the infallibility of the pope was defined.

ARTICLE II
[56]
BY WHOSE AUTHORITY AN ECUMENICAL COUNCIL MAY BE
CELEBRATED.

[56.1] STATUS QUÆSTIONIS. [1] We presuppose that the Roman Pontiff has been created by God as the head of the universal Church. But we do not want to assert this gratuitously. We will demonstrate later how this assertion rests on the most firm reasons. [2] We are about to prove that the ecumenical councils of the Roman Pontiff must be celebrated with authority, and that that authority is contained in the office of convoking, presiding, and of authoritatively confirming. And so a council, in its entire course, that is, in order that it be considered ecumenical in its convocation, its celebration, and its termination, must be called by the Roman Pontiff, who, either by himself or through legates, presides over the council and confirms its acts. But if the Council, either by its convocation or by its celebration was not ecumenical, a defect of this type can be taken away by a subsequent confirmation. But no council ever can be considered ecumenical unless it is confirmed by the Roman Pontiff.

[56.2] [3] The question is here concerning the celebration of ecumenical councils which are properly and perfectly ecumenical. Therefore we are saying nothing of the case in which the bishops of the whole Church, in the vacancy of the Roman See, and where the cardinals refuse to come together for an election, come together in a council for the purpose of electing. For this is in the case of a pope dubiously elected, or similar cases which we will discuss below.

[56.3] Adversaries are Febronius, Planck, and others. But the thesis is *de fide*.

[56.4] Thesis: ECUMENICAL COUNCILS ARE TO BE CELEBRATED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE ROMAN PONTIFF.

Arguments

[56.5] ARGUMENT I. Whatever pertains to the universal Church comes under the authority of the Roman Pontiff. But ecumenical councils pertain to the universal Church. Therefore ecumenical councils can only be celebrated by the authority of the Roman Pontiff. For this reason, St. Thomas says: "Consequently it belongs to the sole authority of the Sovereign Pontiff to publish a new edition of the symbol, as do all other matters which concern the whole Church, such as to convoke a general council and so forth." IIa IIæ q. I, art. 10.

[56.6] ARGUMENT II. The convocation, the presidency, and confirmation of ecumenical councils pertain to the head of the Catholic Church. But the Roman Pontiff is the head of the Catholic Church. The *minor*, which is to be later proved, is here supposed.

[56.7] *Proof of the major.* (a) *Convocation.* No firm reason for calling an ecumenical council can be had, unless the authority is present by which all the bishops of the whole world are ordered to come together in a council at a certain place and at a certain time. This authority resides only in the Roman Pontiff. (b) *Presidence.* To preside over a body with authority pertains to the head. But the Roman Pontiff is the head of the whole body of the Church, both as it congregated, and as it is dispersed. Therefore it pertains to him to preside over it. (c) *Confirmation.* The acts of the councils must be confirmed by him to whom the care has been committed by God, even the care of the bishops. But this care of all the bishops, even joined together, has been confided to the Roman Pontiff. Therefore

ecumenical councils must be celebrated with the authority of the Roman Pontiff, "by whose authority alone, the council can be called together, and by whom the declaration of the council is confirmed, and to whom one appeals from a council." (St. Thomas in the *Quæst. Disp. de Potentia*, X, art. 4 ad 13.) The ecumenicity, or representation of the universal Church, in the true sense of the term, cannot even be conceived of without the Roman Pontiff and the head of the Church.

[56.8] ARGUMENT III. *From tradition.* It is evident that the ecumenical councils were celebrated by the authority of the Roman Pontiff, even according to the statements and deeds of the Fathers.

[56.9] [A] *From the statements.* Julius the pope said: "It pertains to the pontifical law that those things should be considered invalid which were done outside of the declaration of the Roman Bishop." (In Sozomenus, H.E. book III, 10.; Cf. Socrat. H.E. book II. 17). In the synod, which was held in 485, more than forty bishops of the 318 Fathers said: "They have brought the confirmation of the acts and the authority of the Holy Roman Church." (Mansi, t. VIII, p. 1140) The Fathers of Chalcedon asked Leo the Great that he confirm the acts of the synod. "We ask, therefore, that you also honor our judgement by your declarations, and just as we have brought to the head agreement in good things, so may your highness accomplish what is becoming for your children." Hard. t. II, 658. *Anatolius* of Constantinople wrote this to St. Leo the Great concerning the same council: "All of the power of the acts, and their confirmation, will be reserved to the authority of your beatitude." (Letter to Leo the Great, 132) For this reason, *St. Gelasius* said: "What the Apostolic See confirmed in the synod [of Chalcedon] has obtained this force; what it has refused could have no force." (Tract IV, n. 9; Thiel, II. p. 565) *The Fathers of the Third Council of Constantinople* ask *Agatho* to confirm the council in these words: "We preach the splendid light of the orthodox faith with you clearly, which we pray your holiness to again confirm through honorable rescripts." (Mansi, t. II, p. 683) *Justinian* the emperor: "We never read that a synod was confirmed

which was not supported by the Apostolic See of Blessed Peter." (*Const. Novel.*, 13) Finally very serious is that declaration of *Lucentius* in the Council of Chalcedon in the first session, concerning *Dioscorus*, the Patriarch of Alexandria: "He dared to make a synod without the authority of the Apostolic See, which has never been permitted, and has never been done."

[56.10] [B] *From deeds.* All the ecumenical councils have been celebrated by the authority of the Roman Pontiff, nor is there any controversy concerning the councils held after the eighth council. For which reason we will say little concerning the eight prior councils. [1] *Concerning convocation.* Although the emperors, with the permission of the Church, cooperated materially in the convocation of the Fathers to a synod, nevertheless, the authority of the Pontiffs is easily seen in this matter. For first the emperors acted *by their consent*. So the Fathers of the third council of Constantinople, in their *Acts*, 18, affirm concerning the Council of Nicea: "Constantine, always august, and the *praiseworthy Sylvester*, brought together this excellent council in Nicea." (Cf. *Rufin.* H.E., book I, 1, where the Council of Nicea is said to have been convoked by the declaration of the priests). The bishops of Second Moesia [now in Serbia and Bulgaria] in their letter to Leo the Emperor asserted that the Council of Chalcedon "came together through the order of Leo the Roman Pontiff." They gave the reason for this: "He is truly the head of the bishops." Cf. Leo the Great, *Epist.* 89-95, 114. *Hadrian II* in his letter to Basil the Emperor concerning the upcoming celebration of the Fourth Council of Constantinople said this: "We will, there, through the industry of your piety that the well-attended council be celebrated in that place to which We have sent our presiders." — *Secondly*, the Roman Pontiffs prescribed to the Fathers the subject to be treated, and the manner or norm of treating it. So the Council of Ephesus received the sentence and norm; the Second Council of Constantinople, writing to Pope *Agatho*, signifies that they did what they prescribed: "From the declaration previously made concerning these things through your sacred letter."

(Cf. Mansi, tome IV. p. 1226, 1228; tome XI, p. 683; Nat. Alexandrum, H.E., fourth century, diss. XI)

[56.11] [2] *Concerning presidency.* It is evident from the authority of the most serious authors that the Roman Pontiffs presided over the council whether by themselves or through legates. So Osius, the bishop of Córdoba, presided with Vitus and Vincentius, priests, although the patriarchs were present in the Council of Nicea. This is proven by Gelasius, *Volumen act. conc. Nicæn.* II, 5; Athanasius, *Apol. de fuga*, cap. V; Theodoretus, H.E., II, 15; Socrat. *Hist.* I: 13, and all the codices, from which it is clear that Osius signed first. In the council of Ephesus, it is evident that Celestine I presided through legates and vicars, namely Cyril of Alexandria, Arcadius and Projectus, bishops, and Philip, a priest. This is clearly shown in the acts of this council, no. 1; Vigilius in his *Constitutum* in Mansi, tome 9, page 62, and Evagrius in H.E. I, 4. The presidency of the Roman Pontiffs in the other councils is so certain that there is hardly anyone who disputes it.

[56.12] [3] *Confirmation.* The ecumenical councils were confirmed not only by the signature of the legates, but also by a proper document. This is proven first of all by fact. For the forty bishops who were summoned to Rome in the year 485 for a synod affirmed publicly concerning the 318 Nicene Fathers: "They have brought the confirmation of these things and the authority of these things to the Holy Roman See." Mansi, tome 7., p. 1140. Socrat. H.E., II, 17. There is no doubt that the same law was observed in subsequent councils. — *Secondly*, the councils which previously lacked this confirmation, e.g., the First Council of Constantinople, were finally considered ecumenical when they were confirmed by the approval of the Roman Pontiff. — *Thirdly*, By the authority of the Roman Pontiff the acts of some councils were rescinded, e.g., the second council of Ephesus, declared null by Leo the Great. Likewise the synod called by Leo and Constantine the Emperors, in the sixth book of the acts of the Third Council of Constantinople, is not said to be ratified because "it did not have as its helper the Roman Pope of that time."

OBJECTIONS

[56.13] **OBJECTION I.** The first eight councils were convoked by the emperors; but it did not even come into the mind of the Roman Pontiffs of this time to assert that they exclusively held this power for themselves. Therefore an ecumenical council is valid without the pope.

[56.14] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the antecedent. This can be said concerning a material convocation, *let it pass*; a formal convocation, *I deny*. A synod can be convoked materially by that act by which the bishops are called together in one place; formally, however by that act by which an *ecclesiastical* congregation is constituted. Such an act only the Roman Pontiff was able to give and gave. It is true that there was a material cooperation which was left to the civil power with the consent of the Church. For councils took place at the public expense lest the Churches be burdened, which were everywhere impoverished; the emperor provided public transportation since great distances had to be traversed. Heretics and schismatics, the fomenters of turmoil, had to be confined. The emperors were useful in other ways as well. (Roskovany, *De Prim. Rom. Pont.* § 69)

[56.15] **INSTANCE.** There is no doubt that the emperors presided in the more ancient councils and the decrees of the councils were confirmed by them. Therefore we assert the same thing as above.

[56.16] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the antecedent. The emperors presided and confirmed as protectors of councils, *I concede*, as heads, *I deny*. The presidency of honor which was not denied to the emperors, and confirmation, which some bishops requested of them pertain to the protection of the order and effect of the council. For this same reason, Constantine the Great openly called himself an *episcopus ad extra*. The Fathers of Chalcedon, in a synodal epistle, writing to Leo the Great, recalled the fact the emperors presided "for the sake of order." They affirm, however, that Leo himself presided as "a head over the members." Similarly the confirmation of the emperors added nothing ever to the decrees of the councils except and extrinsic strength, by which the rebels were constrained.

[56.17] INSTANCE. What is not determined by any divine law is not considered immutable. But no divine law exists which reserves the convocation, the presidency, and confirmation of an ecumenical council to the Roman Pontiff. Therefore councils are correctly celebrated without the authority of the Roman Pontiff.

[56.18] RESPONSE. *Let the major pass. I distinguish* the minor: no particular divine law exists concerning this thing, *let it pass; universal, I deny.* The right concerning which we have spoken has been given to the Roman Pontiff by that same divine law by which the primacy itself has been given. Therefore no civil government, no ecclesiastical power, can deprive the Roman Pontiff of this divine right which is his own. Only the authority of the Pontiff is the divine, essential and fixed principle which makes one thing from those who should be brought together into a group for the purpose of protecting unity.

[56.19] INSTANCE. From the acts of the first Council of Nicea. Osius signs as the *bishop of Cordoba*; Vitus, however, and Vincentius sign as *legates of the Roman Pontiff*. But Osius signed first, and then Vitus and Vincentius. Therefore the Fathers of Nicea, since they preferred that Osius preside instead of the legates, were not aware of that divine law.

[56.20] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. Osius signed in such a way including a title of legate, *I concede; excluding it, I deny. I distinguish* the minor. Osius signed first as legate of the Roman Pontiff, *I concede*; as bishop of Cordoba, *I deny*. Since Osius was a bishop, there was no need to add to his signature the title of another dignity. But Vitus and Vincentius, since they were merely priests, put down their title of legate. The same presidency of Osius, since he was a legate of the Roman Pontiff is best explained not in such a way that, having rejected this title outside of which there would be assigned no

further suitable reason why Osius, from the common order of bishops, would have been placed above the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, who were present. This is especially true since the other Latin bishops, namely from the province of Gaul, signed only in the last catalogue.

[56.21] OBJECTION II. The Roman Pontiff either is in charge of the council with a supreme power or one must admit a certain equality in this regard between the Pontiff and the other bishops. If the first is true, then the liberty of voting perishes; if the other is true, then the dignity of the Pontiff perishes.

[56.22] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the first part of the major. The Roman Pontiff is in charge of the council with his supreme power which admits other judges with it, *I concede*; which excludes them, *I deny*. And *I deny* the minor, since there is a third possibility, namely the conjunction of liberty and dignity. The reason for the free right to vote does not consist in this, that no one is in charge of those who have the right to vote. But it is sufficient if the Roman Pontiff and the bishops, as head and members, joined into one body, perform their respective function of judging.

[56.23] QUESTION. Can an ecumenical council be called when the see is vacant?

[56.24] RESPONSE. At certain times a council is celebrated without the Roman Pontiff, but was never able to be called ecumenical in the strict sense, because it is without a head. Therefore it represents the Church of Christ only imperfectly, which consists of head and members. Nevertheless the bishops of the whole world can come together in a council, if it is necessary, in order to accomplish those things by which to provide assistance to the Church in distress, provided the full authority of the Roman Pontiff is not in any way harmed.

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ARTICLE III
[57]
WHETHER AN ECUMENICAL COUNCIL IS INFALLIBLE

[57.1] I. STATUS QUESTIONIS. We understand an ecumenical council to be one which is celebrated under the authority of the Roman Pontiff. We affirm that it is infallible if it is confirmed by the Roman Pontiff, since neither the convocation by the pope nor his presidency suffice — not even both of these things at the same time. The infallibility of the councils is the same as what we said previously pertains to the Church in the act of teaching when it is dispersed throughout the world. It is, furthermore, extended to the same objects. But the authority of a confirmed synod is *per se* firm and infallible; nor is there any reason to expect the consent and acceptance of the Church.

[57.2] II. WHETHER AN ECUMENICAL COUNCIL, NOT YET CONFIRMED BY THE ROMAN PONTIFF, BUT CONFIRMED ONLY BY HIS LEGATES, SHOULD BE CONSIDERED INFALLIBLE. That strength which the Savior gave to Blessed Peter and to his successors for confirming his brethren cannot be transferred to the legates. But the legates either received instruction from the Roman Pontiff, or, if not instructed, went to the council. If the first is true, then the legates, because they have not received with their instruction the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff, were therefore able to act against the instructions. In the other case, they were able for a greater reason to conflict with the doctrine of the Roman Pontiff. Therefore the decrees of the council do not seem to be valid absolutely regarding the law of infallible authority unless they have been confirmed by him who cannot defect from true faith in teaching the Church. Cf. Cajetan, *De Auctoritate Papae et Concilii*, chapter 15; Canus, *De locis theologicis*, book V, no. 5. Nevertheless, if it should be certain that the legates acted in virtue of

their delegated power, and according to instruction received concerning these things in particular, to be defined by the Roman Pontiff, the infallible authority of these decrees cannot be called into question. Suarez says: "That council, with regard to such a definition, has the confirmation of the Roman Pontiff in an anticipated manner." *De fide*, diss. V. sect. VII. no. 10.

[57.3] III. THE FATHERS OF THE COUNCIL ARE TRUE JUDGES. The Fathers of the council are still, in fact, judges, and not merely counselors, although the Roman Pontiff, in discerning a matter of faith, cannot err even if he uses no counsel. For [1] as Canus says, "Not only the Roman Pontiff, but also the rest of the bishops have the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. Therefore they have the power in a case of binding the faith, and of loosing. They say, *It has seemed good to the Holy Ghost to place no greater onus upon you which are necessary, etc.*' Therefore all the bishops impose the onus and the precept, and all are authors of the synodal declaration at the same time." *L.c.* [2] Bishops in council subscribe to the judgement and declaration in these words: *Definiens subscripsi*. In this same way St. James spoke in the council of Jerusalem: *Ego krino* — "I judge." Acts. XV: 19. [3] The Pontiff declaring and defining the faith uses these words: "*Sedentibus nobiscum et judicantibus universi Orbis episcopis*;" "*Sacro approbante concilio*." (Vatican Council, sess. III & IV; *Coll. Lacen.* VII, 94) Therefore it must be held that the bishops, joined to the Roman Pontiff, are the judges of the decrees of the council.

[57.4] IV. ON THE RELATION OF THE BISHOPS, JUDGING IN COUNCIL, TO THE ROMAN PONTIFF. The Roman Pontiff is involved in the

council as its head, and as the supreme judge, and the bishops as subordinate judges. Hence the following things must be noted: [1] The bishops and the Roman Pontiff make a declaration in council as one moral body; [2] the bishops, although they depend on the head, nevertheless protect him and help him. For this reason, it happens that the decrees are promulgated by the common authority of the bishops and the Roman Pontiff. [3] Even if the Roman Pontiff should make a declaration first, and the bishops should join their judgement with the Roman Pontiff, the bishops are still true judges. Their submission will be a judgement, and their judgement a submission. Certainly the essence of judgement does not consist in a faculty to dissent from a known truth, but judgement, according to St. Thomas, signifies "the right determination of just things." IIa IIæ q. 60, art. 1, ad 1. But bishops are considered most rightly to determine beyond doubt just and true things if, by means of the pontifical approval, they know that these things are just. And so the submission which the bishops give to their head, does not in any way impede that they exercise truly, as Fathers, a judgement. Indeed the head and the members would be acting as one body in promulgating the decrees. [4] No greater part of the voices is able to bind the Apostolic See. The Roman Pontiff, furthermore, is not bound to follow the sentence of the majority, "but whether a few, Canus says, or the majority should fall into error it is the job of the Apostolic Bishop to call them back to the true faith." [5] "The Roman Pontiff will not oppose if the majority of the Fathers are thinking correctly, for it pertains to the special administration of Christ, and it has always pertained to it, that the Church not be divided into two factions. For never has a Roman Bishop, if one should seek an example, said anything against the Fathers of the Council who are thinking the truth" *De loc. theol.* lib. V. 5. [6] Although it does not pertain to law, nevertheless it pertains to wise government that only those things be declared which have been approved by the majority of the Fathers, in fact by a very great majority, and by a practically unanimous consent.

[57.5] V. WHAT THINGS PRONOUNCED BY AN ECUMENICAL COUNSEL MUST BE HELD BY FAITH. [1] By faith those things must be held which the Fathers have decided by a judgement of faith. But judgments concerning faith, or definitions of faith, must be considered to be those, (1) if they are judged to be heretics who assert the contrary; (2) when the council prescribes the decrees with this formula: *Si quis hoc aut illud senserit, anathema sit*; (3) if anything is explicitly and properly said to be believed firmly by the faithful, but to be accepted by a certain and firm decree, as a dogma of Catholic Faith, or with similar words, that something is contrary to the gospel or the doctrine of the Apostles. *Canus*, lib. V, no. 5. (4) If against those who should contradict the council, an excommunication is hurled *ipso facto*. This fourth note should be understood in such a way that the doctrine so condemned must be held simply as *false*. Whether it is also heretical does not seem to be always evident, since it could happen that someone could be excommunicated *ipso facto* who presumes to teach propositions which are branded not with the note of heresy, but with some other censure.

[57.6] [2] A point of defined doctrine is expressed, especially in the conclusion, e.g., in the canons. But also, that doctrine which is proposed in any other way, e.g. in the chapters, must be considered defined, and as a matter of faith, whenever it is certain that the council authentically, and by irreformable judgement, wanted to define. So the Council of Trent, in session VI, in the *decree*, throughout the sixteen chapters, exposes the true and sound doctrine of justification. When it is finished, it goes on to the rest saying: *After this Catholic doctrine on justification, which whoso receiveth not faithfully and firmly cannot be justified, it hath seemed good to the holy Synod to subjoin these canons, that all may know not only what they ought to hold and follow, but also what to avoid and shun.* Therefore, in the chapters, the Council has definitively taught the doctrine to be held and followed, as Catholic, and if someone should fail to receive this doctrine faithfully and firmly, he cannot be justified.

[57.7] [3] Since nothing is considered to be defined beyond the intention of the defining person,

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(1) those things are not considered to be defined which are put forth in the *congregations*, or even in the *sessions* outside of the chapters and canons. For the Fathers do not wish to define in these things. (2) The arguments which in the very chapters and canons are said for the purpose of declaring or proving the doctrine, whether they are taken from Sacred Scripture and Tradition, or from any other source, likewise those things which are said in passing outside of the doctrine to be defined (e.g., answers to an objection and similar things) are not to be believed as judgements of Catholic Faith and as obligatory *as such*. If, however, the Council, putting forth in the decrees or the canons arguments from Sacred Scripture or Tradition, declares that this or that text of Sacred Scripture must be understood in such a sense, or that something is the true Tradition of the Church, a declaration of this type certainly pertains to faith. So the Council of Trent, in Sess. XIII, chapter 1, authentically interpreted the words by which the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist was instituted in the Last Supper. (3) Those things which are proposed as *obiter dicta*, or in any other way which is not definitive, can nevertheless have great and solid authority. Finally, in all things, it must be considered what is the weight and property of the words.

[57.8] VI. THE ADVERSARIES. The Protestants, because there can be no better judge to solve the questions of faith than Scripture alone, despise the authority of the ecumenical councils, and object their private spirit to the councils of the Fathers. The Jansenists, having embraced the democratic doctrines of the Richerians, deny that the general councils are firm without the consent of the universal church. The Ritualists in England, despite whatever they think concerning infallibility, attribute no indubitable authority to the councils, that are not accepted by the common consent of the Roman, Greek, Russian, and Anglican churches. Catholics must hold, however, as a truth of faith the following thesis:

[57.9] Thesis: THE ECUMENICAL COUNCILS ARE INFALLIBLE.

ARGUMENTS

[57.10] ARGUMENT I. An ecumenical council, confirmed by the authority of the Roman Pontiff, represents the supreme power of the teaching Church. But the teaching Church is infallible. Therefore the ecumenical council is infallible. The *major* is evident from the very concept of the ecumenical council. For this reason, Martin V, in the Council of Constance, ordered that those who were suspect in faith to be interrogated: "whether they believe that the general Council represents the universal Church." The *minor* has already been proved above. Therefore the Fathers of the council claim for themselves by perfect right: *Visum est Spiritui Sancto et nobis*. (Acts XV: 28)

[57.11] ARGUMENT II. The Church cannot err in Faith. But if an ecumenical council were to err, the whole Church would be led into error. Three things prove this: (a) The sheep must listen to the voice of their pastors. But the pastors cannot speak in a more solemn manner than with the voice of a council. (b) Once the judgement of that supreme tribunal is handed down, there seems to be no other way left in order that the controversies of the faith, doubts, and errors should be brought to an end. (c) If one should reject the infallible authority of the ecumenical councils, all heresies, however many there were, would return without any inhibition.

[57.12] ARGUMENT III. *From tradition*. [A] The constant doctrine of the whole Church is that the ecumenical councils cannot err in faith. Ergo. *Proof of the antecedent*. The Fathers teach that *the decrees of councils of this type are divine, and are put forth by the Holy Ghost*. So St. Athanasius says: "The word of the Lord remains forever through the ecumenical Nicene Council." *Ad Afric.* no. 2. Concerning the Fathers of Ephesus, St. Cyril said that they are "inspired by the Holy Ghost, lest they defect from the truth." St. Leo the Great calls the definitions of the Council of Nicea "inspired by the Holy Ghost." Cf. St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazienzen, etc. That these things must be understood strictly is

evident from *Socrates* correcting the Macedonian Sabine because he had despised the Fathers of Nicea as "unlearned." In this manner, "He does not think that those, who had come together in the Council, although they were simple and uneducated, but illumined by the grace of the Holy Ghost, *in no way were able* to stray from the truth." H.E. book I. 31. Likewise Constantine the Great calls the decrees of Nicea "a divine mandate." Eusebius, *Vita Constant.* III. 20.

[57.13] [B] *The judgements of the ecumenical councils have always been considered to be irreversible.* This is proved by the testimony of St. Ambrose, saying: "I will follow the tract of the Nicene Council, from which neither death nor the sword will be able to separate me. I profess that I receive and venerate the four councils [that is, Nicea, Constantinople I, Ephesus and Chalcedon] in the same way that I do the four books of the Holy Gospel." After he added the reason for such an absolute adherence, he testifies to the immutability of the councils by saying: "Because they are constituted by universal consent, whoever should presume to loose what they have bound or bind what they loose, destroys himself and not those councils." *Ep.* book I. 25; book III. 10. The Council of Chalcedon is called by Leo the Great "an irreversible and non-retractable consent." *Ep.* 78 ad Leon. Aug. Cf. S. Aug. *de baptismo* against the Donatist, book I. 7.

[57.14] [C] *Those who did not follow the sentence of the ecumenical councils were numbered among the heretics and those to be excommunicated.* In fact, the ecumenical councils always ordered, under the pain of anathema, that all the faithful, whether clerics or lay people, should obey their definitions. For this reason, St. Leo the Great affirms: "They should not be counted among Catholics who have not followed the rules of the definition of the venerable Council of Nicea, or of the holy Council of Chalcedon." The testimonies of the Fathers pertain to the same thing, who either refer or accomodate the declaration of Our Lord to the authority of the ecumenical councils: "*For where there are two or three gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.*" Matthew XVIII: 20. (See book for references)

OBJECTIONS

[57.15] OBJECTION I. Christ gave the privilege of inerrancy to the universal Church and not to a limited number of bishops. But it pertains to the ecumenical council that there be only a limited number of bishops, and not the totality of the faithful. Therefore none of the decrees of the council are certain unless they are accepted by the universal consent of the Church.

[57.16] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. Christ did not give inerrancy to a limited number of bishops outside of the council, *let it pass*; in the council, *I subdistinguish*: without the confirmation of the Roman Pontiff, *I concede*; with it, *I deny*. The objection flows from a false opinion concerning a democratic constitution of the Church. But an ecumenical council, confirmed with the authority of the Roman Pontiff represents the Church as the supreme power represents the whole kingdom. Therefore there is no need of the confirmation either of the lay people or of the inferior clergy, but only that of the Roman Pontiff, in order that the authority of the council be firm and certain.

[57.17] INSTANCE. In order that the decrees of the council be of infallible authority, it must be certain that neither study, nor liberty, nor anything else which is necessary, were absent, which things are required for a right and true judgement. But certitude can never be clearly had concerning these things.

[57.18] RESPONSE. *Let the major pass. I distinguish* the minor. Concerning these things there is no clear certitude by means of the private judgement of each of the faithful, *let it pass*; through the confirmation of the Roman Pontiff, *I deny*. The confirmation of the Roman Pontiff has the effect that the council defines absolutely. But the faithful must obey the supreme power when it is defining absolutely in such a way, unless you would say absurdly that the function of the guarding the pastors has been confided to the faithful.

[57.19] INSTANCE. The theologians teach that pastors must use counsel before they pronounce a sentence. Therefore if their labor is uncertain, then their definition is uncertain.

[57.20] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent: that labor pertains to the office of the definer, *I concede*; to the certitude of the definition, *I deny*. And *I deny* the conclusion. Christ promised to the teaching Church, which the council represents, and to the learning Church, which listens to the teacher, and must not judge, the privilege of inerrancy absolutely. For this reason it must be said either that no neglect on the part of the definers would detract from the definition, or that the sufficiency of the diligence is proved *ipso facto* by a confirmed definition. And indeed, as St. Thomas says in the Ia, q. 83, art. 1 ad 3um⁶⁹ "The divine will is most efficacious, with the result that not only are those things done which God wants to be done, but also that they are done in the way in which God wants them done." Cf. St. Augustine, *De corrept. et gratia*, XIV, 45.

[57.21] INSTANCE. There is a danger that the council might define something which is not the object of infallibility. Therefore on this account the authority of the councils seems to be doubtful.

[57.22] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. That must be feared if the assistance of the Holy Ghost is denied, *I concede*; but if it is admitted, *I deny*. He who provides the end, provides those things which lead to the end. But the end of infallibility cannot be attained if it were impossible that the infallible authority could err concerning its own object of infallibility. Therefore there is no need that the faithful inquire what is definable, but rather what has been defined. For Christ, when He promised the Spirit of Truth to the Apostles and their successors, by this very fact promised that there would be nothing lacking to them which was necessary for a right and true judgement. Cf. Cano, *De loc. theol.* lib. V, no. 5.

[57.23] OBJECTION II. The doctrine of the holy Fathers must be followed in faith. But the Fathers give no firm and infallible authority to the ecumenical councils. St. Augustine said: "The Councils themselves, which are held in the several districts and provinces, must yield, beyond all

possibility of doubt, to the authority of plenary Councils which are formed for the whole Christian world; and that even of the plenary Councils, the earlier are often corrected by those which follow them, when, by some actual experiment, things are brought to light which were before concealed, and that is known which previously lay hid..." (*De baptismo contra Donatistas*, lib. II, 3)

[57.24] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. The common doctrine of the Fathers must be followed in faith, *I concede*; one or the other text of a particular Father against the common doctrine, *I deny*. And having denied the minor, *I distinguish* the proof. By these words Saint Augustine is referring to the ecumenical councils in the strict sense, *I deny*; general councils in the broad sense, *I concede*.

[57.25] [1] At the time of the holy Doctor, only two ecumenical councils in the strict sense had been celebrated, namely Nicea and Constantinople I. But the first council was not in any way changed in the second. Therefore those plenary councils, often corrected, are not ecumenical councils confirmed by Rome, but those which the Fathers referred to in the broad sense as "plenary" and "from the whole world," that is, congregated from a great part of the Christian world. [2] If we concede this to our adversaries, which in fact they do not prove, that ecumenical councils in the text which they have provided are designated in the strict sense, from it it does not follow that Saint Augustine does not think that the faith ought to be corrected or changed. For the Saint says: "When by some experience of things it is opened." Therefore he is speaking about facts. So, going from a matter of doctrine to a matter of facts, he develops the principal concept of emendation in order to confound the Donatists, the council of Cyprian, which placed the earlier councils ahead of the later councils. [3] Nor does it seem improper if we take emendation in a more general sense which consists not in changing the doctrine itself, but in a greater distinction, explanation, and exposition of the same truth. Besides, St. Augustine in the *De Baptismo*, I, 7 shows the authority and strength of a plenary council.

[57.26] INSTANCE. St. Augustine, in a dispute against Maximus the Arian said: "Neither should I

⁶⁹ The reference seems to be incorrect.

put forth the Nicene Council as a pre-judgement, nor you the Council of Rimini." (*Contra Maxim.* lib. II, no. 14) Therefore the holy Doctor did not think that the sentence of the council was definitive.

[57.27] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. St. Augustine here abstracts from the authority of the ecumenical council, *I concede*; he calls it into doubt, *I deny*. The holy Doctor, since he was not able to constrain his Arian adversary who held the definition of Nicea in contempt, to the authority of this council, he prescinds from the authority both of the Council of Nicea and of Rimini, adduced by Maximus for the purpose of discussion. For it is necessary to have a common argumentation. For this reason the saint says: "By the authority of the Scriptures...common to both witnesses, let matter strive against matter, cause against cause, reason against reason." He affirms with words immediately preceding these, that the *homoeousion* of Nicea "is confirmed by the authority of truth and by *the truth of authority*."

[57.28] INSTANCE. St. Gregory Nazienzen in Epistle 55 (130) to Procopius says: "I, if it is necessary to write the truth, am of a mind so as to flee from every congress of bishops, for I have seen neither a happy nor favorable outcome from any council, nor what favors the dispelling of evils, but instead their arrival and their increase." But these words are not of a man who professes the authority of councils.

[57.29] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. Gregory teaches the *fallibility* of *ecumenical* councils, *I deny*; the unfortunate outcome of particular councils: *simpliciter*, *I deny*; in the restricted sense, *I concede*. Gregory extols the bishops of Nicea with the greatest praises "whom the Holy

Ghost had brought together into one." He also said that the Council of Nicea "crushed, inasmuch as it was in its power, the disease [of Arianism] (*Orat. III pro Athanasio*). But by the activity of the Arians and the Macedonians, and by some others moved by the desire to dominate, it happened that many councils held at that time were unhappily accepted by Catholics, e.g., Seleucia, Tyre, and Rimini. Gregory was referring to particular synods, or to those which were not perfectly ecumenical, of his time. But if he is seen to be criticizing something in the First Council of Constantinople, it does not pertain to the profession of faith, which is commended in the very same place, but to the dispute concerning the see of Constantinople, which was discussed in that council, and which urged the holy Doctor to abdicate his episcopacy.

[57.30] QUESTION. Are the decrees of a council like Sacred Scripture, because of the fact that the synod is ruled by the Holy Ghost?

[57.31] RESPONSE. Since Sacred Scripture is said to be that which is written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and the definition of councils are made by the assistance of the Holy Ghost, the decrees of the councils are not Sacred Scripture.

ARTICLE IV

[58]

WHETHER AN ECUMENICAL COUNCIL IS ABOVE THE POPE

[58.1] I. STATUS QUÆSTIONIS. That a superior authority is claimed by a universal council above the pope can be done in two ways: either that the power of the universal bishops, excluding the Roman Pontiff, is said to be greater than the power of the Roman Pontiff alone, or that the power of the Pontiff alone is said to be inferior to the power of the universal bishops and the pontiff together. The prior case is the principal matter of this dispute.

[58.2] The power of bishops over the Roman Pontiff, apart from the pope, is constructed either in a case of a dubious pope, or other cases where the pope would be stripped of his power quasi *per se*, which some doctors think to be the case in the manifest heresy of the pope as a *private* man, or in the case of a certain and legitimate pontiff. But those who assert the superiority of the council contend that the body of bishops without the pope is above the pope, even if he be certain and legitimate. This error must now be refuted.

[58.3] II. IN WHAT SENSE THE GENERAL COUNCIL IS THE SUPREME POWER OF THE CHURCH. For the supreme power of the Church, there is required the fullness of power over the universal Church. This power cannot be found in single bishops, both because the Roman Pontiff exceeds episcopal jurisdiction by his own power, and because episcopal power is not extended beyond the government of a special Church *per se*. Nor is it very difficult to demonstrate the limited authority of councils, if you look at the body of bishops apart from the Roman Pontiff, for the body of bishops, if the head should be cut off, is a trunk. Therefore, just as a head pertains essentially to the body, and to all of the parts of the body, which it animates, so the authority of the Pontiff pertains to the ecumenical council, endowed with supreme power, not as a condition *sine qua non*, but as an essential, principal, and vital element, by which the fullness of power

over the whole Church is diffused throughout all the members. For this reason, St. Thomas said: "The holy Fathers gathered in councils are not able to establish anything, unless the authority of the Roman Pontiff should intervene, without which the council cannot even be congregated." *Contra impugnantes*, chap. 4.

[58.4] III. THE ADVERSARIES AND THE VATICAN DECREE. In the year 1380 Conrad of Gelnhusen wrote the *Epistola Concordia* in which the principal errors, by which Marsilius of Padua and William of Occam had tried to transfer the democratic system into the Church, were finally taken up in such a way that the authority of the council over the pope having been constituted, the peace of the Church, after a lamentable conflict concerning the legitimate pontiff, would flourish once again. Conrad seems to have been a precursor of many straying from the truth, especially of John Gerson, who, in a sermon which he gave before the Fathers at the Council of Constance, concerning the removability of the pope from the Church, persuaded many to embrace the error of the supreme power of the councils even over the Roman Pontiff. In the council of Basel, this position gained for itself not a few promoters among whom is the author of the work, in 1443, which from that point on and from the time of Flacius of Illyria (1550) is entitled *Confutatio primatus papæ*. John of Torquemada above all, however, a most upright man, refuted this doctrine in a most learned way. In the following centuries the error infected some of the universities. The Gallicans, in proposition 2 and 3 of their *declaration*, sanctioned the doctrine of Gerson. But the error was extinguished by the Fathers at the Vatican Council: "Furthermore we teach and declare that the Roman Church, by the disposition of the Lord, holds the sovereignty of ordinary power over all others, and that this power of jurisdiction on the

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part of the Roman Pontiff, which is truly episcopal, is immediate; and with respect to this the pastors and the faithful of whatever rite and dignity, both as separate individuals and all together, are bound by the duty of hierarchical subordination and true obedience..." The Fathers add: "They stray from the straight path of truth who affirm that it is permitted to appeal from the judgements of the Roman Pontiffs to an ecumenical Council as an authority higher than the Roman Pontiff." Finally they add this canon: "If anyone says... that he [the Roman Pontiff] possesses only the more important parts, but not the whole plenitude of this supreme power; or that this power is not ordinary and immediate, or over the churches together and individually, *and over the pastors and the faithful altogether and individually*: let him be anathema." Session IV, chapter 3.

[58.5] *Thesis: AN ECUMENICAL COUNCIL IS NOT ABOVE THE POPE.*

Arguments

[58.6] ARGUMENT I. The Roman Pontiff has the complete plenitude of supreme power. But a general council, apart from the Roman Pontiff, does not have this plenitude. Therefore a council is not an authority superior to the authority of the pope. The *major* will be demonstrated in q. XVI, art. 2. *Proof of the minor.* (a) Nowhere do we read in Sacred Scripture that authority was given apart from St. Peter. (b) The plenitude of power is not in an headless body; but the council without a pope is an headless body, because, once the head is removed, the organization of the Church is corrupted.

[58.7] ARGUMENT II. The power of the Roman Pontiff is extended to the government of the whole Church. But the power of the bishops apart from the pope is not equal to this government. Therefore a general council is not above the pope. The *major* is not able to be denied by the adversaries, inasmuch as they regard the pope as the head of the Church; add to this the fact that St. Peter has been constituted as the foundation and confirmer and pastor of the Church of the brethren, of the sheep,

and of the lambs, and all of these things indistinctly. *Proof of the minor.* The power of the bishops is not extended to the universal government, unless it is ordered toward one thing. But the bishops by themselves are not ordered toward one thing, but through the Roman Pontiff. For the Church is constituted in such a way that the pope is the efficient principle of unity. Bishops who are separated from this principle cannot be united toward one thing. For this reason, St. Thomas said, "Above the ruling power which communicates a special good, it is necessary that there be a universal ruling power with respect to the common good. Otherwise there cannot be a binding together toward one thing. And therefore, since the whole Church is one body, it is necessary, if this unity must be preserved, there must be some ruling power with respect to the whole Church, above the episcopal power, by which each special Church is ruled, and this is the power of the pope." *In Sent.* IV. dist. 24. q. III, art. 2.

[58.8] ARGUMENT III. *From tradition.* Among the ancients, it is agreed that the total power of the general councils consists in the approbation of the Roman Pontiff, nor was there ever a case in which councils of this type were firm, except by his authority. Therefore something cannot be above the pope which cannot be without him. The Roman Pontiffs gave the rule of defining to the general councils, and rescinded the acts of some of them. But they would not have been able to do this with regard to a superior thing. So Liberius declared null the Council of Rimini. Leo the Great rejected canon 28 of Chalcedon, which canon, when it was deprived of the assent of the Pontiff, 600 Fathers considered to be entirely powerless. Likewise the same Pontiff nullified the second council of Ephesus. Celestine I ordered the Fathers of Ephesus to make a declaration against Nestorius. Furthermore the ancient law is *prima sedes a nemine judicabitur*. (*The first see will be judged by no one*). (Nicholas the Great in his letter to Michael the Emperor) This is the statement of Ennodius in his apologetical booklet for the Synod of Palmar (501) "God perhaps wished to settle the causes of other

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men through men; but He has reserved to His own judgement without question the ruler of this See." Cf. Synod. Roman. anno 501 in *ep. S. Symmachi* 5; Avitus Vienn. *ep. 31, etc.* In fact even Gerson relates that before the council of Constance, the superiority of the council above the pope was so unknown that whoever taught it was branded or condemned with the depravity of heresy." *De pot. eccl. XII.*

[58.9] QUESTION I. *Whether a general council apart from the pope could ever do anything concerning the person of the pope.*

[58.10] RESPONSE. Lest the words be said in vain, we must first distinguish between the elective power and the power of jurisdiction. It pertains to the elective power to designate through election a person for the pontifical dignity, if the see of Peter should be vacant, in such a way, however, that it is immediately conferred by God upon the elected person. From this it is drawn that in the elective power there is contained no eminence of power of those who elect over the pope who is elected. By jurisdiction, however, we have shown that there is a certain pre-eminence of power in them who have the power over those over whom it is exercised. But the fact that councils, apart from the pope, are thought to have a superior jurisdiction over a certain and legitimate pope, has been refuted in the thesis. I will add a few things about the power of electing, by which a council is able to elect a supreme pontiff.

[58.11] [1] When the see is *vacant*, if there should be no cardinals surviving, or if a great schism is imminent, those cardinals who are surviving should elect a pope, it seems to pertain to a council that they determine what things are necessary for the purpose of electing a new pope.

[58.12] [2] In the case of a *dubious pope*, that is, in whatever cases in which it is not possible for the Church, in an indubitable manner, to figure out who is its legitimate head, dubious pontiffs "are bound to obey a council and are subject to it, by which the Church is able to judge concerning the doubtful pontiff, and to take away a schism, which results from it." (John of St. Thomas, *Cursus theologicus*, tract. de auct. Summi Pontificis, diss. II. art. 3) This power is exercised by the council not

because it is superior to a true pontiff, but since in circumstances of this type it is necessary to elect a true pontiff, (cf. what is said toward the end of this article)

[58.13] [3] In the case of a Pontiff who is *publicly, juridically, notoriously, and contumaciously heretical*, if it could ever happen that a Roman Pontiff — and we are speaking of him as a *private* person — could be a pertinacious heretic, that heretical pope would have to be deposed by a council of bishops. But that deposition would not be an act of jurisdiction which is greater than the pontifical power, but a *declaratory sentence* by which the fact of heresy is ascertained juridically. For where this should be ascertained, the pope is considered to have defected from his dignity by divine law. Therefore I would place this deposition in the elective power. For the Fathers in this hypothetical case declare that the body of the Church is separating itself from the heretical man. In such a case, they who have the power to elect the pope may proceed safely to an election, the see now being vacant.

[58.14] This seems to be the position of Cajetan in his work *On the Authority of the Pope and the Council*, chapters 21-23, and of Canus *de locis Theol.* book VI, 8, and of others against those who hold that pope, who has fallen into heresy, is deposed *by that very fact*. — Nor are there lacking outstanding men, such as Bellarmine and Suarez who think that that case, in which the Pope, as a private person, could pertinaciously fall into heresy is improbable, and consider the fact that he could never fall into heresy the more probable position. Nevertheless, beware of believing that, as a consequence, the Pope, even as a private doctor, is infallible. For to make a mistake is not the same thing as to be a pertinacious heretic.

[58.15] [4] In the case of any scandal, if God, among so many Pontiffs who were outstanding in virtue, should permit someone to fall from office, it will always remain firm and ratified that *the first see is judged by no one*. For there is no power superior to that of the Pontiff. For this reason, one must have recourse to God. (See other references in book).

OBJECTIONS

[58.16] **OBJECTION I.** An ecumenical council represents the universal Church. But the power of the universal church is supreme above all. Therefore ecumenical councils can judge the Roman Pontiff.

[58.17] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the major. An ecumenical council represents the Church by that authority which is derived from the faithful, *I deny*; which is immediately divine, *I subdistinguish*: a council joined with the pope, *I concede*; separated from him, *I deny*. *I distinguish* the minor: the power of the universal church is supreme, and that power rests in the head, *I concede*; in the members apart from the head, *I deny*. It is an error to say that the ecclesiastical power is derived from the community of the faithful into the pastors. Pius VI condemned the following proposition in *Auctorem Fidei*: "The proposition which states 'that power has been given by God to the Church, that it might be communicated to the pastors who are its ministers for the salvation of souls'; if thus understood that the power of ecclesiastical ministry and of rule is derived from the community of the faithful to the pastors, — heretical. (Denz. 1502) Just as princes represent the kingdom, so pastors represent the Church. But the universal and supreme government cannot reside with the bishops if they are separated from the Supreme Pontiff. But by the authority of the Roman Pontiff, which rules universally, and is a type of *first mover*, the bishops are elevated from their proximate end of their special church to the ultimate and universal government. Cf. St. Thomas, Ia IIæ, q. 109, art 6.

[58.18] **INSTANCE.** Every whole is greater than its part. But the Fathers, coming together in council, represent the whole, whereas the pope alone is only a part. Therefore the council is above the pope.

[58.19] **RESPONSE.** *I concede* the first part of the minor under the distinction which was posited above. The other part *I distinguish*: the pope alone is a part, as a private person, *I concede*; in power, *I deny*. The supreme power in the Church does not arise from the pope and the bishops as a whole from its parts, but by full divine right it is in the Roman Pontiff. For this reason it is not repugnant to assert

that there are many powers in the whole Church, but it cannot be admitted in any way that more power is found than in the Roman Pontiff.

[58.20] **INSTANCE.** St. Jerome said in Epistle 146: "If authority is sought, the world is greater than the city." But the world is the totality of bishops.

[58.21] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the antecedent: the world is greater than the city by the authority of custom, *I concede*; by power, *I deny*. St. Jerome, after he said this sentence, immediately proposes this objection to himself: "But you will say, how comes it then that at Rome a priest is only ordained on the recommendation of a deacon? To which I reply as follows. Why do you bring forward a custom which exists in one city only?"

[58.23] **OBJECTION II.** Apart from the pope, there is in the Church the papacy, which complements and regulates the use of it. From this it follows that at least the general council is a power greater than the power of the supreme pontiff. *Proof of the antecedent.* Christ gave an indefectible rule to His Church, lest it deviate from the true faith by occurring defects. But the supreme rule is not the pope, who is subject to sins and error. Therefore a general council is necessary in order to regulate the defects of the pope and of the papacy itself.

[58.24] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the antecedent: there is in the Church, apart from the pope, the papacy, i.e., the power of electing the pontiff when the see is vacant, *I concede*; the power of judging the elected pontiff, *I deny*. For the proof of the antecedent, *I distinguish* the minor: The pope is able to sin, *I concede*; err, *I subdistinguish*: by a private error, *I concede*; by a judicial error *ex cathedra*, *I deny*. The assertion that the papacy itself supplies and regulates is completely gratuitous. One papacy appears in the Sacred Scriptures, in the Fathers, and in history, which is proper to the Roman Pontiff.

[58.25] **INSTANCE.** If a council is not above a pope, then the safety of the entire Church turns on the authority of one man. But the common safety is placed more securely in the power of many.

[58.26] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the major. The safety of the Church is placed in the authority of one pontiff as in a single power, *I deny*; as in a

supreme power, *I subdistinguish*: aided by the Holy Ghost, *I concede*; merely human, *I deny*. And I distinguish the minor: the common safety is more secure in the power of many, humanly speaking, let it pass; with the assistance of God, I deny. For this reason, Cajetan said: "Only divine assistance is the cause of indefectible direction and judgement in the Church." *De auctoritate papæ et concilii*, XIV.

[58.27] OBJECTION III. The Council of Constance in sessions IV and V declared that a general council is above the pope. But Martin V in session XLV, which was the final session, approved the decrees of the council. For the Pontiff declares, "that he wanted to hold, and inviolably observe each and everything determined, concluded, and decreed in matter of faith through the present sacred Council of Constance in a conciliar way, and never to contravene in any way, and that he approves and ratifies these same acts which have been done in conciliar fashion, and not otherwise and not in another way."

[58.28] RESPONSE. Given, what many deny, that the cited decrees of Constance regard also the case of a pope that is not doubtful, nevertheless we cannot reconcile the authority of these same decrees with historical truth; indeed many things are contrary to it.

[58.29] (a) From that which Martin V, in the last session on the 22nd of April of 1418, conceded, by approving the synodal decrees, it seems that nothing can be gathered either for or against. Those who were present at the 45th session had controversies in a very vehement manner and not without a certain uprising on the part of some, concerning the condemnation of a book which John Falkenburg had entitled *A Satire Against Heresies*, and already condemned in the council of diverse nations, but only in a national way, but not in a conciliar way. Then Martin V, having imposed silence on everyone, by his declaration, which we heard above, declared an end to the thing. This declaration indeed, although it is pronounced under a general formula — each and every thing determined — we think pertains much more to those things concerning which the Fathers had

discussion in the last session than to the 4th and 5th sessions. For this reason, this clause, *in materia fidei*, I would not insist upon greatly, as if the pope by these words was thinking about explicitly the decrees of those sessions to be excluded from his approbation. Nor is it sufficiently apparent that the Pontiff meant a seduction of this type, since in the Bull *Inter cunctas* he ordered that anyone that was suspected of heresy should be interrogated "whether he believes that which the sacred Council of Constance, representing the universal Church, has approved of and approves in favor of the faith and the salvation of souls, that this must be approved and held by all the faithful of Christ." [Denz. 658] Likewise we say that those reasons which are taken from both formulas for the purpose of showing the exclusion of the aforesaid decrees do not have a sufficiently positive force.

[58.30] (b) From the other part of the cited formulas, which do not embrace an absolute sanction for each and every one, nothing can be extracted for the purpose of establishing the error of the superiority of the council. In fact, many of the decrees which favored this error demonstrate defect and inanity. First of all, the Pontiff himself, through the Bull of March 10th, that is, a few weeks before the session of April 22nd, had made clear what his position was concerning the authority of the pope and the council by these words: "It is permitted to no one to appeal from the supreme judge, namely the Apostolic See or the Roman Pontiff, the Vicar of Jesus Christ upon earth." Furthermore, Torquemada affirms as certain that in sessions 4 and 5 the decrees concerning the power of the council had not been done in a conciliar fashion, because, in the determination of these things, only the obedience to John XXIII ^{had intervened}, and not even the entire obedience. However, Cardinal d'Ailly, the promoter of the superiority of the council, said that he did not know whether those decrees had been in a conciliar fashion or not. Nor does the council designate those decrees as matter of faith, but places them under the synodal constitutions, and many times distinguishes them by this category through explicit words. Finally John of Torquemada, St. Antoninus, and other men who are outstanding in piety and erudition, reject the famous decrees, which they would not have

done, no doubt, if these decrees had been approved by the Roman Pontiff. Finally Eugene IV, lest anyone be ignorant of the true mind of the Apostolic See, affirmed on July 22, 1446 that he received the general councils of Constance and of Basle, "without, however, any prejudice to the right, dignity, and preeminence of the Apostolic See." This same Pontiff, when the Fathers of Basle asserted that the system of the power of the council above the pope was *de fide catholica*, condemned this assertion in the Constitution *Moyes*, given in Florence in 1439, with the approval of the sacred council.

[58.31] **INSTANCE.** Eugene IV approved by his authority of the Council of Basle in which the decrees of the Fathers of Constance were restored. Therefore these decrees cannot be attacked.

[58.32] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the antecedent. Eugene IV approved the progress of the Council of Basle, *I concede*; its decrees, *I deny*. Cf. the Bull *Dudum sacrum* of August 1, 1433, and another *Dudum sacrum* of December 14, 1433. Besides, this same Pontiff reprovved the doctrine of the superiority of the council above the pope in the year 1439 by his Constitution *Moyes*.

[58.33] **QUESTION I.** Do the decrees of sessions 4 and 5 of the Council of Constance regard only the case of a dubious pope?

[58.34] **RESPONSE.** The solution of the objection proposed does not depend on this question. But the adversaries are yet more confounded by it, because the famous decrees did not regard even the case of a *certain* pontiff. That the Fathers had not extended their decrees to this case is proved in the following way. [1] The Fathers asserted not only once that these decrees were done "for the extirpation of the schism." The very words, "*et cujuscumque alterius concilii generalis*" cannot be drawn out of context, i.e., outside of the case which was previously posited, since it continues: "*super premissis seu ad ea spectantibus factis vel faciendis*." It is obvious that they feared that the schism would be terminated by this synod, when they had seen the worst result of the Pisan synod; they wanted to avoid this by protecting the authority of any general council, but for the extirpation of a schism, that is,

for the case of a dubious pope. Likewise, when the pope, in a letter written by the cardinals and offered to the Fathers, is called the head of the general council, the synod responded, "Let this be conceded; however, not for the purpose of favoring schism." [2] John of Torquemada relates: "The decree of those Fathers does not speak universally of any synod at all, but only of that synod, for a time in which the Church did not have an undoubted pastor of the Church." (*Summa de Ecclesia*, lib. II, no. 99) Aeneas Sylvius says the same thing. *Orat. c. Austral*.

[58.35] **QUESTION II.** Whether the axiom, *Papa dubius, papa nullus*, is valid?

[58.36] **RESPONSE.** Bañez, considering those things which were done in the council of Constance, said: "The Church was able, therefore, because of common error of fact to depose those three who were called Pontiffs even if one of them ^{was} the true Pontiff. For all are bound to cede his right because of the common usefulness of the Church. Otherwise, if they were unwilling to believe, they could be deposed." Cajetan, in *De auctoritate papæ et concilii*, cap. VIII, expresses his opinion: "For just as something which is not known to be consecrated is considered not consecrated, so he who is not known to be legitimately elected pope is bound as a non-pope to obey the council, and this directly is pertinent when there were three popes, and not one was undoubted regarding his election." Bellarmine solves the case of a dubious pope in the *De conciliis*, no. II, 19, and Suarez in *Tractatus de fide*, no. X, 6, 19. But those authors seem to be speaking only ^{about} that case in which it was immediately hidden to the whole Church from the beginning, and therefore remained hidden, whether there was a legitimate election of the pope or not. Therefore we think that Franzelin make a good distinction when he wrote: "With regard to what is said by many for the purpose of explaining the acts of the councils of Pisa and of Constance, by using the axiom *Pontifex dubius, pontifex nullus*: it is true only if the doubt exists in the whole Church, and if there is a secession because of the doubt. It cannot, however, be admitted if after the pontiff is legitimately constituted, doubts and secessions arise even in the

greater part of the Church because of disturbances which have been introduced. (*De Ecclesia Christi*,

sect. II, thesis 13.)

ARTICLE V

[59]

WHETHER AN ECUMENICAL COUNCILS ARE NECESSARY

[59.1] I. STATUS QUESTIONIS. Having solved the controversies regarding the authority of the councils, we now ask whether ecumenical councils are so necessary that the Church could not exist without councils, that is, whether the celebration of councils flows from some intrinsic principle of the Church by a certain necessity of nature. In order to distinctly respond to this question, we must consider the following things about councils: [1] their utility; [2] their moral necessity; [3] their absolute necessity.

[59.2] [1] *The utility of ecumenical councils.* Sometimes the condition of the times and affairs is such that there is no doubt concerning the utility of having a council. So Paul III, in his *bulle indict. Conc. Trident.*, said: "Calling to mind that our ancestors, endowed with an admirable wisdom and sanctity, often in the greatest dangers of the Christian republic, used ecumenical councils and general meetings of bishops as the best remedy. We ourselves, as well, intend to have a general council." Again the Fathers of the Vatican Council teach that divine providence is clearly discovered by those fruits "which came forth most from the ecumenical councils for the Christian world, and particularly from the Tridentine Council, although it was held in evil times." Const. *dei Filius*. Cf. Bellarmine, *De Conciliis*, lib. I, 7, where he gives seven reasons for the usefulness of ecumenical councils.

[59.3] [2] *Ecumenical councils seem to be at times morally necessary.* That thing is considered to be morally necessary which does not pertain to the intimate nature of a thing, nor is required as the unique means to attain the end which must necessarily be obtained, but the absence of which would impede a great deal the attainment of the end. For it is not hard to see that troublesome errors, or

discord, or other dangers, which may occur, are at times such that they seem to be unable to be repelled, except by the common council of bishops in *deliberating, in defining* with the greatest solemnity, and by the strongest concord in *executing*.

[59.4] [3] *The ecumenical council is never absolutely necessary.* This must be explained.

[59.5] II. CONCERNING THE OPINION OF THOSE WHO CONTEND THAT ECUMENICAL COUNCILS ARE ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY. Richer (French, 1513-1553) in his work entitled *De Eccl. et polit. potestate*, teaches among other things that the frequent celebration of councils is simply and absolutely necessary, in order that the Church be ruled in a better and holier manner. This doctrine flows from the negation of the monarchical government of the Church. For if you reject the supreme power of the Roman Pontiff, the consequence is that an ecumenical council must be considered as the proper, ordinary, and unique subject of supreme government; it will be necessary, therefore, since no other means is present, that all serious matters must be defined by ecumenical councils as by the ordinary and unique judge.

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[59.6] *Thesis: ECUMENICAL COUNCILS ARE NOT ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY.*

ARGUMENTS

[59.7] ARGUMENT I. The absolute necessity of ecumenical councils is either a necessity of divine precept, or a necessity of means to the end. But neither of these necessities can be admitted.

Therefore those councils are not absolutely necessary.
Proof of the minor.

[59.8] [A] *There is no necessity of precept*, for the divine precept in this matter is asserted in an entirely gratuitous manner. Besides, Christ, who is the efficient cause of the Church, confided the entire flock to be cared for in a most holy and optimal manner to Peter the supreme pastor.

[59.9] [B] *Nor is there a necessity of means*. "For something said to be necessary in those things which pertain to the end inasmuch as without it, the end cannot be, or be well." Ia, q. 41. art. 2. ad 5. But besides the council, the Pope, in whom there is the plenitude of power, is able to give by himself whatever the council is able to give toward the being of the end, or well being. Therefore there is no absolute necessity of ecumenical councils.

[59.10] ARGUMENT II. It cannot happen that the Church be, from time to time, stripped of its absolutely necessary government. But it is necessary that the Church, from time to time, be without ecumenical councils. Therefore it is false to say that those councils are absolutely necessary. *Proof of the minor.* (a) From the intrinsic difficulty of convoking bishops from the whole world, who come together in a synod, *after having left their flocks*; (b) from the extrinsic difficulties which are the length of the journeys, the expense, the opposition of civil powers, and wars; (c) from the facts, especially since before the Nicene Council, (325) and from the Council of Trent to the Vatican Council, from 1563 to 1869, there was no ecumenical council celebrated. Cf. St. Thomas, *Quaest. disp. de Potentia*, X. 4.

OBJECTIONS

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[59.11] OBJECTION I. What is of divine right is absolutely necessary. But councils are of divine right. Therefore they are *simpliciter* and absolutely necessary.

[59.12] RESPONSE. I distinguish the major: what is of divine right is absolutely necessary *under that aspect*, by which it is of divine right, I concede; under another aspect, I deny. I also distinguish the minor: councils are of divine right with regard to the

faculty of celebrating them, I concede; with regard to the duty of celebrating them, I deny. This is not a question of a conceded *right*, but of the *use* of a right. We are not ignorant of the fact that the infallibility and supreme authority of ecumenical councils over the faithful, if they are celebrated, is of divine right. We deny however, that by divine right it is established that these councils *must* be convoked, as if the *ordinary* means of ruling the Church, which the Church *simpliciter* cannot lack.

[59.13] INSTANCE. The ecumenical council is considered necessary, if not in all business, at least in the treatment of the most serious questions. Controversies cannot be settled in any other way.

[59.14] RESPONSE. I distinguish the antecedent: a council of this type is considered absolutely necessary in treating very serious business, I deny; morally, I subdistinguish: sometimes, I concede; always, I deny. Ecumenical councils cannot be convoked for the purpose of dealing with just any very serious business. Nor it is necessary. For the full power resides in the Roman Pontiff. For this reason St. Thomas says concerning the creed which he explains against the heresies: "Just as, however, a later council has the power of interpreting the creed established by a prior council...so also the Roman Pontiff by his own authority can do, by whose sole authority a council can be convoked, and by whom the sentence of the council is confirmed, and to whom one makes an appeal from a council." *De potentia*, X, 4.

[59.15] INSTANCE. By the Fathers of the Council of Constance, the frequent celebration of general councils is called the "principal cultivation of the field of the Lord." These same Fathers decreed that councils be celebrated "every ten years." (Session XXXIX). But Martin V and Eugene IV observed this decree. Therefore the ecumenical councils seem to be absolutely necessary.

[59.16] RESPONSE. I distinguish the major: that assertion was made in passing, I concede; definitively, I deny. In what concerns the decree, I again distinguish: it is disciplinary, I concede; doctrinal, I deny. And I distinguish the minor: Martin V and Eugene IV observed this decree *simpliciter*, I deny; *secundum quid*, I concede. No

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one would say that this concerns a decree of faith. But the Pontiffs of that time thought that the disciplinary decree ought to be approved, at least in order to avoid a greater evil.

[59.17] Question: WHAT IS THE AUTHORITY OF NATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL COUNCILS?

[59.18] RESPONSE. [A] It pertains to Catholic Faith that a national council is, by itself, not infallible. For the decree of the Church is found in *Auctorem Fidei*, prop. 85: *"The proposition stating that any knowledge whatsoever of ecclesiastical history is sufficient to allow anyone to assert that the convocation of a national council is one of the canonical ways by which controversies in regard to religion may be ended in the Church of the receptive nations; if understood to mean controversies in regard to faith or morals which have arisen in a Church can be ended by an irrefutable*

decision made in a national council; as if freedom from error in questions of faith and morals belonged to a national council, — schismatic, heretical."

[59.19] [B] Definitions of national councils *in themselves* are not definitive. For it is noted in the *Syllabus*, proposition 36: *"The definition of a national council allows no further discussion, and the civil administration can force the matter to those boundaries."*

[59.20] [C] The national or provincial council, not confirmed by the Roman Pontiff, is able to err in faith, but provides a *probable* argument of truth, in fact sometimes a very probable argument. (See references in book).

QUESTION XIV

THE PRIMACY OF SAINT PETER

Christ is the Head of the Church: "*Christ is the head of the church. He is the savior of his body.*" Eph. V: 23. "*And he is the head of the body, the church, who is the beginning, the firstborn from the dead; that in all things he may hold the primacy: Because in him, it hath well pleased the Father, that all fullness should dwell; And through him to reconcile all things unto himself, making peace through the blood of his cross, both as to the things that are on earth, and the things that are in heaven.*" Coloss. I: 18 – 20. For God indeed who *was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself*, gave to His Apostles and to their successors *the ministry of reconciliation*, and placed in them *the word of reconciliation*. Cf. II Cor V: 18-19. But Christ in His turn wanted one person to be in charge of everyone visibly. For this reason, there is the primacy. Concerning this, since it is offensive to many, we must make a diligent inquiry. Therefore we are asking the following things:

- [1] WHETHER BY THE TESTIMONIES OF SACRED SCRIPTURE IT IS PROVED THAT ST. PETER RECEIVED FROM GOD PRIMACY OF JURISDICTION.
- [2] WHETHER THIS SAME PRIMACY IS CERTAIN FROM TRADITION.
- [3] WHETHER BLESSED PETER RECEIVED ALONE THE PRIMACY FROM CHRIST.
- [4] WHETHER BLESSED PETER HAS BY DIVINE ORDER PERPETUAL SUCCESSORS IN THE PRIMACY.

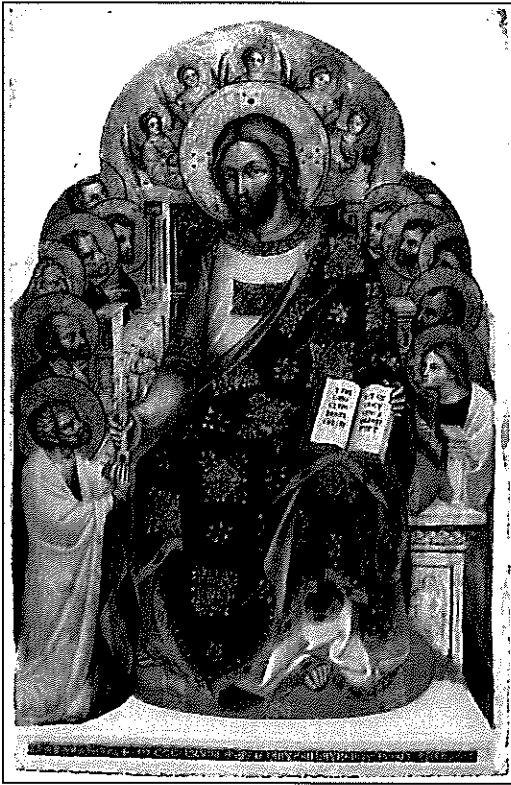
ARTICLE I

[60]

WHETHER IT IS PROVEN BY THE TESTIMONIES OF SACRED SCRIPTURE THAT SAINT PETER RECEIVED FROM GOD THE PRIMACY OF JURISDICTION

[60.1] I. THE NATURE OF THE PRIMACY. The primacy, generally speaking, is a certain preeminence. However, primacy is threefold, namely of *honor*, to which are annexed rights of honor, e.g., a certain place; — primacy of *direction*, or *inspection*, which does not consist in the right of governing a republic, but in the function of effecting that those things be done correctly which pertain to the

government of a republic; for example, someone who should preside over a senate in which the supreme power resides, in order to observe order; — of *jurisdiction*, by which someone rules and governs others as true subjects. Therefore the primacy of St. Peter can be defined: *The supreme preeminence of honor, of direction, and of jurisdiction, over the whole Church.*



Christ giving the Keys to St. Peter

[60.2] II. THE PRIMACY OF PETER WITH REGARD TO CHRIST. The primacy of St. Peter does not exclude the supreme government of Christ over the Church, but *supposes* it. St. Thomas in the IIIa, q. 8, art. 6, teaches that Christ, who is the invisible and principal head of the Church exceeds the Roman Pontiff in three ways, who is the visible head of the Church, for [1] the interior influence of grace is not from anyone except Christ alone, whose humanity, from the fact that it is joined to the divinity, has the power of justifying, whereas, for others, the influence over the members of the Church can pertain only to exterior governance. [2] Christ is the Head of all of those who belong to the Church according to every state and time; the pope is the head of the Church according to a determined state, to the extent that the faithful are in the state of *viator*, and only during the time of his own Pontificate. [3] Christ is the head of the Church by

His own power and authority. The Roman Pontiff has this power only as he represents Christ. For this reason St. Peter is called the *Vicar* of Christ, but not his *successor*. For a successor is only said of him truly who succeeds in such a way that the person before him sets aside authority. But Christ does not set aside His authority, but has been raised from the sight of men, and has left a vicar subject to Him alone to rule the Church visibly under an invisible Head.

[60.3] III. THE RELATION OF ST. PETER TO THE REST OF THE APOSTLES WITH REGARD TO THE APOSTOLATE AND THE PRIMACY. [1] In the *apostolate*, Peter was equal to the other Apostles, but apostolate embraces the authority of governing the faithful people, the faculty of teaching, and the power to perform miracles in order to confirm doctrine. (St. Thomas, *In I ad Corinthios* XII, lect. 3) The Apostles immediately received from Christ that power of jurisdiction over the whole world, and it pertains to all the Apostles what St. Thomas said concerning St. Paul, namely that St. Peter and all the others were in a certain way equal by reason of apostolate, not in authority of government, but "in the execution of authority" (*In Gal.* II, lect. 3) and "with regard to the defense of the Faith" (IIa IIæ q. 33, a. 4), in the same way that the Church prays in the preface of the Mass, "whom," referring to the Apostles, "Thou didst make Thy vicars in order to rule over it as pastors." I said that they were equal in the *execution* of authority. "For the Savior gave to all the Apostles commonly that they could execute in regard to those to whom they were sent all things which St. Peter could execute: namely to institute Churches, and make bishops, to teach, to excommunicate." Cf. Cajetan, *Tract. I de auctoritate Papæ* c. III; and with regard to the execution of the Apostles, there was also a universal jurisdiction according to places, persons, and objects. Considered, however, in itself, the authority was in Peter differently from the manner in which it was found in the other Apostles. In these (the other Apostles) it was delegated and extraordinary on account of the apostolate. In St. Peter it was proper and ordinary on account of the power of

government. In the defense of the Faith, as well, there was equality. For Christ said immediately to all the Apostles: *Teach ye all nations*, and concerning St. Paul, Our Lord said: "*For this man is to me a vessel of election, to carry my name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel.*" Acts IX: 15. [2] *By reason of the primacy*, and as the supreme head of the whole Church, St. Peter was superior to the rest of the Apostles. For (a) the power of government was confided to him as proper. For this reason, only Peter and not the other Apostles was able to make laws for his own co-Apostles, taken either singularly or all together. (b) Whatever powers were granted by God to the other Apostles for the government of the Church are on the title of special grace, and as delegated, whereas they pertain to Peter as ordinary and by the proper authority of the pontifical office. (c) The extraordinary and delegated power of the Apostles, when the Apostles died, expired. But the power of Peter as ordinary, and conceded to the Vicar of Christ, is perpetual. Cf. Cajetan, *De auctoritate papae et concilii*. chapter III.

[60.4] IV. ADVERSARIES. Not a few Photians deny that St. Peter was the head and Prince of the Apostles. Marsilius of Padua, in the year 1327, because of that same error, was condemned by John XXII. Among those who spread or followed the new opinions in the sixteenth century, some do not even admit the shadow of a primacy of honor in Peter; others, namely among the older ones, Melancthon, Isaac Barrow, and Meyer, do not reject a primacy of honor. Dupin, in his *De ant. eccles. disciplina*, thinks that the preeminence of St. Peter is limited to a primacy of honor, and the Febronians think that it is limited only to a primacy of direction and inspection.

[60.6] In our own age, most of all non-Catholics, e.g., Bovon, *Théologie du Nouveau Testament*, twist the texts of St. Matthew in chapter 16, *Tu es Petrus*, in the same way as their ancestors. However, there is a new aspect of the controversy from a more recent criticism. In the past, regarding Matthew XVI, *Tu es Petrus*, etc., according to the judgement of the adversaries, the authentic word of Jesus was to say nothing in it concerning the

primacy. Today, they deny that it is impossible that whatever contains more or less the primacy be the word of Christ. Pfleiderer, Drummond, Réville, Resch, Holtzmann, Harnack, Wendt, Sabatier, and Grill favor this hypothesis. But they do not all agree amongst themselves. In some cases, they transfer all of St. Matthew to the second century (Pfleiderer, Jülicher); or they say that only that part which pertains to our thesis must be transferred to that time (Harnack, Weiss). In either case, the power of the words, by which we are proving the primacy, is broken. For the hypothesis regards primarily that the authority conferred on Peter does not express the mind of Christ, but a state of evolution, toward which the religious consciousness of the second century was tending.

[60.6] V. THE FATHERS OF THE VATICAN COUNCIL DECREED: *If anyone then says that the blessed Apostle Peter was not established by the Lord Christ as the chief of all the Apostles, and the visible head of the whole militant Church, or, that the same received the primacy of honor only, but did receive from the same Our Lord Jesus Christ directly and immediately the primacy of true and proper jurisdiction, let him be anathema.*

[60.7] Thesis: FROM SACRED SCRIPTURE IT IS CERTAIN THAT ST. PETER RECEIVED A PRIMACY OF TRUE AND PROPER JURISDICTION FROM CHRIST.

[60.8] ARGUMENT I. From Matth. XVI: 15 – 19, where the primacy is promised to Peter in these words: Jesus saith to them: "*But whom do you say that I am? Simon Peter answered and said: Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answering, said to him: Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona: because flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father who is in heaven. And I say to thee: That thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven.*" By these

words the primacy of true jurisdiction is promised to St. Peter. In order that this be evident, it is proved [A] that the direction of the words of the Lord are only to St. Peter; [B] that the promise of supreme jurisdiction over the whole Church is contained in the metaphor *rock*, and (c) in the metaphor *keys*.

[60.9] [A] *The words of Christ refer to Peter alone.*

[1] After all had been asked, *Vos autem*, Christ, addressing Peter, changes the word *vos* into *tu*. [2] The proper first name of Peter, *Simon*, is joined to it. [3] There is added the name of his father, that is Jona: *Simon Bar Jona*. [4] There is added the name imposed by Christ upon Simon: *Peter*. (cf. John I: 42; Mark III: 16) [5] It is said emphatically: *Et ego*, as if to say, "Just as the Father revealed to you concerning Me, so I reveal concerning you." All of these things are personal both to Christ and to Peter. [6] In the Syro-Chaldaic language, which Our Lord used, in both cases, i.e., in *Tu es Petrus* and *super hanc petram*, one and the same word, *Cepha*, occurs, as it does in French: *Tu es Pierre, et sur cette pierre...* From this it is certain that the name and the promises coalesce in one person of Peter.

[60.10] [B] *The promise of supreme jurisdiction is contained in the metaphor of the rock.* Only Peter, by a special reason, is indicated to be the foundation of the universal Church above all the others, even the Apostles. But Peter was able to be designated as such only through a special authority. From this it follows that a primacy of true jurisdiction was promised to St. Peter. *Explanation of the major.* [1] You see the special foundation from the very word *rock*, by which a great stone or boulder is signified. In short, it signifies a stable foundation. (Cf. Matth. VII: 24–25) The firmness is so great that not even the gates of hell can prevail against it, that is, the very city of the horrendous power. (Cf. Gen. XXII: 17; Proverbs I:12) — [2] *Upon this rock* is built *the universal Church*, for the Lord said *ecclesiam meam*, and the Church of Christ, where the word Church is not restricted for any reason to a particular group, designates the kingdom of Christ on earth, which is the one and universal Church. [3] This rock is said to be Peter alone. It is of little interest whether in the words *adversus eam*, the word *eam* refers to the rock or to the Church, which is built upon the rock. What is

explicitly affirmed about the Church is implicitly affirmed about the rock, upon which the Church is founded. In both cases, the firmness is in the foundation.

[60.11] *Proof of the minor.* Three things prove that only Peter is named a rock because of a *special authority*. [1] The obvious sense of the metaphor. For what is a foundation in a house is in a moral body or society the head and authority. [2] In the text the strength of the Church depends on Peter (= rock) forever: *non praevallebunt*. But Peter was able to sustain the whole Church against the gates of hell only by means of power, and not private qualities, because only power transfers to successors. [3] Peter, above all the Apostles, by an entirely special reason, is called by God the firmness of the Church. But he cannot be called such except because of the authority of government. This seems to be sufficiently manifest, for Peter did not exceed the other Apostles in *sanctity*, e.g., St. James, in such a way that he alone could be considered the foundation of the whole Church. He did not exceed the other Apostles in *sacred letters*, e.g., St. John. He did not exceed St. Paul in *writings* or the *power of preaching*. Therefore Peter, because of a special power, is called the firmness of the Church in such a special way.

[60.12] [C] *The supreme jurisdiction is indicated by the metaphor of the keys.* [1] By the keys is understood *power* both in profane use and in Sacred Scripture. So, concerning the supreme power of Eliacim, the High Priest, we read in Isaias XXII: 22: "And I will lay the key of the house of David upon his shoulder: and he shall open, and none shall shut: and he shall shut, and none shall open." Likewise, concerning Christ, Apoc. III: 7: "And to the angel of the church of Philadelphia, write: These things saith the Holy One and the true one, he that hath the key of David; he that openeth, and no man shutteth; shutteth, and no man openeth." [2] This power is the highest on earth, for through the words, "I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven," the power is extended to all things which pertain to the scope of the kingdom, and to all men. These words confirm this fact: "Whatever thou shalt bind upon earth shall be bound also in heaven, etc." All the wayfarers must obey, therefore, Peter in all things

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that pertain to the supreme end of the kingdom of heaven.

[60.13] Therefore from the single parts of the explained text, and even more so from the connection of the whole, the primacy of jurisdiction is known clearly to have been promised to St. Peter. This is confirmed, I believe, from the fact that the text, *Tu es Petrus, etc.*, in the opinion of the criticism of recent adversaries, is so Catholic, that it *cannot* [in their view] be considered authentic. But it seems to them Catholic because it manifests the universal organized Church and the primacy of power. In fact, Julius Grill, a professor of Tübingen, favors the hypothesis even more, by saying that the text was interpolated around the year 190 *in order that* the supreme authority of the Roman bishop be proved to all the faithful. Therefore this proves the evident signification which we have given.

[60.14] ARGUMENT II. From Luke XXII: 31-32. The Savior, on the day before he suffered, said to St. Peter: "*Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat: But I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not: and thou, being once converted, confirm thy brethren.*" But, by these words the primacy of jurisdiction seems to be handed to St. Peter. Let us examine each thing: [1] Only Peter obtains the peculiar charism of firmness in faith, for we read: *Satan has sought you (vos).* Then changing His speech, He says: *I have prayed for you (pro te); fides tua; your (sing.) faith. Tu conversus — you (sing.) turning around.* But the special charism is manifested from the fact that Christ, whom the Father always hears, because of His reverence, prayed specially for the firmness of faith for Simon. [2] This charism is ordered to a special duty: *Confirma fratres tuos.* Therefore it is ordered that Peter *confirm.* By force of this precept, the others are ordered to obey Peter confirming. [3] This right of Peter is extended to the universal Church: *fratres tuos.* The brothers were the Apostles; *a fortiori*, all the faithful are entrusted to Peter as confirmer.

[60.15] The power of this second argument is clearer if we gather together those things which we have said concerning the rock. Because of these things, St. Thomas said concerning this place of

Scripture, from Theophylactus: "Strengthen the others, since I have deputed thee as the prince of the Apostles: *for this becomes thee, who with Me is the strength and the rock of the Church.*" (*Catena Aurea* in *l.c.*)

[60.16] ARGUMENT III. From John XXI: 15-17. Christ, after His resurrection, showing Himself to the disciples at the Sea of Tiberias, said to St. Peter: "*When therefore they had dined, Jesus saith to Simon Peter: Simon son of John, lovest thou me more than these? He saith to him: Yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith to him: Feed my lambs. He saith to him again: Simon, son of John, lovest thou me? He saith to him: Yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith to him: Feed my lambs. He said to him the third time: Simon, son of John, lovest thou me? Peter was grieved, because he had said to him the third time: Lovest thou me? And he said to him: Lord, thou knowest all things: thou knowest that I love thee. He said to him: Feed my sheep.*" Now with these words (a) to Peter alone, (b) a special and supreme power, (c) over the entire Church, is given; this is the power of jurisdiction. Ergo. *Proof of the minor.*

[60.17] (a) *To Peter alone.* The person of Peter is called three times, separately and distinctly, by his personal name and of his father: *Simon son of John.* Furthermore, he is separated from the rest by this verse: *do you love Me more than they?* That is, "not more than the ship, the nets, and the fish, not more than you love these disciples, but than these disciples love Me?"

[60.18] (b) *A special and supreme power.* [1] The solemnity of the statement indicates the eminence of the conferred function. [2] The word *pomaineîn, pascere*, signifies the power of ruling, in the manner in which those who have the power of ruling are more than once said to rule or *pascere populum* in Sacred Scripture. For example, in the case of David: "*Tu pasces populum meum Israel, et tu eris dux super Israel. Thou shalt feed my people Israel, and thou shalt be prince over Israel.*" II Kings V: 2. Cf. Psalm. XLVII: 13, etc. [3] This institution of the supreme visible pastor under Christ corresponds optimally to the circumstances, for the statement of Christ is: *Let there be one fold and one pastor.* But Christ at that

time was about to return to His Father, and therefore, lest His fold should lack a pastor, it was necessary that the visible staff of the pastorship should be handed over to Peter.

[60.19] (c) *Over the universal Church.* One reads: *My lambs, My sheep.* But with this enumeration of parts is designated the whole flock, that is, the universal Church, which in the gospels is called both kingdom and flock. It is the same flock which the Lord in John X commemorates in the parable of the Good Shepherd. But clearly, either a determined part of the flock, or some sheep vaguely indicated, or the whole flock is entrusted to Peter. The first and the second are repugnant both to the text and to the context, and to the circumstances.

[60.20] Therefore that sublime deed at the Sea of Tiberias is clearly in conformity with the moment, when Andrew leads his brother Simon for the first time to Jesus. For John, in chapter I, verse 42, says: "*Thou art Simon the son of Jona: thou shalt be called Cephas, which is interpreted Peter.*"

[60.21] ARGUMENT IV. *Confirmation from facts.* Deeds or facts which are distinctive of Peter are (a) the change of name; (b) the first place; (c) the first honor given by Christ; (d) certain actions of Peter after the death of Our Lord. However, these things, especially taken together, are explained best by the primacy of jurisdiction.

[60.22] [A] *The change of name.* [1] The imposition of a new name, done by God, ordinarily denotes some election and vocation. So Abram is called Abraham in Genesis XVII: 5. Jacob is called Israel in Gen. XXII: 28. Osee is called Josue in Numbers XIII: 17. Cf. Matth. I: 21; Luke I: 31. [2] Christ Himself seems to treat the imposition of that name as a very serious thing. For He predicts the name of Peter at the very first time that He meets Simon: *Thou art Simon the son of Jona: thou shalt be called Cephas, which is interpreted Peter.* Then He imposes the name upon Peter in Mark III: 16: "*And to Simon he gave the name Peter.*" Finally, He proceeds from the name to the thing in Matth. XVI: 18. Cf. St. Thomas, *In Joan.* I: lect. 15, no. 8. [3] Concerning Christ Himself we read: *petra autem erat Christus.* I Cor. X: 4. For this reason, the name *Peter* seems to

indicate a special connection of the Apostle, upon whom the name is imposed, with Christ. Christ imposed upon the sons of Zebedee the names *Boanerges*, which is the "sons of thunder." (Mark III: 17) But Bellarmine says: "This was a type of nickname rather than a proper name, and nowhere afterwards are they called Boanerges, but only James and John, as they were called before." [4] Judas is designated by the term *traitor* (*qui fuit proditor*), but Simon is designated by this prerogative: *qui vocatur Petrus.*

[60.23] [B] *The first place.* Although Andrew precedes Peter in knowing Christ, nevertheless Peter is always the first in the catalogues of the Apostles. For this reason, three things ought to be noticed: [1] it seems that this is said emphatically: *And the names of the twelve apostles are these: The first, Simon who is called Peter.* He is called *first*, but there does not follow: *second*, etc. [2] Peter is introduced from time to time with the Apostles in this way: "*Simon, and those who were with him;*" "*Peter, and those who were with him;*" "*Peter with the eleven;*" "*Peter and the Apostles.*" Mark I: 36; III: 16; V: 37; Luke VI: 14; VIII: 45; John XXI: 2; Act. II: 14 & 37; cf. Matth. XII: 3; Luke VI: 3; Acts XIII: 13. [3] St. Peter is first in the same way as Judas is relegated to the last place. The anomalies, however, in Galatians II: 9 (*James, and Cephas, and John*) and in John I: 44 (*Andrew and Peter*), even if they should lack proper causes, nevertheless do not take away the rule observed in the catalogues. (Matth. X: 2)

[60.24] [c] *The principal honor given by Christ.* Christ teaches from the boat of Peter (Luke V). To Peter it is promised that he would be the fisher of men (same verse). The feet of Peter are washed first in the Last Supper (John XIII: 6) There is a special command referring to Peter, concerning the resurrection of the Lord in Mark XVI: 7 and I Corinthians XV: 5. The death of Peter is foretold in a special way in John XXI: 18. And for Christ and Peter, Peter is ordered to pay one stater. (Matth XVII: 26)

[60.25] [D] *The acts of Peter after the death of Christ.* Peter in the upper room, presiding over the whole group, takes care of the restoration of the

number of the Apostles which was changed in a pernicious manner by Judas, (Acts I) "Both as being ardent, and as having been put in trust by Christ with the flock, and as having precedence in honor, he always begins the discourse." (St. John Chrysostom, *Hom. III Act. Apost.*) St. Peter is first on the day of Pentecost to promulgate the gospel to the Jews (Acts II), and is the first to confirm the gospel by a miracle in III: 6. He is the first to recognize by a revelation that the time has come for the conversion of the Gentiles. (Acts X: 9, sqq.) In the Council of Jerusalem, he is the first among the Apostles and the elders, when a great inquiry is made, to pronounce the sentence. (Acts XV: 7-12) St. Paul designates St. Peter with a particular honor, saying: "*Have we not power to carry about a woman, a sister, as well as the rest of the apostles, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas?*" (I Cor. IX: 5) He comes to *see Peter* (the Greek word means to see *eagerly*), and he says: "*Then, after three years, I went to Jerusalem, to see Peter, and I tarried with him fifteen days. But other of the apostles I saw none, saving James the brother of the Lord.*" (Galatians I: 18-19) St. John Chrysostom said: "[Peter] was distinguished among the Apostles, the mouth of the disciples, and the head of that body. Therefore, Paul comes to see him before all others." (*In Joan. Hom. 87*)

[60.26] But these things, *especially taken together*, prove a special excellence of Peter, expressed by that very name by Christ, by the Apostles, by Paul, declared in the very actions of Peter so constantly, that this observance must be attributed to counsel and not to chance. But neither greater age nor the private excellence of Peter, nor the dignity of being first among equals nor a primacy of honor seem to be a congruous cause for such a systematic superiority. Therefore the explicit words of Christ are confirmed by deeds.

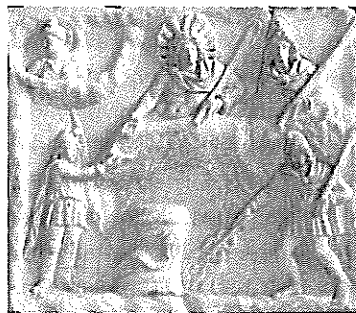
[60.27] The reasons for the primacy must be treated by analogy with the whole work established by Christ, in article 4, where we speak of the perpetuity of the primacy.

OBJECTIONS

[60.28] **OBJECTION I.** The primacy of Peter is proved from Matthew XVI: 18-19, but in this place the critics teach, the words of Jesus are not related, but perhaps of an unknown redactor who lived in the second century. Therefore the proof of the primacy collapses.

[60.29] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the major. The primacy is proved from Matthew XVI alone, *I deny*, and by many other arguments, *I concede*. Likewise I distinguish the minor: this is taught by radical criticism, *let it pass*; by a more sane criticism, *I deny*.

[60.30] Solid reasons provide for the proof of the primacy both from the Scriptures and from the Fathers, and by the analogy of the whole work of Christ, which things do not depend on the cited text of Saint Matthew. Practically all of the Catholic tracts, and our thesis, well concerning the primacy, have documented these. Many responses can be given to the minor. [1] The doctrine of the radical critics concerning our text is a conclusion not from fixed premises, but is a changeable conjecture and is a hypothesis which relies on other hypotheses. [2] The primary reason for denying was a dogma established *a priori* concerning the will and intelligence of Christ as limited to His own time; namely they hold that it was not possible that Christ, intent upon the messianic concept, could think about a future society of faithful and of an ordered group with a head. [3] In no way do they explain by whom, why, how the magnificent words could have been inserted into the text of the gospel secretly in all the churches in which old and incorrupt copies were present and publicly read. [4] Absolutely all the codices and all of the most ancient translations have the text, even those, as it is gathered from St. Ephrem, which were used in Syria. Besides, our text is cited, either directly or indirectly, by Justin, Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Tertullian; to these ^{one} must add the author of the *Clementine Homilies*, XVII, § 19, and the Epistle of Clement to James, § 1.



MITHRAS CAN HERE BE SEEN WITH THE TWO TORCH-BEARERS, WHICH THE RATIONALISTS COMPARE TO MOSES AND ELIAS IN THE TRANSFIGURATION.

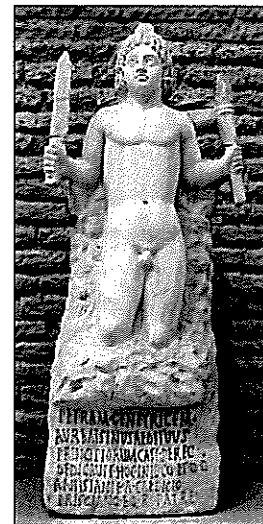
[60.31] INSTANCE. The complex of creeds, known to the worshippers of Mithras⁷⁰ relates the

⁷⁰ The image may be a relief, or free-standing, and side details may be present or omitted. The centre-piece is Mithras clothed in Anatolian costume and wearing a Phrygian cap; who is kneeling on the exhausted [52] bull, holding it by the nostrils [52] with his left hand, and stabbing it with his right. As he does so, he looks over his shoulder towards the figure of Sol. A dog and a snake reach up towards the blood. A scorpion seizes the bull's genitals. The two torch-bearers are on either side, dressed like Mithras, Cautus with his torch pointing up and Cautopates with his torch pointing down.[53]

The event takes place in a cavern, into which Mithras has carried the bull, after having hunted it, ridden it and overwhelmed its strength. Sometimes the cavern is surrounded by a circle, on which the twelve signs of the zodiac appear. Outside the cavern, top left, is Sol the sun, with his flaming crown, often driving a quadriga. A ray of light often reaches down to touch Mithras. Top right is Luna, with her crescent moon, who may be depicted driving a biga.

In some depictions, the central tauroctony is framed by a series of subsidiary scenes to the left, top and right, illustrating events in the Mithras narrative; Mithras being born from the rock, the

description of Matthew XVI: 18-19. For in the text of the evangelist, Christ is the *petra* (rock); and *Petra genitrix* is said to have given life to Mithras, who was the God from *Petra* or *petrogenes*. The "keys" of Mithras were an emblem of the greatest power; the sun surrounded by a cloud was Mithras as the "unconquered sun;" in Matthew it is read, not indeed in cited passage, but a little later in chapter XVII, verse 2, that the face of Christ was resplendent in the Transfiguration just like the *sun*. Therefore perhaps it was possible that the cult of Mithras explains the origin of the text, "*Thou art Peter, etc.*"



THE MITHRAIC *Petra genitrix*, WHERE MITHRAS IS SHOWN BEING BORN OF A ROCK.

[60.32] RESPONSE. This objection, if it should not be called fiction, is a specimen of those errors in which it is necessary to fall whenever the genealogy and beginning of religions is drawn from a certain accidental similitude of superficial things. First of all, nothing besides the word *petra* is common between the rock from which Mithras the boy, just like light from the firmament, is born, and like the rock upon which the Church will be built. The keys, furthermore, are a very common symbol, and besides

water miracle, the hunting and riding of the bull, meeting Sol who kneels to him, shaking hands with Sol and sharing a meal of bull-parts with him, and ascending to the heavens in a chariot.

signify power in the gospel which is completely in its own category. He who reads the narration of the Transfiguration of Christ immediately understands that there is nothing in that glorious fact to compare it to the myth of light and the sun, besides the fact that both use the word *sun*. Nor are we much impressed with the two torch-bearers whom Grill, completing his conjecture, compares to Moses and Elias in the Transfiguration. The reader remembers that Mithras is often depicted between two boys of whom the one holds and erect torch, and the other an inverted torch. These three figures represent day between morning and evening, or summer between spring and winter. Certainly if such similitudes were to prove something, then one would be able to prove anything with them. Why is it of any wonder, then, if the author himself has only a moderate faith in his own hypothesis.

[60.33] **OBJECTION II.** That the primacy of the Church was established in Peter arises from this promise: "*Upon this rock I will build my Church.*" But the rock is Christ, as St. Paul says: "*But the rock was Christ.*" (I Cor. X: 4) and "*For other foundation no man can lay, but that which is laid; which is Christ Jesus.*" (I Cor. III: 11) Therefore the primacy of Peter is a joke.

[60.34] **RESPONSE.** With regard to the minor and the proofs, *I distinguish*: Christ is the rock in se and primarily, *I concede*; from someone else and secondarily, *I deny*. Christ is the internal author of faith, the invisible and principal foundation of the whole Church. But his denomination of rock is not absolutely exclusive. So from Saint Paul himself we read in Ephesians II: 20⁷¹ that all the Apostles are called the foundation. Similarly in John VIII: 12, Christ said, "*I am the light of the world,*" and in Matthew V: 14, He says, "*You are the light of the world.*"

[60.35] **INSTANCE.** In the cited text Christ, in saying "this rock" designates Himself, and not Peter.

[60.36] **RESPONSE.** *I deny* the antecedent. For it is written "*Thou art Peter, (Kepha) upon this rock*

(Kepha) *I will build my Church.*" Who would assert that Christ had said most solemnly, "*And I say to you...*" and then, "*Thou art Peter;*" then immediately pointing to Himself "*and upon this rock,*" namely upon Me and not upon you; and taking his finger away, says to Peter, "*I give to you the keys?*" For this reason, not a few protestant interpreters affirm that *petra* refers to Peter. (Rosenmüller, Schleussner, Bloomfield, Marsh, Kuinoel, Weiss, Holzmann, Michaelis) This last one says that those things which have been invented concerning the finger must be ascribed to a polemical interpretation, and not to Him (Jesus). For what would be the connection between the propositions, "*Thou art Peter,*" and "*Upon this rock...*" if not Peter was expressed by the rock but Christ. What reward would he be giving to Peter? It would be the same thing as if a nobleman were to relate what an emperor would have said to him: "I say to you that you are a noble man, and I will make this man (pointing to another man) a noble, and I will regale him with rewards." Cf. Passaglia, *De prerogativis beati Petri*.

[60.37] **INSTANCE.** "*Upon this rock*" can be taken in the sense that the faith and confession of Peter, and not Peter himself, seems to be called the rock.

[60.38] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the antecedent. *Petra (rock)* is said to be the person of Peter by qualified faith, *I concede*; quality of faith, *I deny*. Indeed the profession of faith can be considered to be the occasion of the promised primacy, but cannot be called the subject of it. For we have shown that the statement of Christ refers to the person of Peter. Besides, this ellipsis, "*Thou art Peter (through your faith in Me) and upon this rock (of your faith) I will build My Church,*" is drawn neither from the text nor the context. There is nothing which indicates that we are neglecting the moral and allegorical interpretations of our text. When these are admitted, it is so true that all things which we assert are certain concerning Peter as properly and historically designated, that Kuinoel, a protestant in his commentary on the Gospel of Saint Matthew, wrote: "Badly do many interpreters have understood by *petra* either Christ Himself or the profession of Peter which was pronounced a little earlier. The

⁷¹ "Built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone."

interpreters would not have taken refuge in these twisted interpretations if the Pontiffs had not wished to claim badly and falsely from the words '*and upon this rock*,' referring to Peter, the singular and divine authority and prerogative to the successors of Peter, namely the Roman Pontiffs." But concerning this prerogative of the Roman Pontiff we will speak later.

[60.39] *INSTANCE.* Saint Peter, when all were asked, alone responded in the name of all. Therefore the promise of Christ was to the apostolic college, and is understood to have been done to the universal Church.

[60.40] *RESPONSE.* *Let the antecedent pass. I distinguish* the consequent. The promise to the apostolic college and to the universal church was done in the head, *I concede*; in se, *I deny*. We have proved that the promise of Christ is determined with the greatest possible clarity to the person of Peter. the apostolic college and the universal church are said to be participants in this promise as members in the head.

[60.41] We think, furthermore, that these things are valid even if the antecedent is admitted. Nevertheless the greater strength of the response is seen from what Wilmers correctly said: "He does not respond for the others, nor does Peter bear the person of the rest of the Apostles, as if he responded what the others told him to or dictated to him. For what was to be answered had been revealed to him not from the others, but from the heavenly Father. Indeed, he responds for all because he gives the response which the others should have given, which however, as St. Hilary agrees, the others did not know: 'While the others were ignorant, the first responds, *Thou are Christ the Son of the living God.*' (Commentary on Matthew, XVI: 17) Peter, therefore bore the person of the rest of them in the same way in which any primary person acts on behalf of others, for whose defect he supplies. From this, however it follows that Peter is eminent, and so he is also eminent by receiving the reward. Besides, he receives the dignity and power of the primacy not as a private person, but as a public person, not for his own interests of the Church." Wilmers, *De Christi Ecclesia Libri VI*, pp. 151-152.

[60.42] *INSTANCE.* What is common does not distinguish. But so many other Apostles, besides Peter, are called the foundations, confirmers, and pastors of the Church. Ergo. *Proof of the minor.* (a) It is read in Eph II: 20: "Built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets;" (b) St. Paul in Acts XVIII: 23, is said to confirm all of the disciples, and (c) in Eph. IV: 11 they are listed as pastors and doctors.

[60.43] *RESPONSE.* *I distinguish* the major. That which is common does not distinguish under that aspect in which it is common, *I concede*; under another aspect, *I deny*. Likewise do *I distinguish* the minor: Peter and the Apostles are said to be the foundation, confirmers and pastors under a diverse aspect, *I concede*; under the same, *I deny*.

[60.44] The same names designate very often diverse things under diverse concepts; so we say a large horse, a large mountain, a large or great king. We have proven, however, that blessed Peter has been constituted separately from all the others for a special reason, as the foundation, confirmer, and pastor of the Church. Therefore we respond to each of the proofs of the minor. (a) The Apostles are said to be the foundation of the Church because of the authority of the apostolate, and Peter alone, because of the supreme power of government. (b) The Apostles confirmed the disciples by a common office of apostolate; to Peter alone was the special function given of confirming also the Apostles. (c) All those Apostles are called pastors, but only Peter was established as the pastor of all pastors.

[60.45] *INSTANCE.* At least the same power of the keys was given to all the Apostles. For this was said to all the Apostles: "*Amen I say to you, whatsoever you shall bind upon earth, shall be bound also in heaven; and whatsoever you shall loose upon earth, shall be loosed also in heaven.*" (Matth. XVIII: 18) Cf. John XX: 23.

[60.46] *RESPONSE.* *I distinguish* the antecedent. The same power of the keys was given to all of the Apostles by reason of the apostolate, *I concede*; by reason of the primacy, *I deny*. With regard to the proof, *I distinguish*: this power of binding and loosing is the power of the keys partially, *I concede*, totally, *I deny*. The keys were given to Peter alone under that absolute formula by which the supreme

power of government over those Apostles is expressed: "I will give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven." To the others, however, the keys were not given *simpliciter*, but something of the keys, namely the power of binding and loosing, of remitting and retaining sins, is conceded. St. Thomas said: "But to Peter Christ gave singularly the power of remitting sins (Matth. XVI) in order that it be understood that he, above the others, has the power of jurisdiction." (*In IV Sent.* dist. 19, q. 1, art. 3, q. 1, ad 1; cf. dist. 24, q. 3, art. 2, q. 3, ad 1um, and Cajetan, *De Romani Pontificis Institutione*, V)

[60.47] **INSTANCE.** The verse of John, *Pasce, etc.* can be explained in this way, that Christ wanted to make Peter more certain that, although he fell, did not fall from the apostolate. From John, therefore, nothing is proved.

[60.48] **RESPONSE.** *I deny* the antecedent. Christ, in interrogating Peter alone three times was referring also to the threefold negation of Peter. But Christ did not make the person whom he was interrogating more certain concerning his having preserved the apostolate, "but to Peter thus humiliated is given the final commission of the Church." (*In Joannem*, XXI, lect. 3, no. 3) The reasons which have been explained above prove this, as well as the words "*plus his (more than these)*" do not absurdly pertain to the special function to be established in Peter. To these things I will add: We read nowhere that Peter lost the apostolate; nor was it necessary to make a new testimony of the apostolate which was not lost, since the Savior, appearing to the Apostles, had said to all, "*Receive the Holy Ghost...*" Likewise the angel of the resurrection had said to the women, "Go, say to the disciples *and Peter*." (Mark XVI: 7)

[60.49] **INSTANCE.** Those things which are predicated of Peter are in part only the personal qualities of Peter alone, for example, the greater zeal, the greater magnitude of soul, or the first fruits of preaching. Therefore the *Thou art Peter* is partly hortatory, and express nothing but a right of warning and admonishing. This applies as well to the words "*Confirm thy brethren*" and "*Feed my sheep*." Peter, therefore, was prior to the other Apostles in honor but not in power.

[60.50] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the first part of the antecedent. All of these things can be considered to be the occasion or the effect of the primacy, *I concede*; its essence, *I deny*. Nothing but the primacy of jurisdiction is the adequate object of the serious statements by which Peter is created is the rock, keeper of the keys, confirmer, and pastor of the whole Church: we seem to have sufficiently demonstrated this.

[60.51] *I deny* the second part. The words of Christ *confirm* and *feed* we have proved above are not merely hortatory, and do not merely express a power of admonishing. The other words of Christ, however, *Thou art Peter* and *I will give you the keys* demand our interpretation. Finally, just as the words of Christ to the Apostles, *Going, therefore, teach ye all men*, demonstrate the mandate and right of the Apostles even in the opinion of the adversaries, so the adduced text demonstrates the function and right of blessed Peter.

[60.52] **OBJECTION IV.** Peter is sent with John into Samaria by the Apostles. (Acts. VIII: 14) But a superior is not sent. Therefore Peter does not seem to be the head of all of them.

[60.53] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish*: Peter is sent by a common and fraternal counsel, *I concede*; by the power of the Apostles, *I deny*.

[60.54] **INSTANCE.** In the council of Jerusalem, after Peter, James says this and concludes: "*For which cause I judge.*" (Acts XV: 19) Therefore James, and not Peter, ^{was} were in charge of the council.

[60.55] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the antecedent. James pronounced these words in order to contradict, *I deny*; in order to consent, *I concede*. Nor was there anything done in that council which is seen to be contrary to the primacy. After a serious inquiry was done, Peter, rising up, rejects the heresy of the Pharisees: "*Now therefore, why tempt you God?*" (verse 10); he settled the question: "*But by the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, we believe to be saved in like manner as they also;*" When this was done, the matter was finished for everyone: *And all the multitude held their peace.* Barnabas and Paul illustrate the matter by new deeds: *and they heard Barnabas and Paul telling what great signs and wonders God had wrought*

among the Gentiles by them. (Verse 12) James relies upon the decree of Peter as a foundation — “for which cause” — for his practical conclusion. It does not matter whether James said with Peter, *I judge* or *I think*, when he was passing over into his judgement.⁷² Indeed, there was a great reverence for the person of James in Jerusalem, but it was certain that Peter was the author of this decree. (St. Jerome, *ep.* 44, 1)

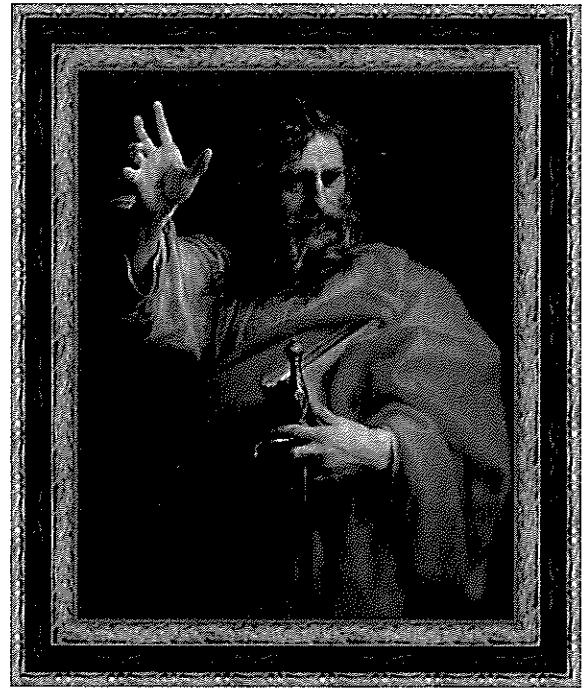
[60.56] **INSTANCE.** It is unbecoming that the head of the Church be reprehended by another Apostle. But Saint Paul resisted Saint Peter to his face, because he was reprehensible. (Galatians II: 11)

[60.57] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the major. It is unbecoming that the head of the Church be reprehended without a proportionate cause, *I concede*; if there is an urgent cause, *I deny*. The law of correction is of this nature, that “It must be observed, however, that if the faith were endangered, a subject ought to rebuke his prelate even publicly. Hence Paul, who was Peter’s subject, rebuked him in public, on account of the imminent danger of scandal concerning faith, and, as the gloss of Augustine says on Galatians 2:11, ‘Peter gave an example to superiors, that if at any time they should happen to stray from the straight path, they should not disdain to be reproved by their subjects.’” In the case, Peter, being excessively indulgent to the Judaizers, is criticized by Paul who feels a scandal to the brethren who are of the Gentiles, not because Peter had acted perversely, but because he had acted indiscreetly. (St. Thomas, *In Sent.* IV, dist. 38, q. 2, art. 3, ad 2) This is of a certain importance, because more was permitted to the person criticizing who was closer to the authority of Peter than the others. For Paul was “equal to Peter in the execution of authority, not however in the authority of government,” and “in a certain way equal with regard to the defense of the faith.” (St. Thomas, *In Ep. ad Gal.* chap. II, lect. 3) But God had assigned St. Paul to preach especially to the Gentiles (Gal II: 8). Therefore it was fitting that Paul resist Peter to his face in a question of prudence.

⁷² The true sense of the Greek word *krino* seems to be “I think.” Cf. Acts XXVI: 8 (*krinetai*); II Cor. V: 14 (*krinantas*).

[60.58] **INSTANCE.** Saint Paul said: “...for to me they that seemed to be some thing added nothing.” (Galatians II: 6) These words, however, are of a man who has contempt for those who seem to be something. Therefore Paul is contrary to the primacy.

[60.59] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the minor. These are the words of Paul who is correcting the perfidious contemnors of his apostolate, *I concede*; of a man having contempt for either Peter or another Apostle, *I deny*. The adversaries, having spurned Paul, were praising Peter, James, and John by a special zeal, as if they were the authentic Apostles. Saint Paul vigorously defends the *true and divine* origin of his apostolate, and certainly in this category Saint Peter had conferred nothing on Saint Paul: St. Paul says absolutely correctly: “For neither did I receive it of man, nor did I learn it; but by the revelation of Jesus Christ.” (Galatians I: 12) Cf. *supra*, q. V, art 4. objection 2.



SAINT PAUL

ARTICLE II
[61]
WHETHER THE PRIMACY OF PETER IS CERTAIN FROM TRADITION

[61.1] I. THE MANNER IN WHICH THE FATHERS INTERPRET THOSE TEXTS OF SACRED SCRIPTURE WHICH REGARD ~~TO~~ THE PRIMACY. Five things must be noticed with regard to this. [1] Where a multiple meaning of Sacred Scripture occurs, the Fathers explain it both in a *literal* or *historical* sense, and in a *spiritual* and *mystical* sense. [2] Some among them, who follow the Alexandrian School seek mysteries more subtly at times than truly, neglecting the letter. [3] The Fathers, most of all in sermons, use most often the accommodated sense, in some cases to demonstrate the way of moral life, and in some cases to refute the heresies of their age. [4] All of these things, since they are not said exclusively, do not damage in any way the literal sense and the doctrine of the primacy. So the Fathers at the Council of Nicea interpreted *super hanc petram* (Matth. XVI: 18) concerning Peter. After the Council of Nicea, when the Arian heresy had to be entirely refuted, the term *rock* is referred many times to Christ and the profession of the true Faith against the error of Arius. But where the primary sense is preserved, where the occasion arises, and is even explained. For the same reason, St. Augustine against the Donatists, who considered excessively the man in the administration of the sacraments, urges, what is entirely true, that Christ is the rock and foundation of the Church. Against these same, since they asserted that they had outside the unity of the Church a spiritual life, preaches that the power of the keys has been given to the Church. By such an interpretation, which is not exclusive, there is no prejudice against the primacy. [5] Since heresy against the primacy had not arisen in the early centuries of the Church, the Fathers speak only in a passing way about the primacy, rather than treating of it *ex professo*. As a result, they have left behind very clear testimonies concerning the primacy, but for the

most part, general. These things are said in order to dissolve the deniers and in order to have a critical understanding of the Fathers.

[61.2] II. THE POSITION OF THE ADVERSARIES. Quite a few Protestants, when the question of the primacy was to be treated according to the authority of the Fathers, did nothing else except to neglect or distort the judgements of the Fathers. Many do not deny that a great honor was paid to Peter by the Fathers. They add, however, that Catholics, in order to construct the primacy of jurisdiction, no less rashly and falsely exaggerate than they do with the testimony of the word of God. Nor are there lacking those who hold against the Roman primacy of Peter that the primacy of James in Jerusalem is in conformity with the ancient Faith. Among the schismatics there are quite a few who, although they do not reject the primacy of honor, nevertheless refuse any primacy of jurisdiction in Peter. } odd

[61.3] *Thesis.* THE PRIMACY OF ST. PETER IS CERTAIN FROM TRADITION.

ARGUMENTS

[61.4] ARGUMENT I. *From the testimony of the Fathers.* The Fathers attributed to Peter the primacy of jurisdiction with perfect agreement. Therefore the primacy must be admitted. *Proof of the antecedent.* [A] From the titles of Peter signifying the primacy, and [B] from statements.

[61.5] [A] *From the titles.* St. Peter is called *the rock and foundation of the Church*. (Tert. *De prescrip.* chapter XXII; Origen, *In Exod. Hom. V. 4*; *In ep. ad Romanos*, book V. 10; St. Cyprian, *ep. 71, 73, n. 11*; *De*

unitate eccl. n. 4; — *The head of the whole faith, and of the Apostles as well*, Council of Ephesus. Act. III. — *Keeper of the keys and Porter of Heaven*. St. Hilary, *Tract. in ps. CXXXI*, no. 4; St. Cyril of Jerusalem *Catech.* XVII. n. 27; S. Ephrem, *Or. in SS. Apost.* — *Prince and head of the Apostles*. Orig. *In Luc. Hom.* XVII; St. Hilary, *In Matth.* VII. 6; St. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech. myst.* II. n. 19.; S. Greg. Naz. *Poem. de seipso*; St. Epiphanius *Adv. Har.* n. 7; Conc. Ephes. Act. II. Cf. St. Clement of Alex. *Quis dives salvetur*. — Similarly in St. John Chrysostom, *In illud, hoc scitote*, n. 4: "And so Peter is the leader of that group, the mouth of all the Apostles, the head of that family, the prefect of the whole world, the foundation of the Church."

[61.6] [B] *From the statements of the Fathers.* Origen, in his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, VI, book V, no. 10: "Since to Peter was handed over the complete responsibility of feeding the sheep, and since upon him the Church was founded, as if upon the ground, no other confession of virtue is required of him except that of charity." St. John Chrysostom: "Jesus said to him: *Feed my sheep*... and committed to him the command of his brothers." Hom. 88. St. Cyprian: "Upon him alone He builds His Church, and He commands him to feed His sheep." *De unit. eccl.*, n. 4. St. Jerome: "Among the twelve, one is elected in order that a head having been established, an occasion of schism would be taken away." *In Jovin.* book I, 26. St. Leo the Great: "From the whole world there is chosen one Peter, who is set above the vocation of all of the Gentiles, and above all the Apostles, and above all the Fathers of the Church, so that, although there are many priests and many pastors in the Church of God, nevertheless, Peter rules properly all of them, whom Christ principally rules." *Serm. III de assumpt. sua*.

[61.7] There is an outstanding quotation of St. Ephrem of Syria: "Simon, my disciple, I have constituted you as the foundation of the holy Church; I called you Peter before, because you will sustain my whole building; you are the inspector of those who build for me a Church on earth. If they ever want to build anything evil, you as the foundation should repress them. You are the head of

the fountain from which my doctrine is drawn; you are the head of my disciples; through you I will give all nations to drink; yours is that life-giving sweetness which I grant; I have chosen you that you be in My institution that you become as the firstborn and heir of my treasures; the keys of My kingdom I have given to you. Behold I have constituted you as a prince over all my possessions." *Sermon IV on Holy Week*, n. 1.

[61.8] ARGUMENT II. *From the ancient monuments.* Pictures, sculptures, very ancient inscriptions show Peter with attributes by means of types, as someone having supreme power.

[61.9] [A] *Keys are attributes* in certain sarcophagi. Keys are a sign of supreme power, and is expressed even in ancient inscriptions, as these on images of St. Peter:

*Janitor hic celi est, fidei petra, culmen
honoris,*

Sedis Apostolicae rector et omne decus.

*Solve jubente Deo terrarum, Petre, catenas,
Qui facis, ut pateant caelestia regna beatis.*

[61.10] (De Rossi, *Inscript. Christiana Urbis Romanae*, t. II. p. 68. and 80) — The *staff* is also an insignia of the power of Peter. Christ in the ancient monuments touches Lazarus with a staff, in order that he be resuscitated. The same is true of the jars filled with water, in order that the water become wine. But this scepter, a symbol of power, is not attributed to any other Apostle, but is often attributed to Peter doubtlessly because, as Christ's vicar, the job of ruling is confided to him.

[61.11] [B] The most famous *type* of St. Peter is Moses. One sees in cemeteries and sarcophagi frequent images of Moses. But in the monuments, more than once is Peter substituted for Moses, for example, on a gold vessel (Garrucci, *Vetri* 2 tav. X³) where Moses is seen striking the rock with the rod, and lest anyone misunderstand the meaning of the type, it is written underneath: *Petrus*. Parallel monuments are seen which show Christ holding out a volume from heaven to Peter with the inscription:

lex. So the Lord gives the law, as He did in former times to Moses. (Exod. XXXI: 18; Deut. IX: 10) St. Augustine says: "Peter became the pastor of the Church just like Moses...was made the ruler of that synagogue." *C. Faustum*, book XXII, chap. 70. Likewise Macarius the Great: "Peter succeeded Moses, to whom the new Church of Christ and the true priesthood were confided." *Hom.* XXVI, n. 16. And so the primacy of Peter is from heaven, which is expressed in the very ancient catalogue of the Roman Pontiffs with these words: *Our Lord Jesus Christ suffered...and after His ascension, most blessed Peter received the episcopacy.*¹⁰ The words are either of Hippolytus, the redactor of the catalogue in 235 A.D. or of Philocalus, the compiler, in 354.

[61.12] ARGUMENT III. *The testimony of the schismatics.* St. Peter in the liturgical books of the Photian church, that is, Greek and Russian church, is distinguished by titles which confirm the primacy of Peter.

[61.13] [A] The titles of Peter are: [1] *rock and foundation*; [2] *rock of the Church*; [3] *rock of faith, the fundamental basis of faith*; [4] *the basis of the Church*; [5] *the basis of the Apostles*; [6] *the chief and first of the Apostles*; [7] *the supreme chief of the Apostles*; [8] *the first prince of the Apostles*; [9] *the lordly pastor of all the Apostles*; [10] *the keeper of the keys of the kingdom of heaven*; [11] *he who is set above the Church of God, and presides over it*; [12] *the first throne*, etc. But these titles, especially when taken together, are such that a Catholic hymn writer could not, in a hymn, celebrate in a more pious way the primacy of St. Peter.

[61.14] [B] *The explanations of the titles which were produced in the liturgical books of the Photians.* In these liturgical books, titles are used [1] to distinguish St. Peter from St. Paul and the other Apostles; [2] to explain certain favors conceded particularly to Peter, and some acts of supreme jurisdiction, accomplished by St. Peter. Therefore the Greek-Russian liturgy recognizes the primacy of St. Peter.

[61.15] [1] The titles mentioned are *distinctive* of St. Peter. First of all they are said of Peter as proper

to him and as indicating a special role. So St. Peter the Apostle, is called *coryphaeus* (chief, leader), no other name being added. Secondly, if some of these titles are attributed to others in a broad sense, they are said so *especially* of Peter that they are opposed to the proper titles of the other Apostles. For example: "O Peter, *rock and foundation*, and Paul, *vessel of election*." Likewise concerning St. Peter and St. Paul: "*To him (Peter) the keys of the kingdom of heaven have been given, and he (Paul) was taken up to heaven.*" Finally only Peter is called *basis of the Apostles, the supreme basis of the Apostles*.

[61.16] [2] From the titles, inasmuch as they are not meaningless names, the privileges and acts of Peter are explained. So in the Office of the 29th of June, at Matins, we read: "To you... *as you were the presider over the Apostles*, Christ appeared first after His resurrection. In another place: *As he was supreme among the Apostles, he stood out as the first teacher and the first preacher.*" On the other hand, St. Andrew is invoked in this manner: "*As you are the first to be called among the Apostles, and brother of the chief*, pray, etc." Finally in the Office of the 18th of February, St. Leo the Pope is celebrated as *endowed with his presidency*. By the statements therefore of the Photian churches, it is affirmed that Peter is *the supreme pastor of rational sheep*.

OBJECTIONS

[61.17] OBJECTION I. Among the Fathers, Augustine, in the *Retractationes*, lib. I, no 21, Jerome in *In Matth.* VII, 26, and others openly teach that Peter in Matth. XVI: 18 ~~that~~ the word Peter comes from *petra* which is Christ, and *super hanc petram* means that the Church is built upon Christ. Therefore these Fathers do not think that by these words the primacy was promised to Peter.

[61.18] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. This exposition of some Fathers is coordinated, *I concede*; is exclusive, *I deny*, and *I deny* the conclusion. St. Thomas in his exposition on St. Matthew, chapter XVI, joins both interpretations: "But what is it? Is Christ and Peter the foundation? It must be said that Christ is, *secundum se*, but Peter is inasmuch as he has the confession of Christ,

inasmuch as he is His vicar."⁷³ And so (a) the Fathers in their interpretations sometimes regarded the efficient cause of the rock, and the principal rock more than the secondary rock. (b) This was easily able to happen because *petrus* (gr. *petros*) were clearly derived from the word *petra*; in Syro-chaldaic, however, we see in both places exactly one and the same word *kepha* used. (c) The Fathers especially used that interpretation of *petra* concerning Christ in order that the Arian heresy and similar errors be extirpated. (d) In fact, all the ante-Nicene Fathers explained *petra* concerning Peter; the post-Nicene interpreted *petra* concerning Christ in such a way that they protected also the explanation given by the older Fathers, when the occasion presented itself.



SAINT AUGUSTINE & SAINT AMBROSE

[61.19] INSTANCE. St. Augustine said in the *Retractationes* (lib. I, 21): "I know that I afterwards very often explained what was said by the Lord to Peter: 'Thou art Peter...', in such a way that it would

⁷³ From St. Thomas' comment one could conclude that where the confession of Christ is absent so is the ratio of *petra* absent. Hence a public heretic, in whom there is no confession of Christ, could not have the ratio of *petra*.

be understood to mean him who made the confession, 'Thou art the Christ the Son of the living God.' For it was not said to him: 'Thou art rock,' but 'Thou art Peter.' The rock, however, was Christ." Therefore the mind of Augustine that the word *rock of the Church* applies exclusively to Christ.

[61.20] RESPONSE. I distinguish the antecedent. Augustine speaks positively, I deny; doubtfully, I subdistinguish: erring in etymology, I concede; casting doubt on the primacy, I deny. The response is certain from the following things. (a) St. Augustine speaks doubtfully, for he says: "Of these opinions, which is the more probable, let the reader decide." (b) He erred in etymology. For his argument is: "It was not said to him 'Thou art *petra*,' but 'Thou art *Petrus*.' Likewise in *In Joannem*, 124, no. 5, he says: "*Petrus* is from *petra*, just as *Christ* is not from *Christian*, but *Christian* is from *Christ*." But in the original there is no giving of a surname, but in each case it is only *kepha*. Nor do *petros* and *petra* [in Greek] differ according to the thing, but only according to the term. (c) It is evident that Augustine, even if he proposed his second exposition definitively, was not against the primacy, both because of many and very outstanding statements, by which the saint commends the primacy in his writings, but also from the very place which has been objected. Christ namely is said to be the foundation of the Church, not excluding Peter; *Petrus*, by a special reason, is denominated from *petra*, which is Christ. For so he speaks in his commentary on John in the cited place: "For on this very account the Lord said, 'On this rock will I build my Church,' because Peter had said, 'You are the Christ, the Son of the living God.'" Matthew 16:16-19 On this rock, therefore, He said, which you have confessed, I will build my Church. For the Rock (*Petra*) was Christ; 1 Corinthians 10:4 and on this foundation was Peter himself also built. For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Christ Jesus." In the same way, however, that this sincere doctrine concerning Christ as foundation takes away nothing of those things from the Apostles and prophets because of which they are said to be in Sacred Scripture, and by St. Augustine, to be a foundation. (Eph. II: 20) So in Peter nothing is denied because

Peter was called by Christ *petra* in a special way. And so the older exposition of Augustine, according to which he interpreted *petra* to mean Peter (*Contr. epist. Donati*) and this later position differ more according to a manner of speaking than according to the thing itself. St. Thomas follows the mind of Saint Augustine, for he said, "Christ according to himself...but Peter inasmuch as he is His vicar." (*loc. cit.*)

[61.21] **INSTANCE.** Some Fathers, like St. Hilary in the *De Trin.* VI, 36, say that the faith of Peter or the confession of Peter is the *petra*. Likewise St. Augustine says this in many places. Therefore the person of Peter cannot be said to be the *petra*.

[61.22] **RESPONSE.** I distinguish the antecedent. This exposition of some Fathers regards the *petra* formaliter, I deny; causaliter, I subdistinguish: exclusively, I deny; otherwise, I concede. The Fathers at times extol the faith as the meritorious cause of the primacy of blessed Peter. However, this did not have the effect that they excluded Peter as the *petra* considered in se and formally, but that they took the opportunity of preaching the Incarnation against heresies, as Saint Hilary in the work entitled *de Trinitate*. Furthermore the Fathers not only teach the primacy in other places, but at times join together both interpretations. So St. Hilary in the *de Trinitate* VI, 36 says: "The building rests, therefore, upon this rock of the confession of the Church...This faith has the keys of the kingdom of heaven...Hence [Peter] has the keys of the kingdom of heaven...Hence his terrestrial judgements are celestial." In a similar way some of the statements of Saint Augustine are understood more truly by a comparison to his entire doctrine. The Fathers, finally, in explaining this passage concerning the faith, are considering the faith concretely in Peter, and not in the abstract; for this reason St. Jerome, in his epistle 61, does not hesitate to affirm that the body of Peter was not walking upon the waters, but his faith.

[61.23] **OBJECTION II.** Saint Augustine said: "Because of that very person of the whole Church which Peter alone bore, he merited to hear: 'I give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.'" For not a single

man but the unity of the Church received these keys." (*In Nat. sanct. Apostol. Petri & Pauli*, sermo I) Therefore since the keys were given to the Church and not to Peter, then from the words, "I give to thee the keys," nothing is concluded.

[61.24] **RESPONSE.** I distinguish the antecedent. A single person did not receive the keys to be reserved for himself, I concede; a single person did not receive them in order to be communicated to others, I deny. Saint Augustine, in that place which is objected to us, teaches the faithful what other Fathers had mentioned before him against the Montanists and the Novatians, namely that the keys of binding and loosing sins were not taken away from the Church with the person of Peter. For this reason, in Sermon 149, *De diversis*, he destroys the Novatians, saying: "Are these keys not in the Church, where sins are daily remitted?" Similarly Saint Ambrose said in the *Ennar. in Psal. XXXVIII*, verse 37, "I give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven; Novatian does not hear this, but the Church hears it; therefore he remains in sin, we however in remission." It is not necessary to spend many words on this matter, provided that the exposition of the Scriptures are perceived as they are adapted to the times. What, for example, is more certain than the doctrine of this Doctor concerning the hierarchy? Nevertheless, in his commentary *In Joan.*, 124-7, he says: "The universal Church binds and looses sins." But at the same time he says: "The keys are administered through the bishops in the Church." (Sermon 351, 9) In like manner, various, but not contrary, positions are found in his writings concerning texts which regard the primacy.

[61.25] **INSTANCE.** Again, St. Augustine says: "Peter appears in many places of the Scriptures, because he bears the person of the Church, but most of all in that place where it is said: 'I give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.'" (Sermon 149) Therefore Peter did not receive anything special.

[61.26] **RESPONSE.** I distinguish the antecedent. Peter bore the person of the Church as a ruler, I concede; as equal to the others, I deny. Saint Augustine says: "Peter is called blessed from the rock, carrying the figure of the Church, holding the primacy of the Apostles." (Sermon 76) Likewise "he is

recognized to have borne the person of this Church because of the primacy which he had over the disciples." (*In Psalm. CVIII*); he also says: "Peter the Apostle, because of his primacy of apostolate, bore the person of the Church in a figurative universality." (*De baptismo*, II, 1) Likewise Moses, when God spoke to him, is said by Augustine to have borne the figure and person of the Jews, and is very often called by him at the same time their *prince* and *ruler*. That this is correctly cited in order to understand the more obscure texts, is apparent from the words of the holy Doctor: "What is incongruous if Peter was made pastor of the Church after this sin, just as Moses, after having struck the Egyptian, was made the ruler of that synagogue?" (*Against Faustus*, lib. XXII, 70) Moses and Peter bear the person of the community because of their principality.

[61.27] *INSTANCE*. The Fathers teach that all of the Apostles were equal to Peter in power. Among these are Saint Cyprian: "What Peter was the Apostles were also, endowed with an equal fellowship of both ~~honor~~ and power." (*De unitate eccl*)

[61.28] *RESPONSE*. *I distinguish* the antecedent: the Apostles were what Peter was in the apostolate, *I concede*; in the primacy, *I deny*. St. Cyprian in that place is considering the quality of the apostolate; hence he begins with the words by which Christ sent all the Apostles into the world. He says: "Although to all the Apostles, after his resurrection, He gives an equal power, and says, 'Receive the Holy Ghost, etc.'" Notice that he is speaking about the apostolate. But he says

concerning the primacy: "Nevertheless, in order that He manifest unity, He established the origin of this same unity by His authority beginning from one person." Nor is Peter merely a symbol of unity, but is the cause of it; for St. Cyprian says: "One Church and one see was founded upon Peter by the word of the Lord." (*Ep.* 40) For this reason he calls the Roman Church "the principal Church, from which the sacerdotal unity has arisen." (*Ep.* 55) Likewise "He built His Church upon Peter, for which reason He established and showed the origin of unity." (*Ep.* 70 & 73) Peter, therefore, is the instrumental cause of the firmness and unity of the Church under Christ, who is the principal cause; but the cause of unity cannot exist without primacy.

[61.29] *INSTANCE*. Even James and Paul are sometimes placed over the rest, for Paul is called by St. John Chrysostom in *Hom. III ad Matth.* "the greatest of the Apostles," and "the first of all." Therefore Peter was not superior to all.

[61.30] *RESPONSE*. *I distinguish* the antecedent. These Fathers were regarding the primacy, *I deny*; labors and other merits, *I concede*. And *I distinguish* the conclusion: Peter was not superior to all in doctrine by preaching and sanctity, *let it pass*; by power, *I deny*. Nothing prevents that one Apostle, *in this respect*, that is, inasmuch as he excelled, be considered first. But Peter alone simpliciter is first. So St. Thomas teaches that St. Paul excelled over all the other Apostles by laboring and preaching and by bearing tribulations. (*Expos. in ep. I ad Corinth.*, XV, lect. 1) But the primacy is not rejected by Saint Thomas Aquinas.

ARTICLE III
[62]
WHETHER ST. PETER ALONE RECEIVED THE PRIMACY FROM
CHRIST

[62.1] I. STATUS QUESTIONIS. The controversy is concerning the equality between St. Peter and St. Paul. A threefold equality can be distinguished, namely of primacy, apostolate, and of Roman episcopacy. Here we are not speaking of Paul as a co-bishop of Rome with St. Peter. A certain equality of apostolate is doubtlessly conceded in the "execution of authority" and in the "defense of the faith," according to the things we have said above in article 1. But we reject completely equality between Sts. Peter and Paul without subordination of Paul to Peter by reason of the primacy.

[62.2] II. CONDEMNED ERROR. Martin of Barcos⁷⁴ and Antoine Arnauld⁷⁵, above all, recognized St. Paul in communion with the primacy, each producing works in the same year of 1645. The first wrote a work entitled, *The Greatness of the Church of Rome, Established on the Authority of Sts. Peter and Paul*. The second wrote a book called *On the Authority of Sts. Peter and Paul Residing in the Pope their Successor*. Innocent X condemned it in a decree of the Holy Office of Jan 25, 1647.

⁷⁴ MARTIN DE BARCOS (1600–1678) was a French theologian of the Jansenist School. He was born at Bayonne, a nephew of Jean du Vergier de Hauranne, Abbot of Saint-Cyran, who sent him to Belgium to be taught by Cornelius Jansen. When he returned to France he served for a time as tutor to the son of Robert Arnauld d'Andilly and later, 1644, succeeded his uncle at the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Cyran in Berry. He did much to improve the abbey; new buildings were erected, and the library much enhanced. Unlike many commendators of his day who scarcely ever saw the abbey over which they held authority, Barcos became an active member of Saint-Cyran, was ordained priest 1647, and gave himself up to the rigid asceticism preached by his sect.

⁷⁵ ANTOINE ARNAULD (February 6, 1612 – August 6, 1694) — le Grand as contemporaries called him, to distinguish him from his father — was a French Roman Catholic theologian, philosopher, and mathematician. He was one of the leading intellectuals of the Jansenist group of Port-Royal and had a very thorough knowledge of patristics.

Thesis: ST. PETER ALONE RECEIVED THE PRIMACY.

ARGUMENTS

[62.3] ARGUMENT I. That which is asserted gratuitously and which contradicts both Sacred Scripture and all other testimonies, is false. But such is the case in the opinion expressed concerning a two-headed Church. And indeed [A] there is not even the slightest mention of the primacy of Paul either in the epistles or gospels of the Apostles or in any other part of Sacred Scripture. [B] All texts, by which we have proved the supreme power of Peter, are totally alien to any primacy of Paul. [C] In the testimonies of the Fathers, there is frequent mention of Peter as head of *all* the Apostles, and that from one Peter the unity of the Church arises.

[62.4] ARGUMENT II. That which is *one per se* is the cause of unity more suitably than many things which are united. (Ia, q. 103, art. 3) But the primacy was instituted as the cause of unity. Therefore from the beginning it was necessary that the Church be governed by one person.

OBJECTIONS

[62.5] OBJECTION I: The old hymn goes this way: *O happy Rome! You who were consecrated by the glorious blood of two princes*. Likewise Paul is called by others a prince, e.g., by the Fathers of the Council of Florence. Therefore the primacy of Peter was not singular.

[62.6] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. Peter and Paul are two princes by *diverse ratio*, *I concede*, both by the ratio of the primacy, *I deny*. This very thing was said by Venantius Fortunatus⁷⁶:

⁷⁶ VENANTIUS HONORIUS CLEMENTIANUS FORTUNATUS (c.530–c.600/609) was a Latin poet and hymnodist in the

"Peter was the prince by the key, and Paul by the first dogma." (Liber IX, carmen 2) Similarly, he said: "Among the Apostolic crowns by radiant light, this one was more learned in admonition, and the other higher by grade."

[62.7] **INSTANCE.** The Supreme Pontiffs called themselves the successors of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and by their authority they affirm in the more important decrees that they are supported. But this practice seems to have arisen only from a two-headed primacy.

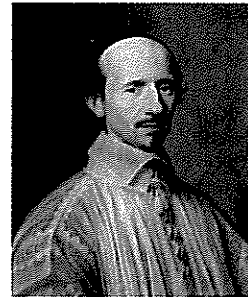
[62.8] **RESPONSE:** *I distinguish.* The formulas of decrees of this type must be understood in a broader sense, *I concede*; in the stricter sense, *I deny*. Since one labor and martyrdom joined together the blessed Apostles in Rome, the *ratio* of these formulas is very congruous. So St. Leo the Great said, "These are the ones who have carried you [Rome] to this glory, in order that...having become the head of the world through the sacred see of blessed Peter, you rule more widely by religion than by terrestrial domination." (*In natal. Apost. Petri & Pauli*) The Pontiffs sometimes invoke not only the authority of Paul but also of all the saints, as St. Nicholas the Great did against Photius and Alexander II did in *Ep. IX*. Yet who would see all of these as the heads of the Church?

[62.9] **OBJECTION II.** It is frequent that in the ancient monuments Paul is seen to the right, and Peter to the left. Therefore the ancients professed a complete equality between Peter and Paul.

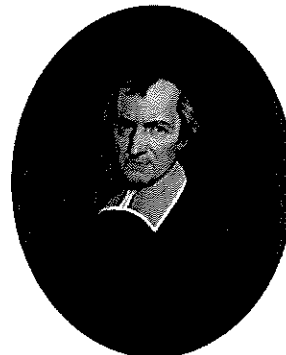
[62.10] **RESPONSE.** *Let the antecedent pass. I deny the consequent.* [A] De Rossi thinks that the disposition of right and left is of little importance, to the extent that the artists often paid no attention to it. So sometimes St. Agnes holds the right place, and the Blessed Virgin Mary holds the left place. The husband is often seen to the left of the wife. In the Capitoline temple, and in all the ancient monuments, Juno, who is the major goddess, is located to the left of Jupiter, and Minerva to his right. In fact, even in the bulls of the Roman Pontiffs, St. Paul is seen at the right.

[62.11] [B] Archeologists distinguish a twofold series of images of this type: one in which the ordinary concept of left and right is retained, and

another in which the symbolic sense prevails. For example in Varro we read these things: "*When you look to the South from the seat of the gods, the eastern parts of the world are to the left, and western parts of the world are to the right.*" But Peter preached more to the Jews, that is to the east, and Paul more to the Gentiles, that is, to the west, according to this verse: "*But contrariwise, when they had seen that to me was committed the gospel of the uncircumcision, as to Peter was that of the circumcision.*" (Galatians II: 7) For this reason, most probably in symbolic images the right is assigned to Paul just as in the first series it was customary to assign it to Peter. You can see other symbolic explanations in St. Peter Damian, *Opuscula XXXV* and from the bulls of the Roman Pontiffs. Cf. St. Thomas *In Gal. I*, lect. 1.



MARTIN DE BARCOS (1600-1678)



ANTOINE ARNAULD (FEBRUARY 6, 1612 - AUGUST 6, 1694)

Merovingian Court, and a Bishop of the early Catholic Church. He was never canonized but was venerated as Saint Venantius Fortunatus during the middle ages.

ARTICLE IV
[63]
WHETHER ST. PETER HAS PERPETUAL SUCCESSORS BY GOD'S
ORDINANCE

[63.1] I. STATUS QUÆSTIONIS. Apostolic power, besides the *ordinary* episcopal power, which it contained, embraced *extraordinary* prerogatives, by which the Apostles could propagate the Church everywhere. But this power, since it was *extraordinary* and was based on the necessity of the *nascent* Church, did not remain when the Apostles died. The thesis, therefore, does not concern the extraordinary power of Peter, but concerns the primacy, which was instituted not only because the Church was in its beginning stages, but for the purpose of ruling the Christian society in itself, and we believe that it is continued through legitimate successors of Peter until the end of the world. The Protestants, if the more moderate among them do not completely reject all the privileges of Peter, consider those privileges to be only *personal* and are opposed to any succession of the primacy. Among Catholics, however, the following decree of the Vatican Council has validity: "If anyone then says that it is not from the institution of Christ the Lord Himself, or by divine right that the blessed Peter has perpetual successors in the primacy over the universal Church, or that the Roman Pontiff is not the successor of blessed Peter in the same primacy, let him be anathema." [Denz. 1825] We will speak about the final part of the decree and *who* is the successor of Peter.

[63.2] *Thesis*: ST. PETER, BY CHRIST'S ORDINANCE, HAS PERPETUAL SUCCESSORS IN THE PRIMACY.

ARGUMENTS

[63.3] ARGUMENT I. *From the perpetuity of the Church*. The essence of the Church is not changed. But the primacy pertains to the essence of the Church. Therefore the primacy is perpetual. But Peter has ceased to bear the primacy in his own person. He exercises the primacy, therefore, through successors. Indeed nothing can be more essential to an ordered society than its government and head; and since it is certain that the gates of hell will not prevail against the Church, it is necessary that there remain the rock, upon which the Church has been built. Cf. Matth. XVI: 18; St. Thomas in *Contra Gentes*, IV. 76.

[63.4] ARGUMENT II. *From the necessity of the primacy*. St. Thomas proves the perpetuity of the primacy by two arguments [A] wherever there are many governments ordered to one, it is necessary that there be some universal government above the particular governments. Otherwise there could be nothing to bind them into a single whole. Therefore there must be some ruling power with respect to the whole Church. This is the power of the Roman Pontiff. Suppl. q. XL, art. 6; IIa IIæ q. 39, art. 1.

[63.5] [B] "There must be no doubt that the government of the Church is optimally ordered, since it was established by Him through whom *kings reign and lawgivers decree just things*." (Prov. VIII: 15) But the best government of the multitude is that it

be governed by one person. This is evident from the purpose of government, which is peace; for peace and unity of the subjects is the end of government; but one person is a more congruous cause of unity than many persons. It is therefore clear that the government of the Church is so established that one person be in charge of the whole Church." *Contra Gent.* IV. 76. Cf. Ia, q. 103, art. 3.

[63.6] ARGUMENT III. *From tradition.* from the testimony of the Fathers, we can know what they think of the perpetuity of the primacy. We send the reader to the next question but nevertheless we adduce some testimonies here. *St. Ambrose*: "Where Peter is, there is the Church." *In ps. XL*, 30. — *St. Peter Chrysologus*: "Peter always lives and presides in his see." (*Ep. ad Eutych*). — *St. Leo the Great*: "Peter will never cease to be over his see." *Serm. The Fathers of Ephesus*: "Who [Peter] lives until this time and in his successors and exercises judgement." (*Acta III*) Very many things like this have been said by the Fathers, affirming that the primacy was given to Peter *for the sake of unity*. Among them is *St. Cyprian*, in *De unitate ecclesiae* and in *Epistle 37*; *Optatus of Miletus*, *Contra Parmen.* VII. 4; *St. Jerome*, *Adv. Jovinian.* book 4; *Pacianus*, who said, "to one therefore, in order to form unity from one." *Epistle*, 3.

OBJECTIONS

[63.7] OBJECTION I. The primacy is a personal gift of Peter. Therefore it was extinguished with the person of Peter.

[63.8] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent: the primacy is a personal gift of Peter inasmuch as it does not pertain to the other Apostles or to the faithful, *I concede*; it is a private gift and not a public gift; *I deny*. The principality was given to Peter for the good of the Christian society which, by its very nature, requires a ruler.

[63.9] INSTANCE. The apostolate must also be considered to pertain to the good of the Church. But the apostolate in the Church did not remain. Therefore the primacy also expired.

[63.10] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. The apostolate pertained to the good of the Church as an extraordinary means, *I concede*; as ordinary, *I*

deny, and *I distinguish* the minor. The apostolate did not remain with regard to the extraordinary power, *I concede*; with regard to the ordinary, *I deny*. The power of the Church, in the weakness of its beginning required the extraordinary power of the Apostles in order that it be propagated. Once propagated, it was not able to lack the primacy lest, as an extended kingdom, it be deprived of its unity.

[63.11] OBJECTION II. Paul, in depicting a living image of the Church to us, says: "*And God indeed hath set some in the church; first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly doctors; after that miracles; then the graces of healing, helps, governments, kinds of tongues, interpretations of speeches.*" (I Cor. XII: 28) Cf. Ephesians IV: 11. He does not add, however, that there is one man in charge of all. Therefore Paul thinks that there is no essential primacy in the Church.

[63.12] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major: *St. Paul* mentions the charisms, *I concede*; he is making a list of the hierarchical grades, *I deny*. *I distinguish* the minor. The Apostle adds nothing concerning the primacy because he is not talking about this, *I concede*; because he does not admit the primacy, *I deny*. *St. Paul*, although he touches upon the power of ruling by these words, "*first apostles*," is considering the internal and mystical temperament of the Church rather than its external order; for this reason, he adds: "But be zealous for the better gifts. And I shew unto you yet a more excellent way." (Verse 31)

[63.13] OBJECTION III. The unity of the Church can be preserved; bishops are assigned in each of its Churches. Therefore the primacy is superfluous.

[63.14] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. In this way the unity of a particular Church can be preserved, *let it pass*; the universal Church, *I deny*. *St. Thomas* correctly says: "Hence it is evident that the supreme power in the direction of the faithful pertains to the episcopal dignity. Now although the people are distributed among various dioceses and cities, nevertheless there is but one Church, and therefore only one Christian people."

Consequently, just as a bishop is appointed as the head of a certain people and a particular Church, so much the whole Christian people ~~be~~^{is} subject to one who is the head of the whole Church." (*Contra Gentes*, IV, no. 76)

[63.15] INSTANCE. Christ is the Head of the whole Church. Therefore the primacy is superfluous.

[63.16] RESPONSE. Christ is the invisible head. But the Church also needs a visible head. For, as Saint Thomas says: "For this very reason, then, that

He [Christ] was about to withdraw His bodily presence from the Church, He needed to appoint one to take His place in governing the whole Church." (*loc. cit*)

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QUESTION XV

THE PRIMACY OF THE ROMAN PONTIFF

Having discovered that Christ conferred the jurisdiction of supreme pastor and ruler over the whole Church on blessed Peter, and that this primacy by divine law is perpetual, we must next inquire about *who* succeeds to blessed Peter. But we hold that there is no other successor than the Roman Pontiff. For this reason we must ask:

FIRST. WHETHER ST. PETER CAME TO ROME.

SECOND. WHETHER ST. PETER ESTABLISHED HIS SEE IN ROME

THIRD. WHETHER ST. PETER DIED IN ROME.

FOURTH. WHETHER THE ROMAN PONTIFF IS THE SUCCESSOR OF ST. PETER IN THE SAME PRIMACY.

FIFTH. BY WHAT RIGHT THE PRIMACY IS ATTACHED TO THE ROMAN EPISCOPATE.

ARTICLE I

[64]

WHETHER ST. PETER CAME TO ROME

[64.1] I. STATUS QUESTIONIS. The fact of the journey of St. Peter to Rome and of his Roman episcopate, by which he functioned as prince and head of the Church until his death, seems to be connected intimately with the primacy of the Roman Pontiff. If we inquire into *what could have been*, God doubtlessly could have determined immediately or through Peter, that the Roman bishop, although St. Peter had never seen Rome, nor ever held the Roman episcopacy, would be the successor of St. Peter. In the concrete case, however, the *fact* of the succession is that the *Roman bishop* succeeds Peter *in the primacy*.

[64.2] This question can be considered either from a dogmatic or a historical point of view.

Dogmatically, the following reasoning is valid. The primacy of Peter must always be continued in successors. But outside of the succession in the Roman episcopate, there was never any form of succession. Therefore this form of succession and the fact of the Roman episcopate of Peter, the foundation of this same form, must be true. However, we must use here historical arguments. But in the very matter to be treated historically, we accept as the only essential fact, Peter's coming to Rome and his episcopate in Rome, as what needs to be proved. We omit the accidental question of when Peter came to Rome and other circumstances of greater or lesser importance.

[64.3] II. THE ADVERSARIES. [A] That Peter was in Rome was professed by all Catholics, heretics, and pagans. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Waldensians raised a doubt. In the fourteenth century, Marsilius of Padua, in his work *Defensor Pacis*, held that the Roman episcopate of St. Peter was not certain. When the Lutheran war broke out, Ulrich Velenus in the year 1520, in his work entitled *Tractatus, quod Petrus apostolus numquam Roma fuerit*, contended that Peter never was in Rome after the death of Christ, but rather suffered in Jerusalem, and said that the arguments of Catholics were only sophistry. Many heretics followed Velenus, especially Spanheim the younger in his dissertation, which was repetitious of what many Protestants had said, entitled, *On the Fictitious Journey of Peter the Apostle to the City of Rome, and Concerning more than One Origin of the Tradition*. Against Velenus, in the year 1522, Saint John Fisher, the bishop of Rochester, wrote the *Convulsio calumniarum Ulrici Veleni*. In 1524 Cochlaeus⁷⁷ and Dietenberger⁷⁸, in the work:

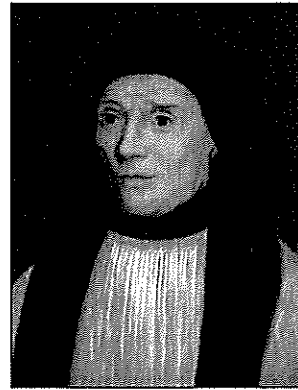
⁷⁷ JOHANN COCHLAEUS (Cochläus) (1479 - January 10, 1552) was a German humanist and controversialist.

Originally Johann Dobneck, he was born of poor parents at Wendelstein (near Nuremberg), from which he obtained the punning surname Cochlaeus (spiral), for which he occasionally substituted Wendelstinus. Educated at Nuremberg from the humanist Heinrich Grieninger, he entered the University of Cologne in 1504. In 1507 he graduated, and published under the name of Wendelstein his first piece, *In musicam exhortatorium*. He left Cologne (May 1510) to become schoolmaster at Nuremberg, where he brought out several school manuals. In 1515 he was at Bologna, hearing (with disgust) Eck's famous disputation on the subject of usury, and associating with Ulrich von Hutten and humanists.

He took his doctor's degree at Ferrara (1517), and spent some time in Rome, where he was ordained priest. In 1520 he became dean of the Liebfrauenkirche at Frankfurt, where he first entered the lists as a controversialist against the party of Martin Luther, developing that bitter hatred to the Reformation which animated his forceful but shallow ascription of the movement to the meanest motives, due to a quarrel between the Dominicans and Augustinians. Luther would not meet him in discussion at Mainz in 1521. He was present at the Diets of Worms (1521), Speyer (1526 and 1529), Augsburg (1530) and Regensburg (1541).

The peasants' war drove him from Frankfurt; he obtained (1526) a canonry at Mainz; in 1529 he became secretary to Duke George of Saxony, at Dresden and Meissen. The death of his patron (1539) compelled him to take flight. He became canon (September 1539) at Breslau, where he died. He was a prolific writer, largely of overgrown pamphlets, harsh and furious. His more serious efforts retain no permanent value. With humanist convictions, he had little of the humanist spirit. We owe to him one of the few contemporary notices of the young Michael Servetus.

Ob sant Peter zu Rom sey gewesen, and many others who, up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, confounded the new attackers in a very erudite and solid manner.



SAINT JOHN FISHER (1469-1535)

[64.4] [B] In the nineteenth century, the fact of the journey of Peter to Rome began to be denied with a certain new anger and force, especially under the influence of Eichhorn⁷⁹ in his *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*. But in most cases they used old weapons, namely the silence of Sacred Scripture and tracts which either gave a perverse sense to the testimonies of the Fathers, or rejected them. But that faction of Protestant rationalism did not lack its own peculiar arguments, namely the school of

⁷⁸ JOHANN DIETENBERGER. Theologian, b. about 1475 at Frankfort-on-the-Main, d. 4 Sept., 1537, at Mainz. He was educated in his native city, joined the Dominican Order, and soon distinguished himself by his attainments, both religious and intellectual. On 3 June, 1511, he registered at Cologne as a theological student; three years later, 23 September, 1514, he was admitted to the licentiate, and the next year, after some time spent at Heidelberg and Mainz, received the doctor's degree. Towards the end of 1517 Dietenberger was appointed Regens studiorum and interpreter of St. Thomas at Trier, where he opened his lectures 27 January, 1518. In the meantime he had been elected (1516) prior of his convent at Frankfort, and he retained this office until 1526, when he became prior at Coblenz. In 1530 Dietenberger attended the Diet of Augsburg and was chosen a member of the committee of twenty Catholic theologians selected at the meeting of 27 June and presided over by Eck, to draw up a refutation of the Protestant Confession. About the same time he received the appointment of general inquisitor for the Dioceses of Mainz and Cologne. His last years, from 1532, were devoted to teaching theology and exegesis in the Academy of Mainz.

⁷⁹ JOHANN GOTTFRIED EICHORN (October 16, 1752 - June 27, 1827), was a German protestant theologian of Enlightenment and early orientalist.

Tübingen, which made this form of reasoning. In the beginning of the Christian religion, there was a Judaic-Christian faction, or *Petrinism*, and a pagan Christian or *Paulism*, but neither was the Catholic Church. Then around the middle of the second century, Petro-paulism rose up, that is, a Catholic faction. Cf. Question 5, art. 4. It is in conformity with this hypothesis to also say, in regard to St. Peter's stay in Rome, that it was made up, both by Petrinism and by the Petro-pauline faction. For it was in the interest of each that these things be made up. It was in the interests of Petrinism in order to denigrate Paul, that Peter preached in Rome, in order that the glory of the Roman faith would transfer from Paul to Peter. In fact, Peter is believed to have overcome Paul under the figure of Simon the Magician. But these things are legends of the *Pseudoclementine* literature.⁸⁰ For the Petro-paulists, eager to settle the controversy, it was most opportune that Peter and Paul, now distinct from Simon the Magician, collaborate in a peaceful way in Rome, and that peace be confirmed by a glorious martyrdom of both of them. Ad so it was invented. But the fathers of this tale are either conscious of the double source of the fiction, or they are victims of it. This hypothetical argumentation was that of many modern writers, from the year 1831. F. Ch. Baur, Zeller, and Langen (see book for references). Others, such as Schmiedel and Grill still hesitate.

[64.5] Among the more recent who have presented the old arguments again, there is Mücke,

⁸⁰ CLEMENTINE LITERATURE (also called Clementia, Pseudo-Clementine Writings, The Preaching of Peter - Kerygma Petrou - etc.) is the name given to the religious romance which purports to contain a record made by one Clement (whom the narrative identifies as both Pope Clement I, and Domitian's cousin Titus Flavius Clemens) of discourses involving the apostle Peter, together with an account of the circumstances under which Clement came to be Peter's travelling companion, and of other details of Clement's family history. This romance has come down to us in two forms: one form is called the Clementine Homilies, which consists of 20 books and exists in the original Greek; the other is called the Clementine Recognitions, for which the original Greek has been lost, but exists in a translation made by Rufinus (died 410). Two later epitomes of the Homilies also exist, and there is a partial Syriac translation, which embraces the Recognitions (books 1-3), and the Homilies (books 10-14), preserved in two British Library manuscripts, one of which was written in the year 411. Some fragments of the Clementines are known in Arabic and in Slavonic.

in *Dei Wichtigkeit* etc. (1886), who contends that Apostolic succession of the Roman Pontiffs is void. A few, however, even among the non-Catholics, do not deny now that Peter was in Rome.

[64.6] *Thesis.* BLESSED PETER CAME TO ROME.

ARGUMENTS

[64.7] ARGUMENT I. *From Sacred Scripture.* St. Peter in his first epistle, V: 13, writes in this way: *Salutat vos ecclesia, quæ est in Babylone collecta.* But many things indicate that Babylon means Rome, which is here proved.

[64.8] [1] *From the consent of the Fathers.* Babylon is either Rome, or it is Babylon on the Euphrates, or it is New Babylon or Seleucia on the Tigris, or it is Babylon in Egypt, not far from Memphis, or it is Jerusalem. The three last interpretations are nearly abandoned. Among the ancients, only Cosmas Indicopleustes⁸¹ in the sixth century, Jesubabus Nisibenus in the thirteenth century, and Pseudo-Amrus in the fourteenth century took Babylon in the literal sense. The rest, and the most ancient, consider Babylon to be Rome, such as Papias and Clement of Alexandria in Eusebius, H.E., II, 15. Eusebius himself and St. Jerome in *de viris illustribus*, VIII. — I omit that the Babylon of the Assyrians on the Euphrates, at that time, in the opinion of many, was deserted. Cf. Flav. Jos. *Jewish Antiquities*, XVIII, 9. Likewise the Babylon of Egypt was nothing but a little town or a military fort.

[64.9] Indeed the Fathers, when they read "Babylon," abandoned the literal sense only when they were forced by evidence. For who would not be stupefied at the fact that St. Peter's sojourn in Babylon, confirmed by the testimony of St. Peter himself, could be obliterated among the most

⁸¹ COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES (literally "who sailed to India") of Alexandria was a Greek monk, probably of Nestorian tendencies. Around 550 he wrote the copiously illustrated *Christian Topography*, a work partly based on his personal experiences as a merchant on the Red Sea and Indian Ocean in the early 6th century.

ancient Syrian and Chaldean Fathers, and in the liturgy of the eastern rites.

[64.10] [2] *From the clear meaning of the metaphor of Babylon.* Rome, "to which all things atrocious and shameful from everywhere come together and are celebrated," (Tacitus, *Annals*, XIII, 15) is called with perfect reason *Babel* or confusion. That metaphor is so obvious that even St. John in the Apocalypse more than once figuratively calls Rome *Babylon*, e.g., in XV:5. The Jews also had the habit of referring to Rome as Babylon, because of the very obvious similitude. Cf. Schoettgen, *Horæ Hebr.* Nor was this sense able to be missed by anyone, when the messenger, Sylvanus, brought the epistle. Finally many other things in that epistle were said symbolically, with allusions made to the Old Testament.

[64.11] [3] Perhaps also the rage of Helius, Tigellinus⁸², and Nero were the cause of using a word which was hidden to the pagans.

[64.12] [B] The Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans gives a probable confirmation of this thesis. For in chapter I, verse 8, he says: "*Your faith is announced in the whole world.*" Again in XV: 24: "*I hope that, as I pass, I shall see you.*" But such a great city, endowed with such great faith and spiritual helps that Paul thinks that only by *passing through* he will give instruction, seems to indicate that the Faith was received from some Apostle. But before Paul only Peter could have been the Apostle of the Romans. Therefore from the Epistle to the Romans, it is very likely that blessed Peter came to Rome. (St. Thomas, *Expos. in Rom.* XV, lect. III. Cf. Hundhausen, *Kommentar zum I Briefe Petri*)

[64.13] ARGUMENT II. *From tradition.* That St. Peter came to Rome is the universal and agreed position of the Fathers. How serious their authority is can be easily seen. For they are unanimous and no one contradicts it. They are very ancient, and the series of witnesses is connected to those who were contemporaries of the Apostles. They speak of the

thing as if it is known to all and very public. They are numerous, and distinguished for their holiness of life, and for their knowledge and for their research into historical things. The witnesses are these:

[64.14] [A] *St. Clement of Rome*, who, at the end of the first century ruled the Roman Church, and at Rome wrote to the Corinthians: "But not to dwell upon ancient examples, let us come to the most recent spiritual heroes. Let us take the noble examples furnished in our own generation. Through envy and jealousy the greatest and most righteous pillars [of the church] have been persecuted and put to death. Let us set before our eyes the illustrious apostles. Peter, through unrighteous envy, endured not one or two, but numerous labors; and when he had at length suffered martyrdom, departed to the place of glory due to him. Owing to envy, Paul also obtained the reward of patient endurance, after being seven times thrown into captivity, compelled to flee, and stoned. After preaching both in the east and west, he gained the illustrious reputation due to his faith, having taught righteousness to the whole world, and came to the extreme limit of the west, and suffered martyrdom under the prefects. Thus was he removed from the world, and went into the holy place, having proved himself a striking example of patience. To these men who spent their lives in the practice of holiness, there is to be added a great multitude of the elect, who, having through envy endured many indignities and tortures, furnished us with a most excellent example." I *Ad Cor.* V-VI. But with these words, the fact that Peter was in Rome is both *directly* and *indirectly* signified.

[64.15] [1] *Directly.* For Clement rather openly recalls that Peter suffered in the persecution of Nero. But this persecution raged in Rome. Nowhere to we read that there were martyrs in Babylon. Then Peter is said to be, by this Roman author, connected with Paul. No one denies that Paul underwent death in Rome. Add to this the fact that *inter nos* seems to indicate Rome. Finally, it is said that a great multitude of the elect were attached to *Peter* and Paul, which does not seem to be anything else than a great multitude of martyrs who died in Rome as Tacitus recalls in the *Annals*, XV, 44.

⁸² GAIUS OPHONIUS TIGELLINUS, also known as Sophonius Tigellinus, was a minister and favorite of the emperor Nero. He was a native of Agrigentum, of humble origin and possibly of Greek descent.

[64.16] [2] *Indirectly*. The author of the epistle considers that the death of Peter and the place of his martyrdom at Rome is very well known in Corinth, and therefore throughout the whole Church. But the known place of the martyrdom was either Rome or some other place. But it is not any other place than Rome. For in the end of the second century the Roman martyrdom of St. Peter, even in the opinion of the adversaries, was approved by everyone. But if this were an error, it follows that those who came after, completely and down to a man, all forgot, already in the second century, the most famous place of such a great martyrdom, and also that Rome was substituted for the true place of the martyrdom by the deceit of some and by the stupidity of the rest.

[64.17] [B] *St. Ignatius of Antioch*, the disciple of the Apostles, wrote these things to the Romans: "I do not command you as Peter and Paul did; they were Apostles. I am a condemned man, etc." *Ep. to the Romans*, IV. But by saying, "I do not command you as *Peter* and Paul," he shows [1] the special relationship of the Romans with Peter as with a doctor and master; [2] that Peter, in commanding the Romans, was equal to Paul, who, it is certain, commanded the Romans in word and in Scripture. But from these two facts, it is sufficiently clearly gathered that Peter was in Rome. For that special connection of Peter with the Romans, and of Peter with Paul with regard to the Romans, must be attributed to certain commands given by Peter either in writing or by oral word. But no epistle of Peter exists to the Romans. Therefore Peter was in Rome, since that connection, of which we have spoken, would lack a suitable cause, if Peter, far away from Rome, and attending to the needs of the Jews, never visited the city of Rome.

[64.18] [C] *Papias*⁸³, the bishop of Hieropolis (in modern Turkey) who almost lived with the Apostles, has testified in the work which is entitled, *Expositions of the Sermons of the Lord*, that the Epistle of Peter was written in Rome. This is in Eusebius,

⁸³ *PAPIAS* (working in the 1st half of the 2nd century) was one of the early leaders of the Christian church, canonized as a saint. Eusebius calls him "Bishop of Hierapolis" (modern Pamukkale, Turkey) which is 22km from Laodicea and near Colossae (see Col. 4:13), in the Lycus river valley in Phrygia, Asia Minor, not to be confused with the Hierapolis of Syria.

H.E., II, 15. — *Clement of Alexandria*, in the year 189, the prefect of the school of Alexandria, in his books of the *Hypotyposeon*, narrates the tradition *received from the older priests*, and commemorates the gospel written by Mark "when Peter had preached the word of God publicly in the city of Rome." This is in Eusebius H.E. VI, 14. — *Cajus*, the priest, when Zephyrinus was pope (202 – 219) writing in Rome, said: "I am able to show the monuments of the Apostles, for whether you prefer to take the road toward the Vatican or toward Ostia, you will come across the monuments of those who founded that Church." *Disput. cum Proclo*. It is found in Eusebius H.E. II, 25.

[64.19] [D] *Dionysius of Corinth* († 180) in a fragment of his epistle to the Romans, in Eusebius H.E., II, 25; *Irenaeus*, the bishop of Lyons, who used the custom of Polycarp and Papias, apostolic men, and who saw Asia, Gaul, and Italy, and the very sources of these things, in the work which was written in the year 172-192, entitled *Adversus Haereses*, book III, 3; finally *Hippolytus* († 236), *Philosophumena*, VI, 20; *Tertullian* († 240), *De praescr.* c. XXXVI; *Origen*, († 254), in Eusebius, H.E. III, 1; *Cyprian* († 258), ep. 52 and 55. Numberless other witnesses prove the same fact. There is merely one mind among all the Fathers.

[64.20] Concerning the monuments we will speak later.

[64.21] ARGUMENT III. *From the testimony of non-Catholics*. From among the very ancient adversaries of the Church, no one ever denied that Peter came to Rome. The oriental sects professed that Peter was in Rome even in their liturgies. Among even the more recent heretics, not a few of them, who are very learned, agree with us.

[64.23] [A] Neither Phlegon⁸⁴, the freedman of Hadrian Augustus, nor the oriental Ebionite, who seems to be the author of *The Preaching of Peter*, nor the pseudoclementine writings, such as the *Recognitiones* and the *Homiliae*, nor the gnostic

⁸⁴ *PHLEGON*, of Tralles in Asia Minor, Greek writer and freedman of the emperor Hadrian, lived in the 2nd century.

works, nor Celsus⁸⁵, who in the middle of the second century was writing against Christians, nor Julian the Apostate, nor finally any document can be found which contradicts the journey of Peter to Rome. In fact, these witnesses, very often with explicit words affirm this fact or assume it as public knowledge, such as Porphyry⁸⁶ quoted in Macarius Magnes, *Apocritic*. III, 22, and Julian the Apostate, who indicates that before the Apostle John died there was a cult of *the monuments of Peter and Paul*. This is found in St. Cyril, *Adv. Jul.* book 10. Also it must be considered how seriously the Fathers refuted the heretics by the authority of the Roman See, which was made glorious by Peter, such as St. Irenaeus with regard to the Gnostics, Tertullian against heretics in general, Cajus against the Cataphrygians⁸⁷ and St. Cyprian against the Novatians. S. Iren. *Adv. Hær.* III; Tert. *De præscrip.* c. XXXVI; Eus. H.E. II, 25; S. Cypr. *ep.* 59. Yet no one was opposed.

[64.24] [B] The very ancient sects of the East, as well, professed that Peter came to Rome, such as the Nestorians, in the office of Sts. Peter and Paul, which is ascribed to the fourth century. The orientals, however, would not have attributed Peter to the Roman Church unless there had been the greatest evidence of his having gone to Rome. [C] The more recent heretics of the sixteenth century very often denied that Peter was in Rome. But [I] the cause of denying was for the orthodox the hatred of the papacy, and for the unbelievers the atheistic and pantheistic hypotheses, more than documents and *historical* reasons. [2] Many non-Catholics, eminent in learning and intelligence, consider St. Peter's coming to Rome as something certain. (See references in book).

⁸⁵ CELSUS (Greek: Κέλσος) was a 2nd century Greek philosopher and opponent of Christianity. He is known to us mainly through the reputation of his literary work, *The True Word* (Account, Doctrine or Discourse), almost entirely reproduced in excerpts by Origen in his counter-polemic *Contra Celsum* of 248, 70 or 80 years after Celsus wrote.

⁸⁶ PORPHYRY OF TYRE (Greek: Πορφύριος, ca. A.D. 233–ca. 309) was a Neoplatonic philosopher. He is important in the history of mathematics because of his *Life of Pythagoras*, and his commentary on Euclid's *Elements*, used by Pappus when he wrote his own commentary.

⁸⁷ Christian heretics, who arose in the second century; so called because the first lived in Phrygia. They followed the errors of Montanus.

[64.25] Grotius⁸⁸ wrote concerning Rome: "No Christian truly denies that Peter was there." *Annot. in Ep. Apost. et Apoc.*, in I Petr. V, 13. After a criticism of two or three centuries those who are eminent in learning reprove, no less absolutely, those who deny Peter's presence in Rome.

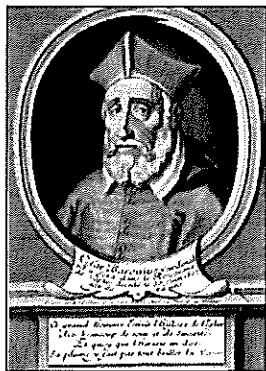


HUGO GROTIUS (1583-1645)

⁸⁸ HUGO GROTIUS (Huig de Groot, or Hugo de Groot; Delft, 10 April 1583 – Rostock, 28 August 1645) worked as a jurist in the Dutch Republic and laid the foundations for international law, based on natural law. He was also a philosopher, Christian apologist, playwright, and poet.

ARTICLE II
[65]
WHETHER ST. PETER ESTABLISHED HIS SEE IN ROME

[65.1] I. STATUS QUÆSTIONIS. When we say that St. Peter established his see in Rome, we do not mean that in so establishing the Roman see, he never preached anywhere else, e.g., in Jerusalem or Antioch. For a *see*, *title*, and *residence* differ. A *see* is place where a Church has been founded and established in episcopal dignity; a *title* is the name of that very Church from which the see is denominated; *residence* is to stay in a place where the Church has been founded. Therefore Peter, even though he undertook long journeys, retained his see, in the same way that Pius VI and Pius VII did, even though they were exiles. For if the Pontiff should be absent, there is only an interruption of residence. For how many years St. Peter established his see in Rome is an accidental question. Baronius, whom most Catholics follow, thinks that St. Peter carried on his Roman episcopate for more than twenty-five years. Others with Papebrochius⁸⁹, say fifteen. Others with Pagius, say twelve. Others, most Protestants, say less than one year. But our controversy is not concerning length of time, but concerning Roman episcopate of Peter.



CARD. CESARE BARONIUS

⁸⁹ DANIEL VAN PAPENBROECK. (1628-1714) Jesuit scholar who contributed to the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists.

[65.2] II. THE OPINION OF PAPENBROECK CONCERNING THE DOUBLE ROMAN EPISCOPATE. Papenbroeck and other learned men think that there were two bishops of the Roman Church, acting as one, namely Sts. Peter and Paul. But they hold that St. Peter was head and prince of the apostolic college, and protected his dignity. Cf. Bolland. XIII, *Paralip. ad Conatum in catal. Pontif.* This opinion, although it does not exclude the singular primacy of St. Peter, is against what the Fathers say, who give to Peter exclusively the episcopacy of Rome, as well as against the greater number of catalogues. But those testimonies, which are thought to favor the double episcopate, and the formula by which the Roman Pontiffs declare themselves to be the successors of Peter and Paul, seem to attribute the episcopacy of Rome in the broad sense to Paul, in such a way that he was a bishop *in* the city, but not *of* the city, in the way that Linus, Cletus and Clement of Rome are said to have undertaken the episcopal functions. This interpretation, however, corresponds not only to the nature of the thing about which we are speaking, but also best explains the custom of antiquity, which draws the origin of the Roman episcopacy sometimes from Peter alone, and sometimes from Peter and Paul. For Tertullian, Pope Stephen, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Leo the Great and others speak in this way.

[65.3] III. ADVERSARIES. Some non-Catholics are not opposed to the fact that Peter visited Rome, but support the opinion of Calvin who said, "I cannot be persuaded that Peter was the bishop of Rome, especially for a long period of time." *Instit.* book IV, 6. The same was said by Brusset writing in his *De Petro Romæ martyre, non pontifice*. He thinks that there is little reason to say that Peter was established as a special bishop of the Roman see. In

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our own time even Lightfoot⁹⁰ and Harnack have followed this opinion.



[65.4] *Thesis*: BLESSED PETER ESTABLISHED HIS SEE IN ROME.

[65.5] *ARGUMENT I. From the narration of witnesses.* Those witnesses who were able to know the fact, and could not deceive, and were unwilling to deceive, are worthy of faith. But witnesses of this type give testimony of the Roman episcopate of St. Peter. *Explanation of the major.*

[65.6] Many people would have contradicted writers who wrote recently if they had narrated falsely such a great and public fact. Nor did they want to deceive, both because it is certain that they were of great moral integrity, and because no usefulness can be thought up, which would have attracted men so diverse to commit a fraud. *Proof of the minor.*

[65.7] [A] *St. Ignatius of Antioch* said that blessed Peter *commanded* the Romans; *Papias* affirms that Peter was the preacher of the divine word in Rome; *Dionysius of Corinth* recalls that the Apostle instructed the Romans. But these testimonies, already mentioned in the first article, although they do not demonstrate the Roman episcopacy of Peter, nevertheless very much are in agreement with the episcopal function. Therefore joined together with the following testimonies, which are evident, they illustrate the thesis to be proved.

⁹⁰ JOSEPH BARBER LIGHTFOOT (13 April 1828 – 21 December 1889) was an English theologian and Bishop of Durham, usually known as J.B. Lightfoot.

[65.8] [B] *St. Irenaeus* said: "The blessed Apostles, therefore, founding and establishing the Church, handed over the episcopacy to Linus for the administration of the Church...but to him succeeded Anacletus. After him the episcopacy in the third place from the Apostles fell to Clement." *Adv. Har.* III, 3. *Tertullian*: "Go through the apostolic Churches in which still the sees of the Apostles preside in their places...If you add Italy, you have Rome, from where also authority is present to us." *De præscrip.* chap. XXXVI — The author of the *Carmen adversus Marcionem*, who is probably a contemporary of Tertullian:

*Hac cathedra Petrus qua sederat ipse, locatum
Maxima Roma Linum primum considerare jussit
Constabat pietate vigens ecclesia Romæ
Composita a Petro, cujus successor et ipse
Jamque loco nono cathedram suscepit Hyginus.*

translation

[65.9] [c] *St. Cyprian*: "Cornelius became the bishop... when the place of Fabian became empty, that is, when the place of Peter and the grade of the sacerdotal see." *Ep.* 51. Furthermore the Roman Church here and there is called the *cathedra Petri*, *sedes Petri*, etc. I omit the innumerable witnesses of the fourth century and those after, among whom the schismatic Greek Church, which in its hymns celebrates Peter as the first bishop of Rome.

[65.10] *ARGUMENT II. From the catalogues.* *Hegesippus*, coming to Rome in the middle of the second century, knows the succession of the Roman Pontiffs all the way to Anicetus, who died in 160. That he (*Hegesippus*) although his words have perished, discovered the origin of the succession from Peter, is gathered first of all from that fact that he who diligently investigated the apostolic origins (*Eusebius H.E.*, IV, 8) seems to have made known to himself the fact of the succession when he was in Rome. Secondly, from the fact that *Eusebius*, who very often uses the commentaries of *Hegesippus*, narrates that Peter established his see in Rome, and that nothing, with regard to this fact, in the writings of *Hegesippus*, contradicts it or corrects it. [B] *Irenaeus*, in the *Adv. Har.* III, 3, and *Euseb.* H.E. III, 2,

in listing the Roman bishops after Peter and Paul, affirm that the episcopal function was handed over to Linus, and was received by Linus. [c] *Epiphanius*, Hær. XXVII, n. 6: "At Rome, first of all, Peter and Paul were at the same time Apostles and bishops." *Optatus of Miletus* in the *De Schismate Donati*, II, 3: "First Peter sat, to whom Linus succeeded." In the same way, St. Augustine, in *Ep.* 53 to Genucius: "Linus succeeded to Peter." [d] The *Liberian Catalogue*⁹¹, as well as the *catalogues* from the Chronicle of Jerome⁹², from the Chronography⁹³ of George Syncellus, from the Syriac Chronicle, from the Chronicle of Hormisdas, etc. indicate explicitly that Peter was the first bishop of Rome.

[65.II] ARGUMENT III. *From the state of the Roman Church before Linus.* From the beginnings of the Church in the principal places where the Churches flourished, bishops were established. But before Linus, at Rome, according to the testimony of Paul, (Rom. I: 8) the Faith was in vigor. Besides, Rome was the capital of the Roman world. Therefore, in the time of the Apostles, it can hardly be called into doubt that there was an episcopacy in

Rome. But besides Peter, no one else is named before Linus. Therefore Peter established his see in Rome.

⁹¹ In compiling the history of the Early Christian Church, the *Liberian Catalogue* (*Catalogus Liberianus*), which was part of the illuminated manuscript known as the Chronography of 354, now surviving only in a copy, is an essential document, for it consists of a list of the popes, designated bishops of Rome, ending with Pope Liberius (died 366), hence its name and approximate date. The list gives the lengths of their respective episcopates, the corresponding consular dates, and the names of the reigning emperor. In many cases there are other details.

⁹² The *Chronicle* (or *Chronicon* or *Temporum liber*) was one of Jerome's earliest attempts in the department of history. It was composed circa 380 in Constantinople; this is a translation into Latin of the chronological tables which compose the second part of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, with a supplement covering the period from 325 to 379. In spite of numerous errors taken over from Eusebius, and some of his own, Jerome produced a valuable work, if only for the impulse which it gave to such later chroniclers as Prosper, Cassiodorus, and Victor of Tunnuna to continue his annals.

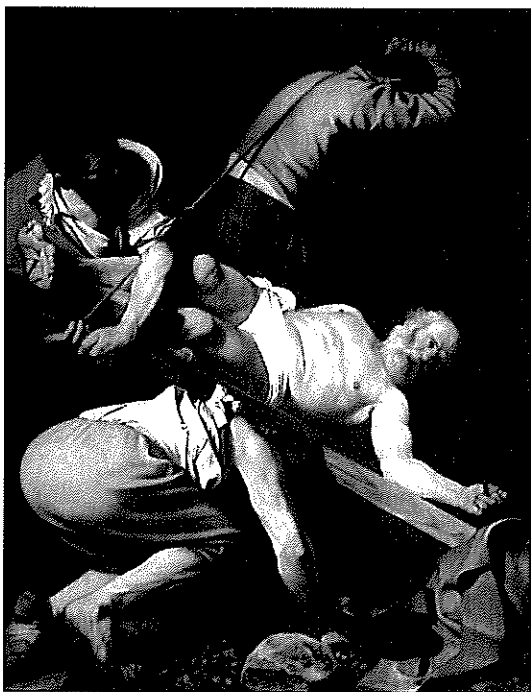
⁹³ The *Chronography of 354*, also known as the *Calendar of 354*, was a 4th century illuminated manuscript, which was produced in 354 AD for a wealthy Roman Christian named Valentinus. It is the earliest dated codex to have full page illustrations. None of the original has survived. The term *Calendar of Philocalus* is sometimes used to describe the whole collection, and sometimes just the sixth part, which is the *Calendar* itself. Other versions of the names ("Philocalus", "Codex-Calendar of 354") may be used. The text and illustrations are available online.

ARTICLE III

[66]

WHETHER ST. PETER DIED IN ROME

[66.1] Among Catholics all the way to the present day, the doctrine is firm that St. Peter was crowned by martyrdom in Rome, and that the Roman Pontiff is the vicegerent of the dead Apostle. The presumption of uncontested possession through so many centuries favors this doctrine concerning a fact which is completely public. But, from the sixteenth century that fact, for the purpose of attacking the primacy, was denied, and from there it was denied by the scholars of Tübingen, in order that the "fiction" of the twofold martyrdom would serve to perfect their hypothesis concerning Petrism and Paulism. [That is, they think that fact of the aforesaid martyrdom is contrary to this thesis]. More recently Erbes, a Protestant pastor, has tried to persuade us that St. Peter died in Jerusalem.



[66.2] *Thesis:* ST. PETER DIED IN ROME.

[66.3] ARGUMENT I. *From the testimony of the Fathers.* St. Clement of Rome, Ep. ad Cor., V. It signifies quite openly that Peter suffered in Rome; Dionysius of Corinth, in the fragment of the Epistle to the Romans, or to Soter the Roman Pontiff; Origen in Eus. H.E. II, 15; Tertullian, De præscrip. chap. XXXVI; Scorpiace, chap. XV; the Liberian catalogue; The Latins, the Greeks, the Orientals, in Italy, Spain Africa, Asia, with no one contradicting, declare clearly that St. Peter died a martyr in Rome. Finally Rome is called the place of that martyrdom by everyone who wrote from the first to the fourth century, and no other city besides Rome is ever mentioned. But it is entirely impossible that the witnesses of all the Churches in admitting a fact which is maximally public, and very easy to know, could have erred always and everywhere.

[66.4] ARGUMENT II. *From the admissions of the adversaries.* The tradition concerning the passion of St. Peter in Rome was, by the admission of the adversaries, common a little after the year 150. But this tradition was not legendary but historical, taken from the sources of the deeds. The *major* cannot be denied by anyone unless we admit that all of the authors of the second century are spurious. *Proof of the minor.*

[66.5] [A] *From the public knowledge of the martyrdom of Peter among contemporaries of the act.* It cannot happen that a historical fact, known far and wide and distinctly among contemporaries at the end of the first century, could become *substantially* legendary by the second century. But to those who were contemporary with the fact, it was known far and wide and distinctly at the end of the first century, whether or not Peter suffered in Rome. Therefore the common tradition of the second century concerning the passion of Peter is Roman

history and not fable. *Proof of the minor.* [1] For the Roman Church was in the sight of all, as is sufficiently clear from St. Paul (Rom. 1: 8) and from St. Ignatius in his Epistle to the Romans. Similarly, St. Peter the Apostle was very well-known. Therefore it is necessary that this, by itself, was known far and wide, namely whether Peter suffered in Rome or not. In fact, the place of the martyrdom was known in Rome and in Corinth, as is evident from St. Clement in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, V. It was known in Antioch which is quite certainly gathered from Ignatius in his Epistle to the Romans, IV; it was known to the readers for whom St. John composed primarily his gospel, as it is clearly signified in the Gospel of St. John, XXI: 18-19. For St. John, relating the words of Christ to Peter, says: "Amen, amen I say to thee, when thou wast younger, thou didst gird thyself, and didst walk where thou wouldst. But when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee, and lead thee whither thou wouldst not. And this he said, signifying by what death he should glorify God." By these words, the evangelist explains the prophecy of Christ concerning Peter, designating his death. However, this explanation would have had no effect, unless the fact of his martyrdom had been known to his readers. [2] *Distinctly*, for a vague fact would not have been mentioned by Clement so concretely, nor by John, in passing, and for the purpose of illustrating. Therefore the Church knew both the martyrdom and the place of the martyrdom. Therefore someone, if the Roman martyrdom had been a fable, would have noted the fable.

[66.6] [B] *From the connection of the Fathers, who from the years 150 to 200, with the contemporaries of Peter.* This connection is proved from three things: [1] from the succession of bishops in the Roman see, who, at the outset of the second century, knew whether or not the most famous Apostle had been killed for Christ at Rome; [2] from the very few intermediaries between the contemporaries of Peter and the witnesses. Such is the case of Dionysius of Corinth, who in the year 150 discharged the episcopal function, and of Irenaeus, born in the year 120, who are distant from Peter only by one or two generations. [3] From the fact that the principal

writers of the second century were very studious of antiquity, which is evident from Irenaeus, *Adv. Hæ.* III, Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, VII, 6, and Origen, *Hom.* I in Luc., and Tertullian, *De præscrip.*, XXI. This statement of Tertullian is true for all of them: *id verius, quod prius. Adv. Marcionem.* Therefore these Fathers did not embrace a fable in something which is of such great importance. But Hermas, in the *Pastor*, is silent, as well as St. Justin. Indeed, they are silent, since there was no reason for them to speak. It pertains to a man of small prudence to wish to suspend the authority of so many and such great witnesses by their silence.

[66.7] ARGUMENT III. *The confirmation of this article and of the two preceding ones from the monuments.* In Rome, the most ancient monuments, and all the local traditions attest to the fact that Peter was in Rome, that he established his see in Rome, and suffered in Rome. For it is not probable that, from nearly the beginning of the Church, Rome would be filled with monuments of Peter, whom no lay person or cleric ever saw or heard in the city; in fact, that the city should be filled with the record and memory of a man who died obscurely and far away from Rome. But the monuments and traditions are these:

[66.8] [A] The *memoria* or sepulcher of St. Peter, which Cajus mentions with these words: "I am able to show the monuments of the Apostles, for whether you prefer to take the road toward the Vatican or toward Ostia, you will come across the monuments of those who founded that Church." *Disput. cum Proclo.* It is found in Eusebius H.E. II. 25. Cajus said this in the disputation with Proclus, which took place in Rome, and which he wrote in Rome, when Zephyrinus was pope from 202 to 219. That the sepulcher of St. Peter is indicated is evident [1] from the obvious sense of the text, [2] from the circumstances, namely that he is opposing the monuments of Peter and Paul to Proclus, who ¹³ glorying in the sepulcher of Philip the Apostle; [3] from other ancient witnesses, among whom are Eusebius, in places cited in the *Liber Pontificalis*, edited by Duchesne, p. 118; [4] from the basilicas which Constantine the Great constructed upon the

sepulchers of the Apostles, and from some archeological indications of the very ancient cemetery of the Vatican. For this reason, St. John Chrysostom said: "That city has two splendid eyes, namely the bodies of these saints...From here, Paul was taken, as well as Peter." *In Ep. ad Rom. Hom. XXXII. I.* It is of no importance whether the bodies of the saints, either because of necessity or usefulness, were at times transferred from the Vatican, for a certain amount of time, to another place of the city.

[66.9] [B] *The Vatican chair of St. Peter*, of which the primitive parts are made of oak, are preserved in the Vatican Basilica of St. Peter. In the year 1867, De Rossi investigated and described the chair. Whether it pertains to the very ancient times of the Church we can inquire from Tertullian (*De prascip.*, chapter XXXVI) from the author of the work *Contra Marcionem*, III., and from St. Optatus of Miletus, *Adv. Parmen.*, II, 4.

[66.10] [C] *The Ostrian Cemetery*. In the ancient documents there is often mention of a see, where St. Peter sat first or before. So it is in the catalogue of the oils, which the abbot John, under the Pontificate of Gregory the Great, collected from the lamps which burned before the tombs of the martyrs, offered to Queen Theolinda. "The oil from the see where Peter sat first" is distinguished from the "oil of the tomb of St. Peter." Archeology has confirmed the documents. For in the year 1876 between the Via Salaria and the Via Nomentana, the Ostrian cemetery was discovered, in the cemetery of St. Peter or *ad Nymphas*, in which an inscription and other signs indicate that St. Peter worked in that place. However, the inscriptions in general, the symbols, and all things are considered to prove that the cemetery pertains to the first or second century. Therefore at least this must be concluded, that already in the earliest times of the Church, St. Peter, in the minds of the faithful, was connected to that place. This is also considered to be the see where St. Peter sat first, which is distinguished from the Vatican see as the Ostrian see. Cf. Armellini, *Scoperta della cripta di S. Emerenziana e di una memoria relativa alla cathedra di S. Pietro*.

[66.11] [D] Many other things confirm a special connection of St. Peter with the Roman Church: [1]

basilicas, witnesses of the local traditions; [2] pictures in the catacombs and on glass goblets, on which the image of St. Peter is very often displayed, and from the type, which seems historical; [3] the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, celebrated from time immemorial in Rome. (Cf. Eusebius, H.E., II, 25; Prudent. *Peristeph.*, hymn XIII; S. Paulin. ep. 16 ad Delphin.).

OBJECTIONS

[66.12] OBJECTION I. Among the contemporary authors, there is nothing about St. Peter's trip to Rome. The author of the Acts of the Apostles is silent. Saint Paul is silent. Neither in his Epistle to the Romans does he command Peter to be greeted by name, nor his epistles which were written in Rome or from Italy to the Philippians, to the Colossians, to the Ephesians, to Philemon, the second to Timothy, and to the Hebrews does he make any mention of Peter. Therefore Saint Peter did not see Rome.

[66.13] RESPONSE. *I deny* the antecedent. The contemporary authors are not completely silent. St. Peter in his first Epistle, St. Clement of Rome and Saint Ignatius of Antioch are cited. *I distinguish* the proof. The cause of this silence was that Peter never came to Rome, *I deny*; that there was another cause, *I concede*. An argument from silence is fallacious if one does not prove the necessity of speaking. For St. Luke in the Acts, from chapter 13, relates the labors of Paul, but he relates those of the other Apostles only inasmuch as they coincide with the history of Paul. He passes over in silence some of the things which pertain to Paul, namely the shipwrecks, the scourgings, the trip to Arabia, the correction of Saint Peter in Antioch. Perhaps by these words, which would have been sufficiently clear to a contemporary reader, he indicates Rome in chapter XII: 17: "And going out, he went into another place."

[66.14] That St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans does not command that Peter be greeted, proves nothing. For the Apostle makes no mention in his Epistles to the Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, and Thessalonians of the bishops of those places. Furthermore, it was Paul's custom, according

to De Smedt and Foggini to include a letter to those particular bishops to be carried by the same person who carried his epistle to that Church. Nor was there need of a special epistle, since Paul was able to greet Peter and inform him of news through Phoebe (Romans XVI: 1) who was the bearer of the letter. It is also true of the letters written in Rome that the messenger could express personally what was not expressed in the letters. But I do not know whether because of silence, it ought to be investigated, the Apostle is entirely silent concerning Rome and the Roman Church. Shall we conclude from this that when he wrote, there was no Church in Rome? — I omit two other probable causes for remaining silent: his having known that Peter was temporarily absent and prudence, which was in those times more or less necessary, to which the Acts and the epistles make written reference.

[66.15] INSTANCE. In Acts XXVIII, where the arrival of Paul into that city and what happened to St. Paul in Rome are narrated in a few words, the history of Paul is not coherent with Peter's presence in Rome. In this place, therefore, silence is equivalent to a positive argument.

[66.16] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. The connection is of such a type that St. Luke *should have* spoken of St. Peter, *I deny*; could have, *let it pass*. And *I deny* the consequent. Given the purpose of St. Luke, there appears to be no necessity to speak about Peter. For it was possible that in that storm of hatred and difficult period it was necessary that the presence of Peter in the city be carefully hidden. All objections of this type, since so many positive testimonies are available to us, do not give cause of refutation, so much as of inquiry.

[66.17] INSTANCE. In the epistles written in Rome, St. Paul says certain things which are very insulting to Peter, if he had been in Rome, such as II Timothy IV: 16: "*At my first answer no man stood with me, but all forsook me: may it not be laid to their*

charge." Likewise: II Timothy IV: 11,⁹⁴ and Colossians IV: 11.⁹⁵

[66.18] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the sense of those texts. They pertain to some who were associated with Paul, *I concede*; to the Roman Church or to blessed Peter, *I deny*. So in II Tim. IV, only those are blamed who had taken up the defense of Paul before the judge. But who would say that Peter had been able to represent Paul before a judge? 3/24/11

[66.19] OBJECTION, II. In Acts XXVIII: 17-22, we read from Paul, after ~~had~~ arrived in Rome, that after the third day, the first of the Jews who had been summoned, said: But they said to him: "*We neither received letters concerning thee from Judea, neither did any of the brethren that came hither, relate or speak any evil of thee. But we desire to hear of thee what thou thinkest; for as concerning this sect, we know that it is everywhere contradicted.*" But these things cannot be reconciled with the apostolate of Peter in Rome.

[66.20] RESPONSE. *I distinguish*. These first Jews were Jews by religion, *I concede*; Christians, *I deny*. Paul first, as was his custom, preached to the Jews. (Acts IX: 15; XIII: 5, 14) For it is certain that there were many Jews not yet converted to Christ in Rome, ignorant of the religion of Christ, either because they had not heard of the preaching of Peter, or because they despise the humility of Peter. The praise of the Christians can be seen in the Epistle to the Romans I: 8. Concerning the Jews in Rome check Dion. Cassius 70, Suetonius in *Claudius*, XXV, and Acts of the Apostles XVIII.

[66.21] INSTANCE. Saint Paul affirms that he does not preach where an Apostle has first come, ~~lest~~ *lest* he build upon the foundations of another. (Rom. XV: 20) Because, therefore, Paul visits the Romans, it follows that no one among the Apostles had been there before him.

[66.22] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent: and this was the rule, *let it pass*; of which was not an exception, *I deny*. This was the rule of *there*

⁹⁴ "Only Luke is with me. Take Mark, and bring him with thee: for he is profitable to me for the ministry."

⁹⁵ "And Jesus, that is called Justus: who are of the circumcision: these only are my helpers in the kingdom of God; who have been a comfort to me."

Paul: *And I have so preached this gospel, not where Christ was named, lest I should build upon another man's foundation.* (Romans XV: 20) He did not say where it was named by an Apostle, but only it was named. But that Christ was named among the Romans is clear from Romans I: 8: *"First I give thanks to my God, through Jesus Christ, for you all, because your faith is spoken of in the whole world."* For this reason, Paul wanted to come to Rome merely for the purpose of confirming the Romans and in order to pass through Rome. Cf. Romans I: 11: *"For I long to see you, that I may impart unto you some spiritual grace, to strengthen you."* Likewise XV: 24: *"When I shall begin to take my journey into Spain, I hope that as I pass, I shall see you, and be brought on my way thither by you, if first, in part, I shall have enjoyed you."*

[66.23] **INSTANCE.** Saint Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, teaching the faith and pacifying the disputes, would have sent the dissidents to Peter if he had been functioning as the Bishop of Rome. But he did not do this.

[66.24] **RESPONSE.** *I deny* everything. For Saint Paul as Apostle and Doctor of the Gentiles had received from Christ the power to teach not only the Romans but the whole world. In fact it was necessary that they be converted to Christ more by firmness of doctrine, because authority could not move them. Nevertheless it was not at all certain that Peter was at that time in Rome.

[66.25] **OBJECTION III.** One ought not to have much confidence in Papias, since he was a man of modest intelligence. But before Papias there is found in the ecclesiastical writers no mention of the journey of St. Peter to Rome and his subsequent martyrdom there. The writers after him perhaps drew from Papias. Therefore the testimony of the ancients in this matter is weak.

[66.26] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the major. In speculative things Papias should not be trusted very much, *let it pass*; in relating a fact that is completely public, *I deny*, and *I deny* the minor. The objection is false in three ways: [A] First of all, Papias, the bishop of Hieropolis, even though he was a follower of millenarism, was able and willing to know public facts, for he was a hearer of John, and an associate of

Polycarp. Cf. Ireneus, *Adv. haereses*, V, 33. He professes that he has not followed those who were relating "certain new and unusual precepts...but those were relating the commandments of the Lord." He said: "If, at times, I met someone who had had contact with the ancients, I curiously sought to know from them what Andrew, what Peter, were accustomed to say." (Eusebius, H.E., III, 39) [B] Before Papias, Clement of Rome and Ignatius of Antioch relate the fact that Peter was in Rome. The place where Peter had been crowned with martyrdom was very well-known before Papias. From whence, therefore, would he have drawn the error? What everyone knew, Papias did not know? [C] The idea that those coming after Papias had drawn their knowledge of the martyrdom of Saint Peter in Rome from Papias is asserted gratuitously; in fact, we have proven this fact from other writings, and that it has been handed down by word of mouth. Papias himself indicates the related fact only in passing, which is his custom with regard to facts which are very well known. Besides, among the ancients, Dionysius of Corinth, from the tradition of his Church, as well as Ireneus, Origen, Tertullian, since they had seen Rome, from the tradition of the Roman Church, and finally all of the writers of the second century, from a contrary knowledge of the Churches, could have corrected Papias if he had erred.

[66.27] **INSTANCE.** The journey of Peter to Rome is related by Clement and Ignatius only in an obscure manner. Therefore their testimony does not provide certitude.

[66.28] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the antecedent. Clement and Ignatius relate that fact obscurely, that is, not by explicit words, *I concede*; not by certain words, *I deny*. From the arguments that are exposed above, the response is clear. It should be added that these witnesses were not the only ones, but are proximately connected to the testimony of Papias, Dionysius of Corinth, Cajus, Ireneus and all of the others who follow. The text of Cicero applies here: "Either this testimony of the witnesses is sufficient, or I do not know what would be sufficient."

the witnesses is sufficient, or I do not know what would be sufficient."

[66.29] OBJECTION IV. The apostolate and the episcopacy of a particular Church cannot be combined, since the pastor of a particular Church cannot go into the whole world. St. Peter, therefore, was not the Roman bishop.

[66.30] RESPONSE. *I distinguish*: apostolate and episcopate cannot be combined with regard to residence; *let it pass*; with regard to the see, *I deny*. There was no obstacle to St. Peter's choosing a fixed see for himself; for that see, namely Rome, which demanded a great deal of labor, was able to be both ^{the} center and the field of his very broad activity. The Apostle, no doubt, obtained men, when he was not in residence, through whom he could command an episcopal ministry for the ^{city} City.

[66.31] INSTANCE. Some of the ancients relate that Peter indeed worked in Rome, but they add that he did not function as a bishop there. Hence it certainly happened that Linus, among the Roman bishops, was called the *first from the apostles*.

[66.32] RESPONSE. Those ancients, although they do not explicitly mention the episcopacy of Peter in Rome, nevertheless confirm by their implicit testimony what the other ancients relate. Linus is said to be the *first from the apostles* especially by those Fathers who object *apostolic* succession to some heresy. Their mind is clear: they say, *from the apostles*, not excluding the episcopate, but because it was correct that they list Peter and the Apostles separately from their successors, and in a certain special way, because of their extraordinary dignity, by which they were prominent.

[66.33] OBJECTION V. The journey of Saint Peter to Rome, and his martyrdom in that city, were most opportune, first for the Judæo-Christians or the anti-Paulines, in order that they snatch from Paul the glory of the Roman apostolate; afterwards it was very opportune for the irenicist or reconciling faction, by which to impress more completely upon the minds the concord between Peter and Paul, arising from their twin martyrdom. Therefore each faction,

according as the figment was of benefit to it, thought up the fable of Peter in Rome.

[66.34] RESPONSE. Let the antecedent pass. *I deny* the consequent. That Peter was at Rome and that he suffered for Christ is proved by the most certain historical documents. Let the adversaries bring forth their *documents*, having set aside those which are set down *a priori* by Hegelian philosophy.

[66.35] INSTANCE. The apostolate of Peter in Pontus seems to be contrary to ^{his} martyrdom of Peter in Rome. But according to a very ancient legend from Pontus concerning Peter, he preached as an Apostle in Pontus, Cappadocia, and Bithynia. The apocryphal *Acts of St. Andrew* testify to this, both in the Catholic editions and in the heretical editions.

[66.36] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. The apostolate in Pontus is contrary to the apostolate and martyrdom in Rome at the same time, *I concede*; in a different time, *I deny*. *I distinguish* the minor: in the *Acts of Saint Andrew* there is also related a journey toward the west, *I concede*, is excluded, *I deny*. The neo-Tübingen school admits a threefold legend of Peter, one of Pontus, which we find in the objection, one in Rome under an ebionitic (or anti-Pauline) form, and a Catholic (or petro-pauline) form, about ^{which} we will speak soon. But the *Acts of Saint Andrew* are not contrary to the Catholic position, since the preaching in Rome does not exclude preaching in Pontus; nor, even if these apocryphal documents of this type were against us, they would not weaken the faith in the authentic and more ancient writers, such as Clement, Ignatius, Ireneus, and other witnesses to *more recent* things.

[66.37] INSTANCE. The acts of Andrew were drawn from the Gnostic work of the *Periodus of Andrew*, toward the end of the second century. Therefore the testimony of those *Acts* is ancient.

[66.38] RESPONSE. Let us grant to the adversaries that the apostolate of Peter in Pontus was related in the history of the *Periodus*, and even that it was related in a tradition which is much older than the *Periodus*; there is nothing against our thesis in this, since it cannot be asserted even by conjecture that the Gnostic author excluded

Rome from the labors of Peter. If the Gnostic denied, which denial is indicated by no sign, contemporary witnesses and other experts of Roman affairs argue the contrary.

Objection VI. [Omitted. — It concerns the Tübingen theory of the three versions of the *Periodus*. See book].

ARTICLE IV

[67]

WHETHER THE ROMAN PONTIFF IS THE SUCCESSOR OF ST. PETER IN THE SAME PRIMACY

[67.1] I. STATUS QUÆSTIONIS. By way of introduction, I will say little, restricting myself only to those things which serve the elucidation of the truth, and to more prudently judge those things which seem to be of greater importance which are objected from the statements and customs of the Fathers. We will speak about the primacy which the Roman Pontiffs obtain *by divine right* and *by reason of Peter*, and not only *by ecclesiastical right*, nor merely historical right. One must distinguish between the pontifical *power* and the *use of the power*. The power was always the same; it was applied little by little and at the opportune time in various cases. They also understand little of the idea of the early saints, who think that the *manner* of expressing this dogma was already scientifically perfected from the beginning. With the principle of progress, however, which has been explained on page 374, a threefold development is in accordance, namely of clarity in proposing, of consequence in applying, of diligence and celebrity in execution. Besides, psychology and history teach that men, when their emotions are aroused, often resist when it comes to practice, and obfuscate with regard to a particular case of application, but not with regard to the principle, which was before entirely at rest in the mind. Because of forgetfulness of these things, the judgement of very learned men has strayed from the truth. (See references in book).

[67.2] II. ADVERSARIES. [A] Among the schismatics, Photius, at one time having professed

the rights of the primacy, at other times seems to have held that with the emperors, the primacy of Rome also migrated to Constantinople. In the fifteenth century, Mark of Ephesus (1392-1444) was extremely hostile to the Roman Pontiff. In the year 1612, Zacharias Kopystenski published *Palinodia*, a work which was printed in 1878, hostile to the Roman unity. Similarly Galiatowski, Theophane Prokopowitsch, and others wrote against the primacy.

[67.3] [B] Among the heretics condemned by the Fathers of Constance was Wycliffe, teaching "the Roman Church is the synagogue of Satan." (prop. 51) To Calvin, it was certain that the statement of Paul in II Thess. II: 4 concerning the Antichrist, "cannot be understood in any other way than about the Pope." Luther in 1520 wrote against the "execrable bull of the Antichrist." Three centuries later the radical criticism and common enemy of orthodoxy persist in their attacks.

[67.4] *Thesis: THE ROMAN PONTIFF IS THE SUCCESSOR OF ST. PETER IN THE SAME PRIMACY.*

ARGUMENTS

[67.5] ARGUMENT. I. *From the perpetuity of the primacy.* From question XIV, art. 4, it is certain that St. Peter, by divine right, had perpetual successors in the primacy. But the successor is either no one, or he is the Roman Pontiff.

Therefore the Roman Pontiff is the successor of Peter in the primacy. The conclusion is evident. For that there be no successor is repugnant to Christ's ordinance. Besides the Roman Pontiff, however, there is no one who can be indicated. And no one fails to understand that the joint succession of the primacy and of the Roman episcopate is in conformity with the nature of things.

[67.6] ARGUMENT II. *From the testimonies of the Fathers.* [A] *The East.* In the *Epistle to the Romans* of St. Ignatius of Antioch, four moments occur which, taken together, seem to show the Roman primacy. [1] The Roman Church is called by St. Ignatius as "presiding over the group of charity (*caritatis cœtui præsidents*). But the word *charity* (Greek *agape*) seems to refer to the whole Church. For the Greek word *prokathesthai* (*preside*) with the genitive, more often does not signify a place but an *object*, according to the custom of speaking of the Fathers. *Agape*, when used by Ignatius, as is evident from his other epistles, means the Church. The Roman Church is said to preside over the *agape*, not a particular Church, such as that of Smyrna or Ephesus, but without any limitation. For this reason, the word *agape* is thought to mean the universal Church. In this way, as well, the connection of the whole text is explained. [2] Concerning the Church of Antioch, about to lose its pastor, he writes these things: "Only Jesus Christ will rule it in the place of the bishop, and your charity." (chap. IX), that is, in the concrete, unless I am mistaken, the Roman Church. [3] One must also consider whether this pertains to the power of this magisterium: "You have taught others. But I will also that those things be firm which you teach and command." (chap. III). [4] The holy martyr shows a greater testimony of reverence for the Roman Church than for the other Churches to whom he directs epistles.

[67.7] *St. Ireneus* said: "Since, however, it would be very tedious, in such a volume as this, to reckon up the successions of all the Churches, we do put to confusion all those who, in whatever manner, whether by an evil self-pleasing, by vainglory, or by blindness and perverse opinion,

assemble in unauthorized meetings; [we do this, I say,] by indicating that tradition derived from the apostles, of the very great, the very ancient, and universally known Church founded and organized at Rome by the two most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul; as also [by pointing out] the faith preached to men, which comes down to our time by means of the successions of the bishops. For it is a matter of necessity that every Church should agree with this Church, on account of its pre-eminent authority, that is, the faithful everywhere, inasmuch as the apostolical tradition has been preserved continuously by those [faithful men] who exist everywhere." *Adv. Her.* III, 3. Intelligent philology helped in order that each of the parts of this testimony be clear. But the total complex of the ideas here, of which the more powerful principality of the Roman Church is the key, can be had, so that it may be seen even by those considering it in a simple way that it testifies to the primacy. This spontaneous knowledge can be established by reflection, when we refute the contrary arguments.

[67.8] *St. Gregory Nazianzen*⁹⁶ compares old Rome to the New Rome (Constantinople) and praises it, because it connects the whole West with salutary doctrine, "inasmuch as it is just that what presides over all should foster the total peace of God." *Carm. Lib. II*, v. 579.

[67.9] *Theodore*⁹⁷, the bishop of Cyrrhus, said: "For that most holy [Roman] See has principality over the Churches which are in the whole world." *Ep. to Renatus*. All the Greeks, up

⁹⁶ SAINT GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS (329 - January 25, 389), also known as Saint Gregory the Theologian or Gregory Nazianzen, was a 4th century Christian bishop of Constantinople. Gregory is widely considered the most accomplished rhetorical stylist of the patristic age.[1] As a classically trained speaker and philosopher he infused Hellenism into the early church, establishing the paradigm of Byzantine ecclesiastics.[2] He is remembered as the "Trinitarian Theologian," since many of his homilies refer to the nature of the Holy Trinity and the one essence of the Godhead.

⁹⁷ THEODORET (393 AD - c. 457 AD) was an influential author, theologian, and Christian bishop of Cyrrhus, Syria (423 AD-457 AD), and played a pivotal role in many early Byzantine empire era church controversies that lead to various ecumenical acts and schisms.

to Theodore the Studite⁹⁸, the ancient Syro-Chaldean church, the Armenian church, even Photius himself quite openly professed the Roman primacy, and in the liturgical hymns of the Greco-Russian church, St. Leo the Great, the Roman Pontiff, is called the *possessor of the presidency of Peter*. Similar things are said of St. Sylvester, the Roman Pontiff. (Cf. Hergenröther, *Photius*, III, 337-340, and others in the book)

[67.10] [B] *The West. Tertullian*, mocking Pope Zephyrinus for the fact that he defined that certain sins of impurity could be forgiven to those who are truly penitent, said this: "I hear that there has even been an edict set forth, and a peremptory one too. The Pontifex Maximus—that is, the bishop of bishops—issues an edict, etc." (*De pudicitia*, chap. 1) With these words the Montanist shows, harshly but clearly, the public mind of Catholics concerning the *peremptory* authority of the *Bishop of Bishops*. *Hermas* († 150) also seems to indicate the authority of the Roman Pontiff over the other Churches when he says: "And Clement [the Pope] will send [the book of Visions], for it has been commanded to him." *Pastor*, II, 4, no. 3. *St. Cyprian* scolds the followers of Fortunatus, a schismatic, who "dare to travel to the See of Peter and to the principal Church, from which the sacerdotal unity has arisen." *Ep.* 59. He exhorts those who travel to Rome that they recognize and cherish the root and mother of the Catholic Church. *Ep.* 45.

[67.11] St. Jerome writes to Damasus the Pope: "I am united in communion with your Beatitude, that is, the See of Peter. I know that the Church is built upon that rock. Whoever is *outside of this house*, and eats the Lamb, is *profane*. If anyone is not in the Ark of Noe, he will perish in the flood." *Ep.* 15. St. Augustine venerates the Roman Church, "in which the principality of the Apostolic See has remained strong," in which there is the "summit of authority." *Ep.* XLIII, 3.; *De*

utilitate cred. XVII. He said the same to the Donatists: "Enumerate the priests even from the very See of Peter, and in that order of the Fathers, see who succeeds to whom: it is the rock which the prideful gates of hell do not overcome." (*Psalms. c. part. Donat*).

[67.12] St. Prosper says in his *Carmen de ingratis*:

Sedes Roma Petri, quæ pastoralis honoris
Facta caput mundo, quidquid non possidet
armis
Religione tenet

[67.13] [C] *Ecumenical councils*. In the Council of Ephesus, Philip, the legate of the Roman Pontiff, spoke to the Fathers in this way: "No one doubts, in fact it has been known throughout the all the centuries, that the holy and most blessed Peter, the prince and head of the Apostles, the column of faith and the foundation of the Catholic Church, received from Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Savior and Redeemer of the human race, the keys of the kingdom, and the power of loosing and binding has been given to him, who up to this time, and always, lives in his successors, and exercises judgement."

[67.14] More than two hundred bishops were present, of whom only a few were from the West. No one contradicted him. The Fathers of the Council of Chalcedon wrote to Leo the Great: "To whom (the Fathers of Chalcedon) you indeed, as the *head to the members*, preside." They criticize Dioscorus, who extends "his insanity against him to whom the care of the vineyard of the Lord has been committed." In the Council they exclaimed together: "Peter has spoken through Leo." Requesting the confirmation of the decrees, they say: "We ask, therefore, that you honor our judgement by your decrees, and just as we have brought together agreement in good things with the head, so may Your Highness fulfill for his sons what is becoming." There were present at Chalcedon, besides some Western bishops, around 600 Eastern bishops. — In the Third Council of Constantinople, the Fathers wrote concerning Agatho, the Roman Pontiff, "The supreme prince

⁹⁸ THEODORE THE STUDITE, also called St Theodore of Stoudios or St Theodore of Studium (c. 758 - c. 826), was a Christian monk widely known for his zealous opposition to iconoclasm, for his personal asceticism and monastic rule, and for the many hymns and canons he composed, particularly in the Lenten Triodion which is still widely used in Eastern Orthodoxy.

Commanded
or Commanded?

over

of the Apostles fought with us, for we had as his promoter, his imitator, and the successor of his see...The letter was delivered and Peter spoke through Agatho." There were, besides the Western bishops, about 150 Eastern bishops. The Fathers of Constantinople IV did similarly, having signed the famous *libellum fidei*, and left a very illustrious testimony of the primacy of Rome. (See references in book)

[67.15] ARGUMENT III. *From deeds.* From the most ancient times [A] *The Roman Pontiffs express in their acts a sincere consciousness of their supreme authority.* (Clement of Rome, *ep. I ad Cor.*; Julius I, *ep. I*, 22; Damasus, *ep. ad Orient*; Siricius, *ep. ad Himerium*; Innocent I, *ep. 29*; Leo the Great, etc.) For this reason Boniface I († 423) said: "It is certain, therefore, that the [Roman] Church is as a head to its members with regard to the Churches dispersed through the whole world, and if anyone should cut himself off from it, he becomes banished from the Christian law." [anti-frankenchurch] *Ep. 14 ad Rufin.*

[67.16] [B] *The Roman Pontiffs exercised their authority over some Churches.* For Clement of Rome writes to the Corinthians, *ep. I*, 63: "Joy and gladness will you afford us, if you become obedient to the words written by us and through the Holy Ghost, root out the lawless wrath of your jealousy according to the exhortation which we have made for peace and unity in this letter." Likewise Victor († 197) in the controversy about the date of Easter, Zephyrinus († 217) in condemning the Montanists, Cornelius († 252) against Novatian, Stephen († 257) in the dispute over the rebaptism of heretics, Dionysius († 269) in defining the dogma of the Incarnation and Felix I († 274) in condemning Paul of Samosata⁹⁹, all used their supreme authority. In the year 342, Julius I restored St. Athanasius to the See of Alexandria; Hormisdas¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ PAUL OF SAMOSATA (lived from 200 to 275 AD) was Patriarch of Antioch from 260 to 268. He was a believer in monarchianism, and his teachings anticipate adoptionism.

¹⁰⁰ POPE HORMISDAS was Pope from July 20, 514 to 523. He was born at Frosinone, Campagna di Roma, Italy. Saint Hormisdas was a widower and a Roman deacon at the time of his accession to the papal throne. His son became pope under the name of Silverius. One of the new pope's first cares was to

send legates to Constantinople with the *Fidei libellum*, which the Eastern bishops signed. All the Churches ask Rome, pursue their rights in Rome, Basil, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Flavian. And St. Jerome in *ep. 123 to Ageruchia* says: "When in ecclesiastical documents I helped Damasus the Bishop of Rome, and responded to the synodal consultations of the East and West..."

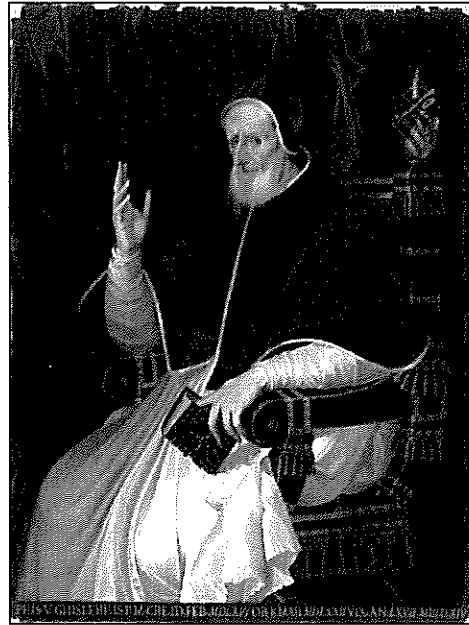
[67.17] [C] *The Churches throughout the whole world follow the Roman Pontiff*, such as the Fathers of Ephesus followed Celestine I, and those of Chalcedon followed Leo the Great, exclaiming: "Peter has spoken through Leo." More than fifteen hundred bishops signed the formula of Hormisdas. On the other hand, the Fathers oppose the invincible authority of the Roman Church to heretics and other stubborn people. We have already proven what was done by Ireneus, Cyprian, Augustine, and other outstanding defenders of the Church. — *Heretics*, as well, when there was ever any hope of subterfuge, professed the authority of the Roman See, sought its assent, e.g., Marcion (Epiph., *Har.*, XLII), Cerdo and Valentius (Ireneus, *Adv. Har.* I, 1; III, 3), the Manicheans (Leo the Great, *ep. 20*) Eutyches (*idem*, *ep. 21*), Sergius (Mansi, XI, 530). The Acacian schismatics, who in order to excuse themselves from sin, said that they "did not know what the Apostolic See thought." — Nor was there primacy unknown to the pagans, for Paul of Samosata, who defected from the true faith and from the episcopacy at the same time, did not want to leave his house in Antioch, "since Aurelian the Emperor (270-275), when asked to intervene, judged this matter in an absolutely correct manner," says Eusebius, "commanding them to hand over the house, to whom the Italian bishops of the Christian religion and the Roman bishop wrote." H.E. Lib. VII, 31. Likewise Liberius the Pope is called by Ammianus Marcellinus, a pagan man, simply "the bishop of

remove the last vestiges of the Laurentian schism in Rome, receiving back into the Church those adherents who had not already been reconciled. Most of his papacy was concerned with healing the schism that had existed since 484 between East and West brought about by the Acacian schism. The schism was the result of Acacius of Constantinople's attempt to placate the Monophysites. The church of Constantinople was reunited with Rome in 519 by means of the confession of faith that is called The Formula of Hormisdas.

the Christian law." (*Rerum gestarum*, book XV); from that point on, he makes mention of the *authority* "by which the bishops of the Eternal City are more powerful." There can be seen the *real presence* of the primacy.

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[67.18] ARGUMENT IV. *From the reason of divine Providence.* Whatever great thing has been done for God and Jesus Christ, the Roman Pontiff was the leader and author of it. Therefore the Roman Pontiff is not an *Antichrist*, but a man of God. It is repugnant with the idea of Divine Providence, ruling the Church in a special way, that the rights of God and of Christ be permitted to be defended *per se* and directly, from the beginning to the present day, by those who sit in the seat of pride as an *Antichrist*. In order to prove the *antecedent*, I mention certain facts to be explained by historians. The Roman Pontiffs have resisted *paganism*, and have undergone martyrdom bravely; they have resisted *heretics* by teaching, directing, and bearing many things, such as Sylvester, Julius, Damasus in attacking the Arians; Celestine against the Nestorians, Leo the Great against the Eutychians; Martin against the Monothelites. They subdued the *barbarians* by preaching, training, e.g., Gregory the Great and Nicholas the Great. They have struggled against the corruption of morals and for the liberty of the Church, such as Gregory VII and Innocent III; they defended the unity of the faith from the sects, as well as the hierarchy, the evangelical counsels, Christian liberty, the integrity of Sacred Scripture, such as St. Pius V. They opposed philosophism, such as Pius VI and Pius VII. Of those who believe in Christ, they have drawn the greatest part, and have handed over the precepts of a most pure life. Today from Pope Pius IX to Pius X, happily reigning, in the midst of great calamities they refuted the opinions of heretics and rationalists, and Rome through Christ has the *words of eternal life*. Nor does one need a prophet to know that leaders of the future struggles against errors will be the Roman Pontiffs.



SAINT PIUS V (1565-1572)



SAINT PIUS X (1903-1914)

OBJECTIONS

[67.19] OBJECTION I. The very ancient Fathers do not treat of the primacy in an extensive manner, but rather obscurely. From them, therefore, little is proved.

[67.20] RESPONSE. *I distinguish*: those Fathers do not treat of the primacy in an extended manner, because the argument of their words did not demand it, *I concede*; because they did not believe in the primacy, *I deny*. Nor were the ancient Fathers speaking obscurely, for although certain testimonies where are indirect or implicit, by themselves and *per se* do not demonstrate the primacy, a great abundance of other testimony supplies for this, which cannot be called into doubt, especially when taken together.

[67.21] INSTANCE. From the ancients there is the illustrious testimony of Ireneus. But the *more powerful principality* which he attributes to the Roman Church was perhaps attributed because of the honor and splendor of the City. Therefore Ireneus is an uncertain witness.

[67.22] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the minor. That *more powerful principality* is attributed perhaps to the Roman Church because of the splendor of the city, if we judge from a preconceived notion outside of the text, *let it pass*; if we look at the very words of Ireneus, *I deny*. In order that we make an interpretation concerning the primacy, the letter of the text is forceful, which insists totally upon the idea of the Church. He says: "To this *Church*." and "every Church, that is, the *faithful* who are from everywhere." From the context, we understand that Saint Ireneus is treating of the authority of apostolic tradition, which, in order that he prove it, says that he will bring forth authority "of the greatest and most ancient Church and known to all, founded and constituted by the most glorious Apostles Peter and Paul at Rome." The purpose of the author should be added. He is trying to convince the Gnostics of the truth, not from magnificence of cities, which is absurd, or from some temporal power, but from the charism of truth, concerning which, in the *Adv. Hæreses* IV, 26, he writes these things: "Wherefore it is incumbent to obey the *presbyters* who are in the Church—those who, as I have shown, possess the succession from the apostles; those who, together with the succession of the episcopate, have received the certain gift of truth, according to the good pleasure of the Father." Finally the parallel places of other authors

show that the ancient churches venerated the authority of the Roman Church, not because it was established in the city, but because it is the see of Peter, the place of Peter. For this reason Bossuet rightly says: "They are joking who think that by the name of 'greater principality' the magnificence of the city is indicated."

[67.23] INSTANCE. The necessity of conforming to the Roman Church concerning which Ireneus speaks, is not moral, but natural, to which, not the word *dei* (Greek) would correspond, but *anagke* or *anagkaion*. But the primacy of the Roman Pontiff carries with it an ethical necessity or obligation on the part of the Churches. Therefore the text of Ireneus has no force of argument.

[67.24] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major: that necessity is not a moral one expressed in the form of law, *let it pass*; is not indicated in fact, *I deny*. Many taught that to conform to this Church is the same thing as to be in accordance with it, an expression which is rendered by an old translator by the Greek *symbainein pros* with the same words. Therefore Ireneus would be directly expressing a law of conformity with the Roman Church, indeed, in matters of faith. Salmasius¹⁰¹ in his book *De primatu* which he wrote against the primacy, says this: "It is necessary that every Church conform to the Roman, that is, since Ireneus was speaking in Greek, *symbainein pros ten ton Romaion ekklesian*, which signifies "to conform" and "to be in accordance with matters of faith and doctrine with the Roman Church." Schneemann¹⁰² relates

¹⁰¹ CLAUDIUS SALMASIUS is the Latin name of Claude Saumaise (April 15, 1588 - September 3, 1653), a French classical scholar.

¹⁰² GERHARD SCHNEEMANN (born at Wesel, Lower Rhine, 12 February 1829; d. at Kerkrade, Netherlands, 20 November 1885) was a German Jesuit. After studying law for three years, he entered the seminary at Münster where he was ordained subdeacon in 1850. He became a member of the Society of Jesus, 24 November 1851, and was ordained priest on 22 December 1856. For some years he taught philosophy at Bonn and Aachen, and subsequently lectured on church history and canon law in the Jesuit scholasticate at Maria Laach Abbey. His first notable publication was "*Studien über die Honoriusfrage*" (Freiburg, 1864) against the opinion of Ignaz von Döllinger. Between the years 1865 and 1870, he contributed a number of dissertations to "*Die Encyclica Papst Pius IX*" and "*Das ökumenische Concil*", two series of papers that were published at Freiburg under the general title of *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, later called *Stimmen der Zeit*. In 1871 the

that many non-Catholics agree, including Heinrich Thiersch¹⁰³ and Adolph Stieren, men who are of outstanding erudition. Harnack also agrees with this position. However, for those who doubt this reading, or who even deny it, the adduced authority of Irenaeus for the primacy can be certain. And indeed, where would the necessity come from for such a great confluence of Churches and faithful to Rome? They sometimes call that thing *physical*, not only because the *fact* is ascertained, but likewise because the fact of the confluence follows the nature of the thing. For it follows from a *more powerful principality* of the Roman Church that all the other Churches, if they want to preserve and defend the truth, for the purpose of conforming themselves to so great an authority, and for opposing this authority to heretics, they take up the Roman way. See how in the fact the law is indicated. For if the law is to preserve the true faith, it pertains to the moral or ethical order to obey such a great authority. So the same thing is concluded indirectly which was concluded directly in the prior reading.

[67.25] **INSTANCE.** Irenaeus shows the authority of the Church of Rome in testifying, but not in ruling. Therefore a certain argument for the greater spiritual power of this Church cannot be inferred from the testimony of Irenaeus.

[67.26] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the antecedent. Irenaeus shows the authority of the Roman Church in testifying with power, *I concede*; excluding this power, *I deny*. And *I deny* the consequent. The holy Doctor opposes this rule to the Gnostics who receive their doctrine separately from the Apostles, and glory in a totally secret doctrine and mysteries: "If the Apostles had known the hidden mysteries, which separately and secretly

Stimmen became a regular monthly review and for six years was edited by Schneemann. He was the chief promoter in the collaboration and publication of the "*Acta et decreta sacrorum conciliorum recentiorum*", commonly called "*Collection Lacensis*", and died while preparing the documents of the First Vatican Council for the seventh and last volume. His work "*Controversiarum de divinae gratiae liberique arbitrii concordia initia et progressus*" (Freiburg, 1881), was the occasion of a renewed controversy on the nature of grace and free will.

¹⁰³ HEINRICH WILHELM JOSIAS THIERSCH (November 5, 1817 – December 3, 1885), usually known as H. W. J. Thiersch, was a German philologist, theologian, and minister, active in the short-lived Catholic Apostolic Church.

from the others they taught to the perfect, ~~either~~ *something* they would have handed them over to those to whom they committed the Churches." Furthermore the chapters which are devoted to the confutation of this whole outstanding work *Adversus Hareses*, are these: the Holy Ghost operates in the Church; where the Church is, there is truth; everyone is bound to persevere in the unity of the Church; the truth of the Church is known by the sign of apostolicity; the apostles handed to their successors the bishops their very place of magisterium; the bishops received by succession the certain charism of truth according to the will of the Father; it is necessary to obey the bishops. The complete reasoning, therefore, of the book *Adversus Hareses* is founded in the concept of the hierarchy or sacred principality. But in this sacred principality, the more powerful principality pertains to the Roman Church. It is so far from the mind of St. Irenaeus that he be silent concerning the power of the Roman Church, that it is drawn from the entire argumentation of the holy Doctor, and his profound concept of the true Church.

[67.27] **INSTANCE.** Saint Irenaeus, in the controversy concerning the celebration of Easter, admonishes Victor, the Roman Pontiff, "that he should not cut off from communion whole churches of God, retaining a custom handed down to them from their ancestors." (Eusebius, *H.E.*, lib. V, 23) But to the extent that he very freely admonishes the Pontiff, to that same extent he recognizes less the primacy of the Pontiff.

[67.28] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the antecedent. St. Irenaeus admonishes Victor in a seditious manner, *I deny*, in a becoming manner. *I concede.* We read in Eusebius that Irenaeus admonished "in a becoming manner." But this very admonition shows the primacy, since it is clear that it happened not for purpose of denying the power, but for the purpose of calming the Pontiff.

[67.29] **OBJECTION II.** The authority of St. Cyprian is great. However, he, in the Third Council of Carthage, said in front of eighty-six bishops: "It remains, that upon this same matter, each of us should bring forward what we think,

judging no man, nor rejecting anyone from the right of communion, if he should think differently from us. For neither does any of us set himself up as a bishop of bishops, nor by tyrannical terror does any compel his colleague to the necessity of obedience, since every bishop, according to the allowance of his liberty and power, has his own proper right of judgement, and can no more be judged by another than he himself can judge another."

[67.30] RESPONSE. The authority of Saint Cyprian is great in general, *I concede*; always and in that controversy of rebaptizing, *I deny*. Given, but not conceded that these words were tacitly directed toward Pope St. Stephen, *I distinguish* the minor: by these words Saint Cyprian rejects the right of the primacy, *I deny*; is shunning its application in this case, *I concede*. This quotation is more correctly understood from three things: [1] It is possible that a man who is otherwise praiseworthy thinks correctly when he is calm, and in the heat of controversy says certain things by way of exaggeration, and even entirely erroneous. [2] What Cyprian said, however, in other places with a calm mind are not deleted by those things which he may have said, when the controversy arose, which are less in conformity with the primacy. [3] Those words cannot have been said *absolutely*, since the absolute power of speaking and acting, conceded to individual bishops, would uproot the unity of the Church, so celebrated in Cyprian's outstanding work. But the holy martyr limits the question: "He says concerning this very thing." Likewise in *Ep.* 72 to Stephen he says: "*In this matter*." Namely he seems to treat of this matter as a disciplinary thing. He does not, however, reject the primacy *in se* in the very controversy. Hence, in order that he persuade Stephen that in this matter he must be convinced by reason, he brings forth the example of Peter: (*Ep.* 71) "For neither did Peter, whom the Lord chose as first, and upon whom He built His Church, when Paul disputed with him afterwards about circumcision, claim anything to himself insolently nor arrogantly assume anything; so as to say that he held the primacy and that he ought rather to be obeyed by novices and those lately come." Cf. *ep.* 70 to

Januarius, no. 3; *ep.* 73, no. 7 & 11. It is as if he was saying: "You should be arrogant in your primacy." Therefore he does not deny that the primacy is in Stephen.

[67.31] INSTANCE. Firmilianus, an associate of Cyprian in the dispute, writing a vehement letter to Cyprian concerning Stephen, uses these words among other things: "Stephen, who preaches that he has the see of Peter by succession is not excited by zeal against heretics." (in *ep.* 75 of Cyprian). Therefore he had contempt for the primacy.

[67.32] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. Firmilianus accuses Stephen of not having used his primacy against the heretics, *I concede*; of falsely glorying in the primacy, *I deny*. The mind of the very vehement African is this: "You, successor of Peter, in this matter of rebaptizing, dishonor by your deeds your primacy which you extol in words."

[67.33] INSTANCE. St. Cyprian also used words of *presumption*, *depravity*, and others which were no less insulting to the Roman Pontiff. These are words which certainly do not pertain to a bishop who believes in the primacy.

[67.34] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. These things were said by an angry person, *I concede*; according to the mind of the Church, *I deny*. We have shown the unanimous consent of the Fathers concerning the primacy. Regarding Cyprian, St. Augustine said: "I am unwilling to handle again what Cyprian poured forth with signs of irritation against Stephen, as it is, moreover, quite unnecessary. For they are but the selfsame arguments which have already been sufficiently discussed; and it is better to pass over those points which involve the danger of baneful dissension." But he said: "If there had been anything to correct in him [Cyprian], the Father scourged by the scythe of passion." (*Ep.* 93 to Vincentius)

[67.35] OBJECTION III. The origin of the primacy can be explained through human causes which are the following: a large multitude of the faithful in Rome; the splendor of Rome; its riches; outstanding charity; its apostolic origin; its absolutely integral and intrepid faith; the craftiness

of the Roman bishops; the ambition of the Roman bishops; the decrees of the emperors. Therefore there is no necessity of admitting a divine institution.

[67.36] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. Through these causes the primacy can be explained, and at the same time denying all of the absolutely certain historical documents, *let it pass*; according to historical truth; *I deny*. It is falsely asserted that the Pontiffs had ambition and craftiness. Concerning the causes, however, which *could have* engendered the primacy, we have nothing further to say, because Sacred Scripture, the Fathers, reason and the facts demonstrate the primacy is of divine origin. We have found the authority of the Roman Pontiffs not only in practice, but also in the doctrine of the ancients. But if the majesty of Rome conferred something, from which the *practice* could be explained, the majesty of Christ was its foundation upon which the doctrine of the primacy was founded. It was worthy of divine providence, however, that having ordered the means toward the end, it prepared the see of Rome as apt for the successors of Peter in the same way that it had prepared, through the Roman Empire, the way for those who were evangelizing peace. These things were unable to dishonor criticism; the quality of criticism is lacking in those who would claim that the Roman primacy is built upon the power of the city, the error of the journey of St. Peter to Rome and the ambitious fraud of the Roman bishops.

[67.37] INSTANCE. The emperors Valentinian III¹⁰⁴, Charlemagne, and Phocas¹⁰⁵ obtained for the Roman See its greatest authority by their decrees, *seem* to be the cause of the primacy.

[67.38] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. These decrees created the primacy, *I deny*; confirmed it, *I subdistinguish*: in the civil forum, *I concede*; in the ecclesiastical forum, *I deny*. There is no need of contrivance here; for it is

¹⁰⁴ FLAVIUS PLACIDIUS VALENTINIANUS (2 July 419 – 16 March 455), commonly known as Valentinian III, was Western Roman Emperor from 425 to 455.

¹⁰⁵ FLAVIUS PHOCAS (Φωκάς, Phokas) was Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Emperor from 602 to 610. He usurped the throne from the Emperor Maurice, and was himself overthrown by Heraclius after losing a civil war.

certain by absolutely true reasons that Christ is the cause of the primacy. But if the decree of the ruler at times was conceived with those words, which are said less accurately, these things certainly are to be interpreted not literally, but from the mind of the universal Church and the authority of the Doctors.

[67.39] INSTANCE. In the third canon of the Council of Constantinople I, the second ecumenical, it is established: "It is necessary that the bishop of the city of Constantinople have the primacy of honor after the Roman Pontiff because it is the New Rome." Similarly in canon 28 of the Council of Chalcedon: "The Fathers rightly attributed privileges to the throne of ancient Rome because that city held the power. Moved by the same consideration, 150 bishops gave equal privileges to the throne of New Rome." From these things it follows that the primacy was born from the civil power of Rome.

[67.40] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. By these canons the supreme Pontificate was established, *I deny*; the patriarchate, *I subdistinguish*: by alleging the cause condemned by the Church, *I concede*; a cause received in law, *I deny*. The sophism by which the patriarchate of Constantinople is extolled smells of Byzantinism; nor is it approved by the Catholic Church. [A] *It does not concern the supreme Pontificate*. This is evident [1] from the connection with canon 3 of Constantinople with canon 2, which it completes in determining the order and honor of bishops; [2] *from the conclusion* of the aforesaid canon of Chalcedon: "That only the metropolitans of the dioceses of Pontus, Asia and Thrace be ordered to the aforesaid throne of the Church of Constantinople"; [3] from the fact that Leo the Great complains in epistle 105 and 106 that not ^{his} rights of the supreme pontificate, but so many primacies of metropolitans and so many rights of primatial provinces have been tampered with; [4] from history, which relates that the entire controversy concerning these canons pertains to the dispute over the patriarchate.

[67.41] [B] *The alleged cause was rejected*. For [1] Leo the Great declared the "reason of secular things is not the reason of divine things, nor beside that rock which the Lord placed as a foundation

will there be any other stable construction." (*Ep.* 104) [2] The Roman Church did not accept canon 3 of Constantinople, as is evident from Leo the Great's epistle 106 to Anatolius, the bishop of Constantinople, and from Gregory the Great (*Ep.* in lib. VII, 34). The canon, however, of Chalcedon was repudiated by Leo the Great, having been asked to confirm the council, with these words: "by the blessed Apostle Peter's authority, we absolutely disannul in comprehensive terms..." (*Ep.* 105) [3] The canon of Chalcedon has been expunged in many collections, as in the Latin collection of Denis the Small¹⁰⁶ and Isidore; in Prisca; in the Greek collection ~~that~~ of John of Antioch; in the Arabic collection ~~that~~ of Joseph of Egypt. [4] Anatolius, the bishop of Constantinople professed the authority of the Roman See and the indignation over the canon of Chalcedon, writing these things to Leo the Great: "*Certainly Your Blessedness would have this, that there is no fault in me.*" A little after all the force and confirmation of the acts is said to be reserved to the Roman Pontiff, and he adds: "May Your Holiness know that this has been well discovered, that I have had no part in this cause, I who always have considered that I must avoid levity of boasting and cupidity of desiring the things of others." (Found in the *epistles* of Leo the Great, no. 132)

[67.42] INSTANCE. In canon XXVIII of Chalcedon, already cited, we read: "The Fathers attributed the privileges by right to the throne of ancient Rome because that city possessed the power." Therefore the councils and not Christ created the primacy.

[67.43] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. That canon was rejected, *I concede*; expresses the doctrine of the Church, *I deny*. From the arguments which we have posited above, it is easy to understand how true that is what Boniface I said: "These privileges granted to this Church by Christ, and not given by councils, but only declared and venerated by them." (*Ep.* 8) However, the sophistic redaction of this canon did not arise from a doubtful faith concerning the primacy, since the Catholic doctrine concerning the divine institution of the primacy is confirmed clearly by the acts of Chalcedon; but since the promoters of the Patriarch of Constantinople could find nothing better, they have adduced ambiguous reasons.

¹⁰⁶ DIONYSIUS EXIGUUS (DENNIS THE SMALL, Dennis the Little or Dennis the Short, meaning humble) (c. 470 – c. 544) was a sixth century monk born in Scythia Minor, modern Dobruja shared by Romania and Bulgaria. He was a member of the Scythian monks community concentrated in Tomis, the major city of Scythia Minor. Dionysius is best-known as the inventor of the Anno Domini era, which is used to number the years of both the Gregorian calendar and the (Christianized) Julian calendar. From about 500 he lived in Rome, where, as a learned member of the Roman Curia, he translated from Greek into Latin 401 ecclesiastical canons, including the apostolical canons and the decrees of the councils of Nicaea, Constantinople, Chalcedon and Sardis, and also a collection of the decretals of the popes from Siricius to Anastasius II. These collections had great authority in the West and still guide church administrations. Dionysius also wrote a treatise on elementary mathematics.

ARTICLE V
[68]
BY WHAT RIGHT THE PRIMACY IS ATTACHED TO THE ROMAN
EPISCOPATE

[68.1] I. THE CONNECTION BETWEEN THE EPISCOPATE OF THE WORLD AND THE EPISCOPATE OF THE CITY, THAT IS, THE PRIMACY OF THE ROMAN EPISCOPATE. The *fact* of this connection is known from what we have said concerning the primacy of the Roman Pontiff. Therefore from the disputation concerning both the primacy of Peter and his martyrdom, these two things are certain: [1] Peter by divine right has perpetual successors in the same primacy; [2] *in the present state of affairs*, that primacy is annexed to the Roman episcopate.

[68.2] The question is whether the primacy and the Roman episcopate are two episcopates, and how does a bishop of one place join himself to another episcopate? Cajetan responds: "When we say that Peter and the Roman Pontiff, and the Pontiff of the Catholic Church, we do not mean two pontificates; for they are not two in act, but in potency only, i.e., because they could be two, as is evident from what has been said. Therefore they are not like two united episcopates, since before Peter there was no episcopate in Rome. But Peter himself raised the Roman Church to the pontificate, and no other than his own, which he brought with him, in such a way that his pontificate, which he had from Christ in regard to the whole Church, Peter himself referred to the Roman Church by appropriating it to himself." *De Rom. Pont. instit.* cap. XIII. It is therefore one primatial power.

[68.3] II. VARIOUS OPINIONS OF CATHOLICS CONCERNING THE RIGHT BY WHICH THE PRIMACY IS CONNECTED TO THE ROMAN EPISCOPATE. The diversity of opinions concerning this matter arises from the diversity of opinions about the manner in

which Peter appropriated the episcopacy to his primacy. *Dominicus Soto* teaches that, given the conjunction, the universality of the Roman episcopate is *de jure divino*, that the very conjunction, but because it flows from Peter alone with no mandate from God, is, according to him, of human right. (*In IV Sent.* dist. 24, q. 2, art. 5.) *John of St. Thomas* says: "And if it should be probable from some mandate by a sufficient revelation to induce a divine right, that Peter joined the pontificate of the Church to the episcopate of Rome, it is, nevertheless, *not certain* that this conjunction is *de jure divino*. (*Cursus theol.* tract. de auctor. S. Pont., art. IV, 9) *Cajetan* teaches that the *ratio* of succession of the Roman Pontiff is "the appropriation of the Roman Church to the pontificate of Peter, confirmed both by the death of Peter and by the mandate of Christ." (*De Rom. Pont. instit.* chap. XIII) He therefore says that the conjunction certainly *became* of divine right. The authors are divided into these three opinions: namely [1] of ecclesiastical right, [2] mixed ~~etc.~~ ^{etc.} and [3] divine right. But the third seems to be the one to be held, which also *St. Thomas* probably expressed, saying: "In order that the Lord might show His power more *in Rome itself*, which was the capital of the world, He also established the head of His Church there." (III, 35, 7)

[68.4] III. Whether the Roman episcopate and the primacy are joined together in such a way that they are inseparable. We have said that in the judgement of *Dominic Soto* and others, ~~that~~ the union of each dignity is established only by human right. *Benedict XIV* (1740-1758) said: "Although it

DOESN'T

can be said in a certain sense that the supreme monarchy of the Church is connected to the See of Rome by only human right, because namely the union, connection, and binding of each of them had its origin in what Peter did, nevertheless, it does not seem that the opinion of those can be sustained who have asserted that the aforesaid connection is of human right, in such a way, that it could be dissolved by the Church, and that one could be separated from the other." *De Syn.* II, 1, n. 1. John of St. Thomas makes the exception of one case, in which Rome would be destroyed. "Outside of this case, however, I think that there could be nothing so urgent which could justify the separation of the two, and would *even make it valid*." However, he affirms that he is moved to that exception "because that case of the destruction of Rome is absolutely not impossible, and in fact it is thought that it will take place at the time of the Antichrist." (L.c. n. 21) It appears, however, that the doctrine of the *separability* depends in such a way on the question of the *right* of the connection, that if you posit the divine right of the connection, the absolute inseparability would follow. (Cf. Franzelin *De Eccl. Christi*, thesis XII)

[68.5] QUESTION: WHETHER THE *absolute* INSEPARABILITY EXCLUDES EVEN THAT CASE, IN WHICH PROVIDENCE, BY A CERTAIN EXTRAORDINARY DISPOSITION, WOULD INDICATE THAT THE PRIMACY MUST BE TRANSFERRED FROM THE ROMAN EPISCOPATE.

RESPONSE: It is thought that that case, although in itself is not repugnant, would never come; to the extent that it is evident from the reasons which we expose, by which it seems that the conjunction is proved to be entirely definitive.

[68.6] IV. WHAT KIND OF DIVINE RIGHT IS IT, BY WHICH THE PRIMACY IS ANNEXED TO THE ROMAN EPISCOPATE? This right is considered to arise [1] either solely from the choice of Peter, which, once it was done, had the effect that it is in no one's power to divide the Roman episcopacy and the primacy; or [2] from the will of Christ, manifested in whatever way, by which the manner of succession, determined by Peter's own will,

must be considered to be *definitively* confirmed; or [3] from the fact that the appropriation and the conjunction were done by the mandate of Christ. But "if this happened only by the mere will of Peter, when he was supreme Pontiff," Suarez says, "it would be possible that it could be changed at any time by the will of another Pontiff." *Disp. X de Summo Pont.* sect. III. Likewise Mendive, *Inst. theol. dogmat.* P. I, (1895), to whom the hypothesis of the sole will of Peter is displeasing, concludes correctly: "Hence it is not certain that there is lacking to the Roman Pontiff the power of transferring the primacy to another, when necessity demands it, but it is perfectly certain that this transferal cannot be done without the will of the Roman Pontiff." For the same reason, if a cause is sought why the conjunction, which was not changed by Peter when he was alive, should remain ratified, we are led to opinion [2] or [3] concerning the divine right.

[68.7] QUESTION. IN WHAT WAY WAS THE DIVINE MANDATE SIGNIFIED TO PETER CONCERNING THE JOINING OF THE ROMAN EPISCOPATE WITH THE EPISCOPATE OF THE WHOLE WORLD?

RESPONSE. The *manner* in which this took place we receive only from what St. Ambrose wrote: "At night he begins to leave the town, and seeing Christ coming to meet him at the gate, and entering the city, says: Lord, whither goest Thou? Christ answers: I am coming to be crucified again. Peter understood the divine answer to refer to his own cross, for Christ could not be crucified a second time, for He had put off the flesh by the passion of the death which He had undergone; since: '*In that He died, He died unto sin once, but in that He lives, He lives unto God.*' (Romans 6:10) So Peter understood that Christ was to be crucified again in the person of His servant. Therefore he willingly returned; and when the Christians questioned him, told them the reason. He was immediately seized, and glorified the Lord Jesus by his cross." (*Sermo contra Auxent.*) Innocent III affirms that Peter, by divine revelation, moved from Antioch to Rome. *Ep.* book II, no. 209. But because the testimonies concerning the *manner*

leave some place for doubt it does not mean that the very thing becomes doubtful.

[68.8] V. PROPOSITION 35 OF THE SYLLABUS. This thesis is noted in the Syllabus: *There is nothing to forbid that by the vote of a General Council or by the action of all peoples the Supreme Pontificate be transferred from the Roman Bishop and the City to another bishopric and another city.* Nuytz, a professor at Turin, was promoting this error. Certainly he understood the transfer of the *see*, and not of the *residence*. For it is certain that some Pontiffs, for many years, lived in Avignon, and others lived as exiles in diverse places. But it appears from the cited proposition of Nuytz that a very firm conjunction between the Roman episcopacy and the primacy must be admitted. Whether this conjunction has happened by divine right or not, is not addressed by the note. Nor has the Church defined the conjunction of which we speak anywhere else, that it was explicitly determined as a matter of faith that the conjunction is by divine law.

[68.9] Thesis: THE PRIMACY VERY PROBABLY WAS ANNEXED BY DIVINE RIGHT TO THE ROMAN EPISCOPACY.

[68.10] ARGUMENT I. That the primacy and the Roman episcopacy are joined by divine right we prudently believe, if the statements of the most serious witnesses can be adduced in favor of it. But these testimonies exist either implicitly or explicitly.

[68.11] [A] *Implicit testimonies.* The absolute connection of each dignity does not seem to be able to be constituted by merely human right. But the Fathers and ancient writers teach with common assent that those dignities are joined concretely and absolutely. *Ergo. Proof of the minor.* The Fathers, whose clear and certain judgements have been adduced in previous articles, recognize the primacy in the Supreme Pontiffs because they are Roman bishops, since they hold the *place of Peter* and the *Apostolic See*, because they *sit in the chair of Peter*; nowhere, however, do they

conjecture that someone could obtain the primacy who is not the Roman bishop.

[68.12] [B] *Explicit testimonies.* St. Gelasius, Pope (492 – 496): “The consent of the prefect of that *See* must be applied, whom the Supreme Deity wished to excel over all priests.” Ep. 11 to Anastasius the Emperor. The same, in ep. 14, asserted that Christ, “by a wondrous dispensation, directed Peter to Rome, the mistress of the nations.” Again *Nicholas I* (858-867): “The privileges of that *see* are perpetual; they are rooted and planted by God; they can be attacked, but they *cannot be transferred.*” Ep. 8 to Michael the Emperor. — *Boniface VIII*: “The inscrutable loftiness of divine providence placed the Roman Church over the churches by an unchangeable disposition.” (Bull *Sacrosanctæ Romanæ*) — Leo XIII: “It was not without a special divine command that St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles went to that metropolis of the world and of idolatry in order to become the pastor of the same city, and to transmit to it forever, the authority of the supreme apostolate.” *Letter to the Most Eminent Card. Rampolla*, June 15, 1887. Afterwards, on the May 11, 1899, he said: “The Savior chose one city of Rome from all cities for the very exalted gifts and for things higher than human things, and consecrated it to Himself for all time.”

[68.13] In the dogmatic constitution *Pastor Æternus*, chap II, these things are written: “...and he [Peter] up to this time and always lives and presides and exercises judgement in his successors, the bishops of the holy *See* of Rome, which was founded by him and consecrated by his blood. Therefore, whoever succeeds Peter in this chair, he according to the institution of Christ Himself, holds the primacy of Peter over the whole Church.” [Denz. 1824] In chapter three we read: “Furthermore We teach and declare that the Roman Church, *by the disposition of the Lord*, holds the sovereignty of ordinary power over all others.” [Denz. 1827] Although in these words a most firm connection of the primacy with the Roman *see* seems to be indicated, nevertheless the words of this Constitution do not have the force of saying that the connection must be held to be of *divine right*.

[68.14] ARGUMENT II. *From congruities.* [A] It is most congruous with the Divine Founder of the Church, that He manifest to His Apostles something that is very necessary for the maintenance of peace and unity in the Church. But a certain and fixed see is very necessary in order that the peace and unity of the Church be preserved. *Ergo.* For this reason, Canus says: "For if to Moses that place was revealed, which the Lord had chosen so that, from that place, the divine oracles would be sought from the Jews, how much more it should be believed that Christ manifested to Peter what place that would be, where He had decided to locate both the primacy and the see of His kingdom." *De locis theol.* book VI, 8, ad 10.

7. [68.15] [B] The same is congruous with Christ triumphant, according to what St. Thomas says: According to a sermon in the Council of Ephesus [P. iii, cap. ix]: "If He had chosen the great city of Rome, the change in the world would be ascribed to the influence of her citizens. If He had been the son of the Emperor, His benefits would have been attributed to the latter's power. But that we might acknowledge the work of God in the transformation of the whole earth, He chose a poor mother and a birthplace poorer still. *'But the weak things of the world hath God chosen, that He may confound the strong.'* (1 Corinthians 1:27). And therefore, in order the more to show His power, He set up the head of His Church in Rome itself, which was the head of the world, as a sign of His complete victory, in order that from that city the faith might spread throughout the world; according to Is. XXVI: 5,6: *'The high city He shall lay low . . . the feet of the poor,'* i.e. of Christ, *'shall tread it down; the steps of the needy,'* i.e. of the apostles Peter and Paul." (IIIa, q. 35, art. 7 ad 3. Cf. *De Reg. Principum*, book I, 14)

3/30/11 [68.16] [C] Nor did the Supreme Pontiffs, even in the most difficult circumstances, by which they were pressured very often to abandon the principality of the Roman Church, ever consider transferring the see. But a conjunction that is fixed is such a way, that a separation did not come to mind even in the most difficult circumstances.

OBJECTIONS

[68.17] OBJECTION I. Peter at times was without a certain see. And if during that time he had been killed, no other person would have been able to succeed in his place. Therefore the primacy cannot be without a certain see.

[68.18] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the conclusion. Therefore the primacy can lack a certain see absolutely, *let it pass*; hypothetically, *I deny*. Given the ordering of Providence, which we have shown by arguments, outside of the see which is fixed in Rome, the attainment of the primacy is now open to no one. Furthermore, the necessity of a certain see cannot be denied from the fact that Peter was for a certain time without a see. But it must be admitted instead that such a state of affairs would have left a lack of certitude.

[68.19] INSTANCE. The written testimonies prove this one thing: that St. Peter established his see in Rome by the providence of God. But for the purpose of establishing a union by divine right, a mere act of Providence with regard to Peter is not sufficient, but there is required a mandate with respect to the successors. Therefore the connection of the primacy with the Roman episcopate is not of divine right.

[68.20] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. Those testimonies show divine providence as author exclusively with regard to Peter and a mutable election, *I deny*; with regard to all of the Roman Pontiffs and a definitive election, *I concede*. *I concede* the minor, and *I deny* the conclusion. From the places which have been adduced in the proof, it is clear from the holy Doctors that that disposition of Providence is admitted which ought to be considered a fixed law. For they say: *Transferri non possunt; dispositione incommutabili.*

[68.21] OBJECTION II. If Rome were destroyed, there could be no Roman bishop. But it is not impossible that Rome be destroyed. Therefore the primacy could be taken away from the Roman episcopate.

[68.22] RESPONSE. *Let the major and the minor pass. I deny* the conclusion. [1] The major does not seem to be sufficiently certain. For even if

Rome were completely destroyed, in such a way that there were not even a single place left in order to rule the faithful, nevertheless, the *title of the see*, as it at one time belonged to bishops, would remain. Wilmers says: "Then the successor of the Roman Pontiff who had died would be elected, just as now bishops of destroyed sees are chosen in the lands of the infidels. The one chosen would have all of the rights of the last bishop of Rome, hence also the right of ruling the Church of the city if ever this should emerge from the abyss again." (*De Christi Ecclesia*, 1897, p. 256) [2] Very serious men think that God would not permit Rome to be destroyed, and that its ruin could hardly ever happen in such a way that there would be no faithful left, and no vestiges of the Roman episcopate. [3] Finally, even if such a thing could happen, that the Roman episcopate be completely extinguished, the episcopate and primacy in the state of separation, properly so called, would not be disturbed, but God Himself, by an extraordinary disposition of the things of this

world would dissolve the connection between the two, in the same way that the bond of matrimony is dissolved by the death of the spouse.

[68.23] QUESTION: Is the proposition, *Pius X is the supreme Pontiff*, *de fide*?

[68.24] RESPONSE. The proposition which is contained as a particular in a universal proposition *de fide*, is considered *de fide*. But this proposition, Pius X is the supreme Pontiff, is contained as a particular in this universal: Everyone who is received by the universal Church as the successor of Peter is the Supreme Pontiff, which is *de fide*. Therefore the proposition of which we are speaking seems that it must be admitted by the assent of faith. (Cf. Billuart, *De Reg. Fid.* diss. IV, art. 9; and Salmanticenses, *De fide*, disp. IV, dubium 2)

QUESTION XVI

THE POWER AND NATURE OF THE PRIMACY OF THE ROMAN PONTIFF

In this question concerning the *power and nature* of the pontifical power, some have preferred to oppose the Catholic doctrine more with passion than with reason. But Catholics do not detract from the glory of God, who attribute to the Pontiff *only* that much power as they see God to have conceded to him. *For there is no power except from God* (Rom. XIII: 10. *But Christ is all, and in all.* (Col. III: 11) For we ask:

FIRST. WHETHER THE ROMAN PONTIFF RECEIVES HIS POWER IMMEDIATELY FROM GOD.

SECOND. WHETHER THE ROMAN PONTIFF HAS THE COMPLETE PLENITUDE OF SUPREME POWER.

THIRD. WHETHER THIS POWER IS ORDINARY AND IMMEDIATE OVER EACH CHURCH AND OVER ALL THE CHURCHES.

FOURTH. WHETHER THE POWER OF JURISDICTION IS DERIVED FROM GOD IN THE BISHOPS THROUGH THE MEDIATION OF THE ROMAN PONTIFF OR IMMEDIATELY.

FIFTH. WHETHER THE ROMAN PONTIFF IS INFALLIBLE WHEN HE SPEAKS EX CATHEDRA.

SIXTH. WHETHER THIS SAME INFALLIBILITY IS DEMONSTRATED FROM TRADITION.

SEVENTH. THE VALUE OF THE SYLLABUS.

EIGHTH. WHAT THE AUTHORITY OF THE ROMAN CONGREGATIONS IS IN MATTERS OF FAITH AND MORALS.

ARTICLE I

[69]

WHETHER THE ROMAN PONTIFF RECEIVES HIS POWER

IMMEDIATELY FROM GOD

[69.1] I. STATUS QUÆSTIONIS. THE DESIGNATION OF THE PERSON AND THE CONFERRAL OF POWER. It is asked whether the

Roman Pontiff, receives that power, which we have shown pertains to him by divine right, directly and immediately from God, or through the Church. In

deciding this controversy, one must distinguish between the *designation of the person* and the *conferral of the power*. [1] St. Peter was both designated by Christ and was given the keys by Him. [2] The successors of Peter are designated by legitimate electors in the Church, although the manner of electing changes according to the various conditions of the times. But it is very probable, that this power to elect pertains to the Church proximately and *formally*, but regulatively to the Roman Pontiff. That is to say, the Church has the right of electing, but the Roman Pontiff has the right, by himself alone, to direct or determine the manner of election. Nevertheless there are some who say that the Pope can designate his own successor. [3] The conferral of the power absolutely belongs to God.

[69.2] II. THE MANNER IN WHICH THE PONTIFICAL POWER IS TRANSFERRED TO HIM WHO HAS BEEN DESIGNATED BY THE CHURCH. John of St. Thomas explains the manner: "The conferral of the pontificate upon him who is newly elected, is not certain through some revelation done concerning that person, *but is certain from the very first institution of the pontificate, and from the conferral of it by Christ the Lord on Peter Himself, and to his successors*, as Father Suarez asserts...for by the very fact that he is legitimately elected and designated to succeed Peter, that power is due to him from the power of that very first conferral, which was given to Peter, in order that it remain in his successor, nor is any other new conferral necessary, but only the designation of the Church." *In II. II. de auct. Summi Pont. II. art. I. n. 16.*

[69.3] III. THE DEMOCRATIC ERROR CONCERNING THE CONFERRAL OF THE PONTIFICAL POWER. In this place mention must be made again of the democratic system, of which the assertors hold that the power of the ecclesiastical ministry and government derives from the *community of the faithful* into the pastors. The principal authors of this error were Richerius and Febronius. Richerius, in his work *De ecclesiastica et politica potestate* wrote, as he was spreading this erroneous proposition as well as many others:

"Christ, in founding His Church, gave the keys, that is, the jurisdiction *first, more immediately, and more essentially*, to the whole Church than to Peter and the other Apostles." And since the supreme power was said to be immediately in the multitude, some princes, since they thought themselves to be *more* noble members of the Church, preferred to reserve to themselves the conferral of part of the power to the Roman Pontiff. But the Fathers at the Vatican Council defined: *If anyone then says that the blessed Apostle Peter...received the primacy of honor only, but did not receive from the same Our Lord Jesus Christ directly and immediately the primacy of true and proper jurisdiction, let him be anathema.* Const. Pastor Aeternus. Concerning the Roman Pontiff, however, they teach: *"...To him has been given, by Our Lord Jesus Christ, the full power in blessed Peter to feed, rule, and guide the universal Church.* [Denz. 1826]

[69.4] Thesis: THE ROMAN PONTIFF RECEIVES HIS POWER IMMEDIATELY FROM GOD.

ARGUMENT I. It is necessary that he, who confers power, be equal to or exceed that power. But the members of the Church, however many there are, are inferior to the supreme Pontifical power. Therefore the Pontiffs receive their power immediately from God. The proof of the *minor* is from Sacred Scripture. For in Matth. XVI, Luke XXII, and John XXI, and all the texts in which we showed that the primacy was instituted by Christ, pertain proximately and immediately to Peter. But nowhere do we read that the power was given to the multitude of the faithful.

[69.5] ARGUMENT II. In him, who is the representative of another, power cannot be derived except from him, of whom he is the representative. But the Supreme Pontiff functions not as the representative of the Church, but of Christ alone. Therefore he obtains his power immediately, without the mediation of the people. Proof of the *minor* is from the testimonies and statements of the ancient writers, which we have already adduced in support of the primacy of Peter and of the Roman Pontiffs.

OBJECTIONS

[69.6] **OBJECTION I.** The power conferred for the good of the Church is a ministerial power. But the pontifical power is conferred for the good of the Church. Therefore it is a ministerial power and a mediate power.

[69.7] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the major. This power is ministerial with regard to God, *I concede*; with regard to the Church, *I subdistinguish*: inasmuch as it has been conferred for the Church, *I concede*; by the Church, *I deny*. Adversaries, because they lack a positive reason, contrive their equivocation. For in law, they do not call that power ministerial which is conceded for the good of others, but rather that power which is delegated and which is obtained by no proper title. Therefore the pontifical power, with regard to the Church, is principal in the sense of law, although the pontiff uses his power for the good of others, just as the Son of Man did not come in order to be ministered unto, but to minister. (Matth. XX: 28)

[69.8] **OBJECTION II.** God and nature first and more immediately pertain to the *suppositum* than to some part of the *suppositum*, even the most noble part. Therefore Christ, in conferring the supreme power, more immediately intends the Church than the Roman Pontiff. The antecedent is explained by the example of men who exercise the faculty of vision through the eye as through an organ and a minister.

[69.9] **RESPONSE.** *Let the antecedent pass. I distinguish* the consequent. Christ in conferring the

supreme power intends more immediately the Church *finaliter, I concede; formaliter, I deny*. The end of the primacy is the good of the Church, and the immediate subject of this power is the supreme pontiff. What is said concerning the eye does not pertain to anything; for who would believe that the power of seeing is derived from the body into the eye?

[69.10] **OBJECTION III.** Where the designation of person and the conferral of power pertains to diverse people, it can happen that he, who confers the power, repudiates the designated person if he is not worthy. But without revelation, it is not certain whether the elected pontiff is accepted by God. Therefore, who the Roman Pontiff is would always be uncertain, unless the power were conferred by the Church, *in addition* to the election.

[69.11] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the major. This rule is true in general, *let it pass; simpliciter, I deny. I similarly distinguish* the minor. Without a general revelation concerning the primacy, *I concede*; without a revelation *toties quoties, I deny*. Christ, in instituting the perennial primacy is nowhere found to have established that only saints enjoy the function of ruling. But once the absolute law of Christ is established, it follows that he who is elected is always accepted by God.

ARTICLE II

[70]

WHETHER THE ROMAN PONTIFF HAS THE COMPLETE PLENITUDE OF SUPREME POWER.

[70.1] **I. THE CONCEPT OF THE PLENITUDE OF THE PONTIFICAL POWER.** This plenitude is total and undivided power of supreme jurisdiction in one Pontiff. For, as St. Thomas says, "that is had

fully which is had totally and perfectly." (IIIa, q. 7, art. 9) We are speaking here about the plenitude of jurisdiction, and not of orders. For the Pontiff, "by the fact that he is head of the bishops, is not said to

have the fullness of power with regard to the true Body of Christ, but with regard to the Mystical Body of Christ." (In IV Sent. dist. 7, q. 3, art. 1, q. 3). But this power can be considered [A] in its objects, [B] in its inferiors. Concerning each of these we will quote St. Thomas briefly.

[70.2] [A] The *object* of the aforesaid power is all those things which pertain to *faith and morals* and discipline and government. The pope cannot dispense "with regard to those things which pertain to the natural law, necessity of the sacraments, and the faith; but in other things which pertain to the institution of the Apostles, since the Church has now the same power of establishing and destroying, it is possible that through him, who holds the primacy in the Church, these things be dispensed." (In IV Sent., dist. XXII., q. 3, art. 3. See other references in book).

[70.3] [B] Inferiors or subjects of this power are the universal Church, the faithful and pastors considered both singly and all together. For "the Pope has the fullness of the *pontifical power*, as if a king in a kingdom; but the bishops are assumed for the purpose of solicitude as judges set over individual cities." (In IV Sent. dist. CC., art. 4) He has "superiority indistinctly over everyone," and under him others receive "a distinct power over diverse persons." (*loc. cit.*, dist. XIX q. 1) He is bound by ecclesiastical laws only in a directive manner, but "whatever things are instituted by the Church or by the prelates of the Church, can be dispensed by the pope." *Quodl.* IV., art. 13. "Christ, however, conferred this privilege upon the Roman Church, that all obey it as they would Christ." (*Contra Imp.* chap. III) From this it follows that "to be subject to the Roman Pontiff is necessary for salvation." (*Contra errores Grac.*, chap. 68).

[70.4] Therefore all the power, which Christ gave to His Church resides totally in the Roman Pontiff. His government is truly monarchical, because not only does it have the greater part of the power, but the fullness of power. This monarchy is not *limited* by the body of bishops. Thus it does not admit of a mixture of supreme power consisting of monarchy and aristocracy.

[70.5] II. ADVERSARIES. THE FEBRONIAN DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE ESSENTIAL AND ACCIDENTAL RIGHTS OF THE PRIMACY. [1] In the time of the Council of Pisa (1409) the theory was concocted that the Pope is superior to the Church taken distributively, but not taken collectively. The Richerians had asserted that the power of the Pontiff, whom they call the *ministerial head*, is limited by the ministerial power of the bishops, that he has no power over the body of bishops, but that the only thing that pertains to him is the execution of the laws, their interpretation and their dispensation *in the place of the council*, which cannot be perpetually congregated. [2] The Gallicans in their *Declaration* stated that ecumenical councils are superior to the Supreme Pontiff (prop. 1) and that he is subject to the *common law* in the exercise of his authority. By *common law* they understood the universal canons, as well as some customs and institutions of the kingdom and church of France. (see references in book) [3] The worst, certainly, is the Febronian distinction between the essential and accidental rights of the primacy.

[70.6] Febronius in his work entitled *De statu Ecclesie* had asserted that there are certain essential rights of the primacy, which, annexed by God to the primacy, cannot be separated from it. They are original, natural, and divine. The other kind of rights are accidental, that is, derivative, accessory, human, whose origin lies in the decretals of Isidore Mercator¹⁰⁷, the primitiveness and ignorance of the times, and in the desire for power. He adds that there is no more certain and more prudent way to figure out what are the essentials, than that the constant use and discipline of the Church be consulted regarding each part of the primacy. Since this flourished in the first six or seven centuries with

¹⁰⁷ THE PSEUDO-ISIDORIAN DECRETALS and certain fictitious letters ascribed to early popes, from Clement to Gregory the Great, were incorporated in a ninth-century collection of canons purporting to have been made by a certain, apparently fictitious, Isidore Mercator, not to be confused with the early medieval encyclopedist Isidore of Seville. The useful name "Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals" has been in common use since the awakening of textual criticism among humanists of the 16th century. Since the decretals and letters are included with spurious Hispanic canons and other forgeries, the critical editor Bernhard Eduard Simson in 1886 gave the fitting designation "Pseudo-Isidorian Forgeries" to the whole series.

the greatest good for the Church, and the preservation of unity, it is necessary to consult the writings of the Fathers, the acts of the Councils, and the acts of the Pontiffs themselves. Finally, the supreme right of inspection pertains to the essential rights, as well as the right of supreme provisory government, the right of calling and presiding over general councils, the right of demanding observance of the canons, etc. The accidental rights are considered to be the rights of confirming bishops, of canonizing saints, of receiving appeals, of establishing feasts, of reserving cases, etc.

[70.7] III. DEFINITION OF THE VATICAN COUNCIL. "If anyone thus speaks, that the Roman Pontiff has only the office of inspection or direction, but not the full and supreme power of jurisdiction over the universal Church, not only in things which pertain to faith and morals, but also in those things which pertain to the discipline and government of the Church spread over the whole world; or, that he possess only the more important parts, but not the whole plenitude of this supreme power; or that this power of his is not ordinary and immediate, or over the Churches altogether and individually, and over the pastors and the faithful altogether and individually, let him be anathema."

[70.8] Thesis: THE ROMAN PONTIFF HAS THE COMPLETE PLENITUDE OF THE SUPREME POWER.

[70.9] ARGUMENT I. *From Sacred Scripture.* The plenitude of power is the supreme power of jurisdiction entirely in one person. But Sacred Scripture shows that this power resides in the Roman Pontiff. *Proof of the minor.*

[70.10] [A] To those who have read the two preceding questions, it is clear that the supreme power of jurisdiction, i.e., of ruling, was conceded to St. Peter and his successors. For Our Lord said: "Upon this rock I will build my Church." (Matth. XVI: 18) "I give you the keys..." (*ibid.*) "Confirm thy brethren..." (Luke XXII: 32) "Feed my lambs...feed my sheep." (John XXI: 16, 17) To these words we add the other testimonies of Sacred Scripture which indicate the primacy.

[70.11] [B] But this power is *entirely in one person*. For we have proven from the same texts that his power was not divided among many, but was given in an undivided manner to one person. It was given in its *entirety*. For *total* power is given, if no one and no part of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction is excepted. But no one is excepted from obeying him [the Roman Pontiff], who is after Christ the foundation and rock of the whole Church, the confirmer of all the brethren, the shepherd of the whole flock, he to whom the *keys of the kingdom of heaven* and the *power of binding* have been committed. No part is removed. With these words, all that power is expressed which, as we read everywhere, has been given to the Church in regard to faith, morals, and discipline.

[70.12] ARGUMENT II. *From tradition.* The ancient writers testify that the power over the whole Church was given entirely to Peter alone. But it is certain from the unanimous consent of the Fathers, that the Roman Pontiff succeeded to Peter in such a way that he should be called *Peter in power* (St. Albert the Great, *In Matth.* XVI). Therefore the supreme power of Peter is entire in one Roman Pontiff, or, in other words, in the Pontiff there is plenitude of power. The argument is based on the testimonies given in q. XIV and XV, which can be reduced to two basic points:

[70.13] [A] The Fathers teach that the Roman Pontiff is the rock and foundation of the whole Church; to him pertain the keys of Peter and other similar things. We have already seen, under the metaphor of *rock, keys*, etc., that the supreme power of jurisdiction was conferred entirely on one person. From this it is concluded that the Fathers recognized the fullness of power in the Roman Pontiff.

[70.14] [B] The ancients affirm that the power pertains to one Roman Pontiff over all persons and all things, which are in the realm of spiritual power.

[70.15] [1] *Over all persons*, even taken together. Therefore the pope is mocked by Tertullian the heretic as a *bishop of bishops* (*De pudic.* I) St. Augustine honors the *Shepherd of Shepherds* (*Contra duas epist. Pelagian.*, book IV, 12) The pope is called by the sixth ecumenical council the "bishop of the

universal church." (*In epist. synod. ad Agathonem Papam*); Gregory the Great, in order to correct the pride of John the Faster¹⁰⁸, the Bishop of Constantinople, repudiated the title of "ecumenical bishop," but affirmed the reality of it saying: "St. Peter received the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and the *care* and principality over the *whole* Church is committed to him." (*Ep. V, 20, ad Maurit. Imp.*) Furthermore the archimandrites and the monks of second Syria wrote this to Hormisdas the Pope: "Christ our God has constituted for us your holy angel as the prince of shepherds, the doctor and physician of souls." For this reason, the Roman Pontiffs used their supreme authority over the Churches of the East and West, over the patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, etc., over the ecumenical councils, commanding them, such as Celestine to the Fathers of Ephesus, who act "coerced by the canons and epistles of our father and fellow minister the bishop of the Roman Church," (Mansi, VI. 1211), *receiving appeals from councils*, e.g., in the case of Theodoretus, who in the conciliabulum of Ephesus¹⁰⁹ deposed by Dioscorus,

¹⁰⁸ JOHN IV, ALSO KNOWN AS JOHN NESTEUTES OR JOHN THE FASTER (died September 2, 595), was the 33rd bishop or Patriarch of Constantinople (April 11, 582 - 595). He was the first to assume the title Ecumenical Patriarch. He is regarded as a saint by the Eastern Orthodox Church. Joannes (surnamed The Faster, Jejunator, sometimes also Cappadox) was born at Constantinople of artisan parents, and worked as a sculptor. In 587 or 588, he summoned the bishops of the East in the name of "the Ecumenical Patriarch" to decide the cause of Gregory, Patriarch of Antioch, who was acquitted and returned to his see. Pope Pelagius II solemnly annulled the acts of this council. In 593, we find John severely blamed by Pope Gregory I for having allowed an Isaurian presbyter named Anastasius, who had been accused of heresy, to be beaten with ropes in the church of Constantinople.

In 595, the controversy was again rife about the title of universal bishop. The Patriarch of Rome resided in the ancient capital, in a see founded by Saint Peter; the Patriarch of Constantinople was at the current imperial capital. Both claimed primacy. Gregory wrote to his legate Sabinianus forbidding him to communicate with John. In the case of a presbyter named Athanasius, accused of being to some extent a Manichee, and condemned as such, Gregory tried to show that the accuser was himself a Pelagian, and that by the carelessness, ignorance, or fault of John IV the Nestorian council of Ephesus had actually been mistaken for the Catholic Council of Ephesus.

¹⁰⁹ THE SECOND COUNCIL OF EPHESUS was convened as the fourth ecumenical council of the church and opened on August 8, 449 AD. It was a synod or council of the Catholic Church convoked at Ephesus under the authority of Emperor Theodosius II and with the agreement of Pope Saint Leo I. Its controversial acts were never approved by the Pope, thus

appealed to the true and just tribunal of Leo the Great. (*Ep. 113*)

[70.16] [2] The pontifical power is extended to all spiritual things. The Pontiffs have taught the faith, and have condemned heresy. Judgements have been either reversed or confirmed by them, through various appeals of cases (Leo the Great, ep. 10). They deposed guilty bishops and patriarchs, they have restored the innocent, e.g., in the case of Athanasius, when all of Egypt and Alexandria gave a letter to the Roman Pontiff, first to Julius, for having restored communion to Athanasius, and then to Liberius, for having defended it; they gave disciplinary precepts (Letter of the Council of Arles to Sylvester), etc. Hence Celestine I wrote to the bishops of Illyricum, ep. 3: "Among the other cares and diverse affairs, which come to us always from *all* the Churches, you can perceive that we bear an even heavier solicitude concerning yourselves." Soon it follows: "We are principally constrained by the care for all, for whom Christ conceded the necessity of taking care of everyone to St. Peter the Apostle, when He gave him the keys of opening and closing." And Leo the Great in Letter 8 to Bishop Anastasius of Thessalonica, the delegate of the Pope: "We have confided our duty to Your Charity, with the result that you are called to a part of the solicitude, but not to *the fullness of power*."

[70.17] ARGUMENT III. *From the purpose of ecclesiastical government*, which is the peace and unity of the faithful. For wherever a government is maximally one, there is had the most congruous cause of peace and unity. But that government is most one, when the complete plenitude of power resides in one person. The doctrine, therefore, of the complete power of the Roman Pontiff is most suitable to the ecclesiastical government.

OBJECTIONS

denying the council ecumenical status and the protection of infallibility; subsequently, they were formally repudiated at the ecumenical Council of Chalcedon. The Second Council of Ephesus became henceforth called the Robber Council of Ephesus, Robber Synod or Latrocinium by its opponents and to subsequent history.

[70.18] OBJECTION I. Liberty must be preserved. But liberty is better preserved if the supreme power is divided among many through a mixed monarchy. Thus the ecclesiastical monarchy should be such.

[70.19] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. Liberty should be preserved according to the law of Christ, *I concede*; from the judgement of human will, *I deny*. *Let the minor pass*. They err, certainly, who think that the divine constitution of the Church must be determined from a merely human concept.

[70.20] INSTANCE. The fulness of power in one person, or a non-mixed monarchy, invites the danger of tyranny. Therefore in the Church of Christ, no one has been given such a power.

[70.21] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. It invites tyranny *per se*, *I deny*; *per accidens*, *I subdistinguish*: where there is the special assistance of the Holy Ghost, *I deny*; otherwise, *let it pass*. The monarchy, because it ^{is} seen to be a more apt cause of unity than many others are, for the fact that it is one *in se*, is consistent to be the best form of government for the preserving of the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. (Eph. IV: 3) Regarding the fact that *per accidens* it invites tyranny I respond, *let it pass*, because as St. Thomas says, "It does not happen any less that a government of many is transformed into a tyranny ^{than} that a government of one, but perhaps more frequently." (*De Regimine Principum*, I, 5) Cf. Iam IIæ, q. 105, art. 1. But the ecclesiastical monarchy, since Christ directs the supreme Pontiff in governing the Church, is never subject to the same danger of tyranny as civil governments.

[70.22] INSTANCE. Absolutely, however, it can happen that a certain pontiff abuse his authority. For in such a case, there is no remedy against the pontiff enjoying the fullness of jurisdiction.

[70.23] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major. That can happen, strictly speaking, outside of matters of faith and morals [anti-SSPX], *I concede*; otherwise *I deny*. Whatever should happen by divine Providence, which rules the Church, a remedy will be given in due time. The bishops, furthermore,

bearing the care of the flock, always preserving their order of dependence on the head of the Church, would be able to provide a remedy for many evils.

[70.24] OBJECTION II. The right to receive appeals from the whole world pertains to the fullness of the pontifical power. Saint Cyprian, however, in the case of Basilides and Martial, resisted the Roman Pontiff, who restored the Basil as the Bishop of Asturias.

[70.25] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the minor. St. Cyprian resisted the sentence of Stephen because of the stealthiness of the petitioner, *I concede*; because of the defect of power of the person pronouncing the sentence, *I deny*. Basilides, the Bishop of Leon and Asturia, when he and Martial, the Bishop of Emerita, because of grave crimes, which were brought up to them, had been deposed in Spain, came to Rome, and was considered by a legitimate bishop by Stephen. The faithful of the dioceses of which we spoke, thinking that the Roman Pontiff had been deceived by Basilides, sent Felix and Sabinus, who counseled Cyprian, a very famous man concerning this matter. Cyprian responded that he was not able to favor the deception and craftiness of Basilides. "But if Basilides could deceive men, he cannot deceive God, since it is written, 'God is not mocked.'" (Ct. Cyprian, *Ep.* 67)

[70.26] INSTANCE. When Fortunatus in his case had sent Felicissimus to Rome, to Cornelius, the Roman Pontiff, St. Cyprian wrote these things: "...it certainly behooves those over whom we are placed not to run about nor to break up the harmonious agreement of the bishops with their crafty and deceitful rashness, but there to plead their cause, where they may be able to have both accusers and witnesses of their crime..." (*Ep.* 54, no. 14) Therefore Cyprian rejected the right [of the Roman Pontiff] to receive appeals.

[70.27] RESPONSE. *I dsistinguish* the antecedent. Cyprian denies the right, *I deny*; the opportuneness, *I subdistinguish*: is such a case of deceit, *I concede*; strictly speaking, *I deny*. Cyprian was annoyed at Fortunatus, the false bishop of Carthage, for his having stirred things up in Rome, by crafty and deceitful rashness, ^{by} he means of his

envoys. For this reason he indicates the reason why rebellious priests, according to the statutes of Africa, have no right to make higher appeal; it was necessary, namely, to pursue their case in that place "where they were able to have prosecutors and witnesses of their crime."

[70.28] Pay attention to these things. First, from the deeds of Basilides¹¹⁰ and Fortunatus' appeal to the Roman Pontiff, our thesis is confirmed. St. Cyprian, furthermore, in the same letter 54 calls the Roman Church the *see of Peter*, and the *principal Church, from which the unity of the priesthood has arisen*. Therefore it is permitted, even according to the dictates of natural reason, that all make appeal to the Roman Pontiff, as from inferiors to a superior. Finally, when the bishops of Gaul reported to Stephen the Roman Pontiff concerning Marcian, the bishop of Arles, who had joined the Novatians, Cyprian wrote to the Supreme Pontiff. (Ep. 66) Therefore Stephen is recognized as the *judge* in the case of the bishops of Gaul.

[70.29] **OBJECTION III.** The Africans at the beginning of the fifth century forbade appeals to Rome. For [A] the African bishops were opposed to Zosimus (417-418) and Boniface (418-422) in the case of Apiarius, a priest who was appealing to the pope; [b] the Synod of Carthage in the year 418 commanded the priests and deacons: "They shall not appeal except to the African councils or to the primates of their provinces. Let those who would think about appealing across the sea be not accepted by anyone into the African communion."

[70.30] **RESPONSE.** The Africans condemn the appeals because of defect of *right* in the Supreme

Pontiff, *I deny*; because of practical problems, *I subdistinguish*: *simpliciter, I deny*; in certain circumstances, *I concede*. [A] The right is not denied. For the reasons why the Africans are opposed to appeals are not taken from the defect of right in the Supreme Pontiff, but instead what is alleged is custom, the distance of places, and the danger of fraud. [B] In the case of Apiarius¹¹¹, the priest of the

111 A priest of the diocese of Sicca, in proconsular Africa. Interest attaches to him only because of his appeal to Rome from his bishop's sentence of excommunication, and the consequent protracted parleying between Rome and Carthage about the privileges of the African Church in regulating its own discipline. In the resentment which the peculiar circumstances of the case provoked in many African bishops opponents of the Papacy read the denial by the Church of St. Augustine of the doctrine of Papal supremacy; and thus the case of Apiarius has come to be the classical example in anti-Roman controversial works, illustrating the fifth-century repudiation of Papal claims to disciplinary control.

Apiarius, deposed by Urbanus, Bishop of Sicca, for grave misconduct, appealed to Pope Zosimus, who, in view of irregularities in the bishop's procedure, ordered that the priest should be reinstated, and his bishop disciplined. Chagrined, perhaps, at the unworthy priest's success, a general synod of Carthage, in May, 418, forbade appeal "beyond the seas" of clerics inferior to bishops. Recognizing in what was virtually a restatement of previous African legislation an expression of displeasure on the part of the African bishops, Pope Zosimus sent a delegation to defend his right to receive certain appeals, citing decrees believed by him to have been enacted at the Council of Nicaea, but which in fact were canons of the council of Sardica. The African bishops who met the legates, while not recognizing these decrees as Nicene, accepted them pending verification. In May, 419, was held the sixteenth Council of Carthage, and there again the representations of Zosimus were accepted, awaiting the result of a comparison of the Nicene canons as they existed in Africa, in which the decrees cited by the Pope had not been found, with those of the churches of Antioch, Alexandria and Constantinople. By the end of the year 419 Pope Boniface, who had succeeded Zosimus in December, 418, was informed that the eastern codices did not contain the alleged decrees; but, as the now repentant Apiarius had meantime been assigned to a new field of labour, interest in the affair subsided. The letter to Pope Boniface, while evidencing irritation at the arrogance of the legate Faustinus, contains nothing incompatible with belief in the Pope's supremacy.

Some four years later Apiarius relapsed into scandalous courses, was once more excommunicated, and again appealed to Rome. Pope Celestine, who had succeeded Boniface in September, 423, reinstated him and deputed the unwelcome Faustinus to sustain this decision before the African Bishops. The legate's exasperating efforts in behalf of the unworthy priest were miserably thwarted by Apiarius's admission of his guilt. Incensed in these provoking circumstances, by the heightened arrogance of Faustinus and the misinformed Pope's haste in sustaining Apiarius, a number of African bishops addressed to Celestine the famous letter, "Optaremus", in which they bitterly resent the insults of the tactless legate, and request that in future the popes will exercise due discretion in hearing appeals from Africa and exact from the African Church in such matters no more than was provided for by the Council of Nicaea. This letter, with all his boldness, cannot be construed into a denial of the Pope's jurisdiction by the Church

110 The case of the Spanish bishops Martial and Basilides also brought Stephen in connection with St. Cyprian. As libellatici they had been condemned by the bishops of their province for denying the Faith. At first they acknowledged their guilt, but afterwards appealed to Rome, and, deceived by their story, Stephen exerted himself to secure their restoration. Accordingly some of their fellow bishops took their part, but the others laid the case before St. Cyprian. An assembly of African bishops which he convoked renewed the condemnation of Basilides and Martial, and exhorted the people to enter into communion with their successors. At the same time they were at pains to point out that Stephen had acted as he had done because "situated at a distance, and ignorant of the true facts of the case" he had been deceived by Basilides. (*Catholic Encyclopedia*)

Church of Sicca who ^{had} appealed to the Roman Pontiff, when he had been deposed by his bishop Urban, most, after canon XVII of Carthage had been established, tried to limit the *application* of the law. Nor did they do this for its own sake, but by a certain moderation with *regard* to the Roman Pontiff, since they said in a letter to the Supreme Pontiff: *We beg you that henceforth you not admit easily those who come to your ears.*" (Labbe, II, page 1674) [c] Canon XVII applied to priests and not to bishops. [d] It is certain that from that very African Church not a few bishops appealed to the Roman Pontiff with objections from no one, which is clear from Epistle 162 of Saint Augustine. In any case, if the African erred, the consensus of the universal Church proves that the Roman Pontiff has the right of receiving appeals.

[70.31] *INSTANCE.* Zozimus, defining in the case of Apiarius, that the bishops have the right to appeal to the Roman Pontiff, put forth canons of Nicea (Sardica). ^{therefore} the right of receiving appeals arises from the *decrees* of the Church.

[70.32] *RESPONSE.* *I distinguish* the antecedent: the canons were brought forth for the purpose of determining the right in itself, *I deny*; the exercise of the right, *I subdistinguish*: because the canons are certain norms and directives for the Roman Pontiff, *I concede*; are the only and obligatory norm, *I deny*.

[70.33] The Supreme Pontiffs, in order to watch over the Church in a better way, to the extent that it is possible, have many times convoked councils, and have cited them in order to move those who are weak, in the manner in which the decree was established concerning appeals in the Council of Trent (session XIII). The Africans, who were displeased by appeals made from Africa owing to the

of Africa. It simply voices the desire of the African bishops to continue the enjoyment of those privileges of partial home-rule which went by default to their Church during the stormy period when the theory of universal papal dominion could not be always reduced to practice, because of the trials which the growing church had to endure. But before the time of Apiarius, as the Sardican canons referred to attest, Western Europe had come to accept Rome as a court of last appeal in disciplinary causes. Africa, too, was now ready, and its readiness is shown by the case of Apiarius as well as by the records of like appeals to Rome to which St. Augustine himself bears witness. (*Catholic Encyclopedia*)

danger of fraud, use a certain argument or excuse which is *ad hominem*, affirming that the canons, by which Zozimus pressed that case (and which in fact were not of Nicea) were desired in their originals. But they had asserted that the practice of appeals was to be determined only by the authority of the councils. Writing to the Pontiff, they use the phrase "*We beg*," as was quoted above. At around the same time Saint Augustine, in another African case, says that his mind is *subjected*. For when Antonius, the bishop of Fussala, had appealed to the Roman Pontiff, Saint Augustine for his part implored the mercy of Pope Celestine with these words: "Both merit your *mercy*, the former that they not bear evils, the latter that he not commit them... If, however, you refresh the members of Christ, who are in this region, from a deadly fear and sadness, and console my old age by means of this justice of mercy, He will reward you both in this life and in the future, who through you helps us in this tribulation, and who constituted *you in that See*." (Ep. 262¹¹²).

[70.34] *INSTANCE.* The right of receiving appeals was conceded to the Roman Pontiff by canons III, IV, and V of Sardica. From this it is again deduced that the Roman Pontiff does not enjoy by divine right the plenitude of power regarding appeals.

[70.35] *RESPONSE.* *I distinguish* the antecedent: by those canons the right of appeals is conceded: *I deny*; the *order of appeals* is approved, *I concede*. Not by a single word in those canons is it signified that the right of receiving appeals is conferred upon the Roman Pontiff. To the contrary, from *epistle* I of Pope St. Julius I, and from the history of Saint Athanasius and other documents, we learn that that right, founded in the essence of the primacy, was not exercised at that moment for the first time. But the Fathers wrote about and proclaimed an unwritten right against the Arians, who had despoiled the bishops of their sees, ^{even} though they had appealed to Rome. Cf. Alex. Nat. H.E., *sac.* IV, *dist.* XXVIII; Hefele, *Konziliengeschichte*, B. I, p. 569 et seqq. Edit. 2.

¹¹² No. 209 in the *Church Fathers*.

[70.36] **OBJECTION IV.** The collection known as Pseudo-Isidore, that is, the false decretals, were done in order to exaggerate the pontifical power. Therefore the plenitude of the pontifical power is not instituted by God.

[70.37] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the antecedent: that collection was the cause of a greater power in the Roman Pontiff in *se*, *I deny*; of appealing in practice, *I subdistinguish*: substantially, *I deny*; accidentally, *let it pass*.

[70.38] [A] The collection, to whom the false name of Isidore the Merchant was affixed (alias: *mercatus, peccator*), written and published around the year 852, without any knowledge on the part of the Roman Pontiff, comprised decretal epistles of the Roman Pontiffs from St. Clement to Gregory II (+731). There are many false decretals in it. But this collection did not *create* the primacy, but demonstrates a pre-existing faith in the fullness of the pontifical power, and indeed one that is utterly universal and firm. [B] The full pontifical power is proved by absolutely certain documents and by authentic documents; there is, consequently, no need to use false ones. The Roman Pontiffs not once, before Saint Leo IX (1049-1054), that is, for two centuries after the publication of the collection, made use of these decretals, although Nicholas I and Hadrian II at times made mention of the collection. [C] Finally, the augmentation of the pontifical power was neither the purpose nor the effect of this collection. The purpose of it was the liberty of the bishops, and the effect was certain modifications in the *use* of appealing, in conformity with the times, which were made stronger, perhaps, by the false decretals.

[70.39] **INSTANCE.** The authority of Saint Thomas Aquinas is very great in Catholic schools. However, he proposed in his *Contra errores Græcorum* his papal system, drawn from corrupt texts of the Fathers. Therefore the Catholic schools have not taken the thomistic system concerning the plenitude of pontifical power from authentic documents.

[70.40] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the minor. St. Thomas drew his doctrine concerning the Roman Pontiff from corrupted texts, *I deny*; he distributed

in the cited opusculum some texts which were less exact and which had been shown to him, *I concede*. We deny that the objection has any value whatsoever against the Catholic doctrine of the full power of the primacy, inasmuch as it is founded upon sacred Scripture and tradition. For [A] The Angelic Doctor took his doctrine from the Catholic consensus and proved it from Sacred Scripture and other absolutely certain documents; in the *Summa Theologica* he does not use any text, ~~not even~~ the most authentic, which he uses in the *Contra errores Græcorum*. [B] In this very opusculum St. Thomas does not in any way deduce a new doctrine from the authorities of the holy Fathers, which were sent to him by Urban IV, but instead distributes into some categories special texts which are in accord with the *fixed* doctrine of the Church. [C] Besides, these same texts, lifted from the little book of Urban IV for the purpose of proving the primacy, are either in fact authentic, or have equivalents in the works of the Fathers.

[70.41] **OBJECTION V.** The Church would be able to be governed by many, as *sharers* in the supreme power. Therefore an argument of fittingness, taken from the purpose of the Church, does not prove that the power in the Supreme Pontiff is a full power.

[70.42] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the antecedent. The Church could be governed in that way, *let it pass*; such a form of government would be the best, *I deny*. These words of the Angelic Doctor are *eminently* clear: "We must of necessity say that the world is governed by one. For since the end of the government of the world is that which is essentially good, which is the greatest good; the government of the world must be the best kind of government. Now the best government is the government by one. The reason of this is that government is nothing but the directing of the things governed to the end; which consists in some good. But unity belongs to the idea of goodness, as Boethius proves (*De Consol.* iii, 11) from this, that, as all things desire good, so do they desire unity; without which they would cease to exist. For a thing so far exists as it is one. Whence we observe that things resist division, as far as they can; and the

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dissolution of a thing arises from defect therein. Therefore the intention of a ruler over a multitude is unity, or peace. Now the proper cause of unity is one. For it is clear that several cannot be the cause of unity or concord, except so far as they are united. Furthermore, what is one in itself is a more apt and a better cause of unity than several things united. Therefore a multitude is better governed by one than

by several. From this it follows that the government of the world, being the best form of government, must be by one. This is expressed by the Philosopher (Metaph. xii, Did. xi, 10): "Things refuse to be ill governed; and multiplicity of authorities is a bad thing, therefore there should be one ruler." (I^a, q. 103, art. 3)

ARTICLE III

[71]

WHETHER THE POWER OF THE ROMAN PONTIFF OVER ALL PERSONS AND EACH PERSON IS ORDINARY AND IMMEDIATE

[71.1] I. STATUS QUÆSTIONIS. By ordinary power, we mean that power which pertains to the ruler in virtue of his function, and for this reason, pertains to him at all times and not merely for extraordinary cases. By *immediate* we mean that someone uses interposed power of no other person over *his own* subjects. Here the question is, therefore, whether the power of the Roman Pontiff is ordinary and immediate over all the Churches and over each Church. What is meant by the term *immediately* is more correctly understood from the authority of St. Thomas, explaining why both the Pope and the bishop have immediate power over a diocese, whereas an archbishop does not have immediate power over those who are in a diocese of a bishop. St. Thomas, in responding to the question, whether the immediate power over the diocese pertains to the pope and bishop, responds in this way: "It is certain that the archbishop does not have immediate jurisdiction over those who belong to the diocese of a bishop, unless a case should be deferred to him. But the bishop has *immediate* jurisdiction over the parishioners of the priest, since he can summon anyone before him and excommunicate him. But an archbishop cannot do this to the subjects of bishops, as we have said. The reason for this is that the sacerdotal power is naturally and by divine law subjected to the power of

the bishop, since it is imperfect with regard to him, as Dionysius proves. But the bishop is subject to the archbishop by the ordinance of the Church. And therefore, in those things in which the Church has made the bishop subject to the archbishop, he is subject to him only in these matters. But the priest, who is by divine law subject to the bishop, is subject to him in all things. Also, in a similar way the pope has immediate jurisdiction over all Christians, because the Roman Church is placed over all the other Churches not by synodal acts, but obtained the primacy by the evangelical voice of Our Lord and Savior."

Reference?

[71.2] II. ADVERSARIES. The Richerians and the Febronians agree that the pope cannot intervene in the affairs of a diocese except extraordinarily. The Febronians favored this opinion in such away that they said that the Roman Pontiff could not suppress regular orders, reserve dispensations to himself, or do anything of this type without the consent of the bishop.

[71.3] *Thesis:* THE POWER OF THE ROMAN PONTIFF IS ORDINARY AND IMMEDIATE OVER ALL THE CHURCHES AND OVER EACH CHURCH.

[71.4] **ARGUMENT I.** [A] That power is *ordinary* which pertains to the ruler always and in all cases in virtue of his function. But this power resides in the Roman Pontiff. For Our Lord created St. Peter as the *foundation* of the Church, the *keeper of the keys* of heaven, the *shepherd* of the flock and the *confirmer* of the brethren. But these functions were confided *simpliciter* and for all cases, and not only for extraordinary cases. For there is no distinction made by Christ.

[71.5] [B] That power is *immediate*, which, without intervening power, can be exercised over one's own subjects. For from the arguments which have been already stated, it is understood that the whole Church, all the brethren, the sheep and the lambs, the faithful and the shepherds, have been committed to Peter and to his successors directly and by divine right. Therefore the Supreme Pontiff "alone has the complete plenitude of authority, which Christ conferred upon the Church...everywhere in all Churches he has it just as he has it in the Roman Sec." (St. Bonaventure, *Quare fratres minores prædic.*)

[71.6] **COROLLARY.** We add to this article and the preceding one what the Fathers of the Vatican Council taught concerning the supreme power of the Roman Pontiff:

[71.7] "Furthermore it follows that from that supreme power of the Roman Pontiff of ruling the universal Church, the same has the right in the exercise of this duty of his office of communicating freely with the pastors and flocks of the whole Church, so that the same can be taught and guided by him in the way of salvation. Therefore We condemn and disapprove the opinions of those who say that this communication of the supreme head with pastors and flocks can lawfully be checked, or who make this so submissive to secular power that they contend that whatever is established by the Apostolic See or its authority for the government of the Church has no force or value unless confirmed by an order of the secular power.

[71.8] "And since the Roman Pontiff is the head of the universal Church by the divine right of apostolic primacy, We teach and declare also that he is the supreme judge of the faithful, and that in all

cases pertaining to ecclesiastical examination, recourse can be had to his judgement; moreover, that the judgement of the Apostolic See, whose authority is not surpassed, is to be disclaimed by no one, nor is anyone permitted to pass judgement on its judgement. Therefore they stray from the straight path of truth who affirm that it is permitted to appeal from the judgements of the Roman Pontiffs to an ecumenical Council, as to an authority higher than the Roman Pontiff." [Denz. 1829 & 1830]

OBJECTIONS

[71.9] **OBJECTION I.** It is absurd to say that in one and the same diocese there are many ordinary and immediate superiors. But it is certain that bishops enjoy immediate and ordinary power over their Churches. Therefore immediate and ordinary power of the Roman Pontiff ought to be rejected.

[71.10] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the major. The assertion is false if many, who are in charge, are so in such a way that they are not subordinated, *I concede*; if they are subordinated, *I deny*. "It would be unfitting," St. Thomas says, "that two should be constituted over the same people equally; but that two, of whom one is more powerful than the other, be constituted over the same people, is not unfitting; and according to this over the same people are immediately constituted the parish priest, the bishop, and the pope: and any one of them can commit to another those things which pertain to his jurisdiction." (*In IV Sent.*, dist. 18, q. 3, a. 3, q. 5)

[71.11] **INSTANCE.** It is correct that the bishops retain their dignity. But if another ordinary is constituted in the diocese, the dignity proper to the bishop is damaged. Therefore the pope cannot be the ordinary of each Church.

[71.12] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the minor: the dignity of the bishop is considered damaged, if another superior were established in the same *ratio*, *I concede*; according to a different *ratio*, *I deny*. Namely bishops consider that glory belongs to them when they are obedient to Christ, who orders the powers. "This power of the supreme pontiff by no means detracts from that ordinary and immediate power of episcopal jurisdiction, by which bishops,

who have succeeded to the place of the apostles by appointment of the Holy Ghost, tend and govern individually the particular flocks which have been assigned to them. On the contrary, this power of theirs is asserted, supported and defended by the supreme and universal pastor..." (Vatican Council, Session IV, chapter III)

[71.13] **OBJECTION III.** If the power of the Roman Pontiff is ordinary and immediate over each and every Church, just like the episcopal power, it would follow that the Supreme Pontiff would be rightly called the "universal bishop." But St. Gregory the Great repudiated this title as we read in his *Epistles*, book V, 18.

[71.14] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the major. The Supreme Pontiffs are rightly called universal bishops, excluding the special bishops of dioceses, *I deny*; in such a way that it signifies that the Pontiffs have an immediate power over these same dioceses, *I subdistinguish*: it is not repugnant that they be called universal bishops in that sense, *I concede*; was not to be avoided *per accidens*, *I deny*. Saint Thomas himself teaches this. He speaks in this way: "The fact that the pope forbade that he be called the universal pontiff is not because he lacks *immediate and full authority over each Church*, but because he is not set over each particular Church as the proper and special ruler of that Church, because in such a case the powers of all the other bishops would cease." (*Contra impugnantes*, chap. IV)

[71.15] **INSTANCE.** It is written in Saint Cyprian: "The episcopate is one, each part of which is held by each one for the whole." (*De unitate Ecclesiae*, V) Since, therefore, the part is held by each

one for the whole, no ordinary and immediate power pertains to all the parts.

[71.16] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the antecedent: the part is held together by each bishop, when the subordination of all of them to the head of the whole Church is preserved, *I concede*; if this center of unity should be set aside, *I deny*.

[71.17] The idea of St. Cyprian is to extol the concord of ecclesiastical unity among the faithful and in the faith, and in the bishops as well. Hence he shows all the parts of the Church harmonizing among themselves. He says: "The episcopate is one, each part of which is held by each one for the whole. The Church also is one, which is spread abroad far and wide into a multitude by an increase of fruitfulness." (*De unitate Ecclesiae*, V) In another place he says: "Since there is one Church from Christ divided throughout the whole world into many members, likewise there is one episcopate spread out in a peaceful plurality of many bishops." "God is one, and Christ is one, and His Church is one, and the faith is one, and the people is joined into a substantial unity of body by the cement of concord. Unity cannot be severed; nor can one body be separated by a division of its structure, nor torn into pieces, with its entrails wrenched asunder by laceration. Whatever has proceeded from the womb cannot live and breathe in its detached condition, but loses the substance of health." (*ibid.*, no. XXIII) There is nothing that can be concluded against the "See of Peter" and the "principal church, from which the sacerdotal unity has arisen." (*Ep.* 59)

ARTICLE IV

[72]

WHETHER THE POWER OF JURISDICTION IS DERIVED INTO THE
BISHOPS THROUGH THE MEDIATION OF THE POPE OR IMMEDIATELY

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[72.1] I. STATUS QUÆSTIONIS. [1] We are not speaking here about the power of orders, which is conferred by the sacrament of orders in its entirety, and which, once accepted, cannot be lost or taken away. But we are speaking about the power of *jurisdiction*, which is distinct from the power of orders, and separable from it.

[72.2] [2] There is hardly any need to speak about the dignity of patriarchs, archbishops, and other hierarchies of this type, as well as the boundaries of dioceses, since these are of ecclesiastical origin.

[72.3] [3] We are not speaking here about the *designation* or *election* of the person, upon whom the episcopal dignity is conferred, but about the power itself. But it can be considered [A] according to the very episcopal *order* and *grade*, i.e., in the abstract. In this respect the episcopal jurisdiction proceeds immediately from God, inasmuch as it is from the immediate ordinance of Christ, that there always be found in the Church bishops who rule the flock which has been committed to them, preserving the due subordination to the Roman Pontiff.

[72.4] [B] Power of jurisdiction may also be considered in the individuals who obtain that power. But this happens in a threefold manner: (1) with regard to *aptitude*, (2) with regard to *exercise*, (3) with regard to *actuality*. Aptitude is immediately from God, since no one denies that episcopal consecration confers an aptitude to receive episcopal jurisdiction, and this aptitude is called by some an *incomplete* jurisdiction. The fact that the exercise of it depends on the Roman Pontiff and that it can be amplified and taken away by him, is shown by the constant practice of the Church. But the very episcopal order cannot be taken away. What remains, therefore, is that we inquire about the episcopal jurisdiction in act, which some call *complete*.

[72.5] II. TWOFOLD OPINION CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF ACTUAL EPISCOPAL JURISDICTION. There is no controversy as to whether or not episcopal jurisdiction is of divine or

ecclesiastical right. All say that it is of divine right, but some say it differently from others. [1] The first opinion is that the power of episcopal jurisdiction is derived from Christ as from a principal cause, but through the mediation of the Roman Pontiff. Concerning this St. Thomas says: "The pope, who is in the place of St. Peter, has the fullness of power, but others have [power] from him." (*Expos. in Matth.* XVI. n. 2; see other references in book) Therefore the bishops acquire their power not by *consecration*, but by *joining*. This is also true of collegial jurisdiction, i.e., of the jurisdiction over the whole Church to be exercised by the bishops *in council*, celebrated under the authority of the Roman Pontiff. For this is not acquired by consecration alone, but by consecration bishops obtain that level, whereby they are constituted by divine right judges, when the Roman Pontiff confers upon them a participation in the universal solicitude. Whether this participation is also conferred upon non-residential bishops is beyond doubt. (Cf. Mazzella, *De religione et ecclesia*, disp. V. art. 4)

[72.6] Those who hold to this first thesis are St. Bonaventure, St. Antoninus, Lainez, Suarez, and nearly all great theologians.

[72.7] [2] The other opinion is that the bishops receive their jurisdiction immediately from Christ (Alphonsus de Castro, Vasquez).

[72.8] III. THE OPINION WHICH OUGHT TO BE CHOSEN. The same question was discussed among the Fathers at Trent, but nothing was defined. Some Fathers, under the leadership of Guerrero, the bishop of Granada, defended the second opinion against others who defended the first. Benedict XIV said: "Although the opinion of those who propose that this power of jurisdiction originates from Christ is based on valid arguments, nevertheless the opposite opinion seems to be more in conformity with reason and authority." Therefore the position of St. Thomas concerning the origin of episcopal jurisdiction over individual dioceses ought to be followed.

ARTICLE IV

[73]

WHETHER THE ROMAN PONTIFF IS INFALLIBLE WHEN SPEAKING EX CATHEDRA.

[73.1] I. THE DECREE OF THE VATICAN COUNCIL. "And We, adhering faithfully to the tradition received from the beginning of the Christian faith, to the glory of God, our Savior, the elevation of the Catholic religion and the salvation of the Christian peoples, with the approbation of the sacred Council, teach and explain that the dogma has been divinely revealed, that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when carrying out the duty of pastor and teacher of all Christians in accord with his supreme apostolic authority he explains a doctrine of faith or morals to be held by the universal Church, through the divine assistance promised him in blessed Peter, operates with that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer wished that His Church be endowed in defining doctrine on faith and morals; and so such definitions of the Roman Pontiff, of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church, are infallible."

[73.2] By this decree, it is clear that the active infallibility of the Roman Pontiff is defined, that is his infallible magisterium.

[73.3] II. THE DEFINITION OF PONTIFICAL INFALLIBILITY: It is a charism by which the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra*, through divine assistance cannot err in defining doctrine of faith and morals.

[73.4] [1] We said: *ex cathedra*. "The chair," says St. Thomas, "is properly of doctors and therefore those are said to sit upon a chair, who are the successors of Moses." (In Matth., XXXII. 1) The Fathers of the Vatican Council explain the sense in this way: "When he speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when he, acting in his function of Father and Doctor of all Christians, defines through his supreme apostolic authority a doctrine of faith and morals to be held by all." *l.c.*

[73.5] [2] *Through divine assistance.* The charism of infallibility is neither a *natural* gift nor a supernatural habit, nor *inspiration* in the true sense, nor *revelation*. The Vatican Fathers teach that it is an assistance. For these things are clear: "The Holy Ghost has not been promised to the successors of Peter, that by His revelation, they might make known a new doctrine, but that, through His assistance, they might preserve in a holy way and faithfully explain the revelation given to the Apostles, i.e., the deposit of faith." We understand this assistance to be divine help determining the Pontiff in such a way that *he teach the truth*. The internal effect of this divine help or operation, which St. Thomas calls the *instinct of the Holy Ghost*, is that the Pontiff know the truth which is deposited in the Church; the external effect is that he propose the truth speaking *ex cathedra*. Cf. S. Thom. in *Quodl.* IX, art. 6. But it does not seem necessary that, through divine assistance, it effect a special firmness of faith in the soul of the Pontiff.

[73.6] [3] *In defining doctrine of faith and morals.* Therefore infallibility cannot be said to be *unlimited*.

[73.7] III. IN WHAT SENSE THE INFALLIBILITY OF THE ROMAN PONTIFF IS PERSONAL. We are not saying that the Pontiff has a personal inerrance, in such a way that his infallibility is *from him*, for the judgement of those who are in charge of the Church can err "if their persons only are considered." (St. Thomas, *Quodlib.* IX, 16) For the same reason the Pontifical infallibility is called *participated*, because it is given divinely.

[73.8] We profess personal infallibility because the Pontiff, not as a private person, but as a qualified person, can publish decrees by means of the Pontificate which are irreformable *by themselves*, and not *but the consent of the Church*, whether

congregated in council or dispersed throughout the world. But at no time will the shepherd be without sheep, nor head without members, that is, without the Church, for which the divine charism exists.

[73.9] So in what regards the Pontiff's functioning in his supreme function, one must completely reject any distinction between the *sedes* and the *sedens*, between the *series* of Pontiffs and the individual Pontiffs,¹¹³ as if the *sedentes* could err, or that singular popes could err, but that the see could not err, nor the series. If we assert that the Roman See, the chair, and the Church are infallible, then we understand that the Pontiffs themselves, even individual ones, are immune from error.

[73.10] IV. WHAT THINGS ARE REQUIRED FOR SPEAKING *ex cathedra*. We are not speaking here of the signs by which we *know* an *ex cathedra* statement, but what things are required that the statement be *ex cathedra*. For these things, even when it concerns decrees of the ecumenical councils, differ. He who neglects this fact will often fall into error. Take the case of John XXII, when in disputation and sermons tended very much to the error of those who said that the souls of the just which were completely purified were not received in heaven immediately: what would someone respond, in order to deny the authority of the statement of the Pontiff? He would solve every difficulty if he would show, what is true, that nothing was defined by John XXII. But the conditions for an *ex cathedra* statement are not hidden to anyone, since they are taught to us by the Vatican Council. They are four.

[73.11] [1] *A definitive statement*. A statement is not sufficient which is pronounced without the obligation of believing, e.g., for the purpose of exhorting, or that a Pontiff express his opinion, and what seems to him to be more certain and more probable. But it is necessary that the Pontiff have the intention of deciding the truth. In St. Thomas, this is "*to firmly determine*" those things which are of faith in order that all are bound to hold them by unshakable faith, i.e., "in order that *in such a way* his

sentence be held firmly by the whole Church." IIa IIæ q. 1, art. 10.

[73.12] [2] *The sentence of the Pontiff, inasmuch as he speaks as a pastor and supreme doctor*, or as St. Thomas says, the sentence of the pope "which he pronounces in judgement." *Quodl.* IX, art. 16. Therefore those things are not considered to be *ex cathedra*, which the Pontiff says as a *private doctor*, or as he is the Pontiff, but not using his supreme authority over the whole Church.

[73.13] [3] *In defining doctrine of faith and morals*. The Fathers of the Vatican Council teach that the Roman Pontiff enjoys that infallibility "with which the divine Redeemer wanted it to be endowed in defining doctrine of faith and morals." Concerning the object of the infallibility of the Church we have spoken in Question IX. The Pontiff, as St. Thomas says, can err in declarations "which pertain to particular facts," but cannot err "in those things which pertain to faith." Cf. *Quodl. l.c.*; IIa IIæ q. 1, a. 10.

[73.14] [4] *A doctrine which must be held by the universal Church*, that is, defined by the Pontiff "in such a way that his sentence be held firmly by the Church." (St. Thomas) For "this intention of the Pontiff of deciding truth and of obligating the faithful must be sufficiently manifested. Although these are certain solemn forms of documents, which always manifest this intention, (e.g., dogmatic Bulls which teach directly as their principal purpose), nevertheless the definition itself is not bound by any determined forms, because that intention of deciding the truth, of which we speak, can be sufficiently manifested in diverse ways." (Card. Franzelin).

[73.15] If someone, therefore, should ask, e.g., whether the encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, whose doctrinal authority is certainly great, should also be considered an *ex cathedra* statement, one should consider not only the matter of the encyclical and to whom it is directed, but also whether the Roman Pontiff wanted to obligate all the faithful to accept a doctrine of faith and morals, which he has put forth. An encyclical about doctrine and a definition *ex cathedra* are not the same thing.

¹¹³ A distinction made by the SSPX with regard to the universal ordinary magisterium.

[73.16] V. ADVERSARIES. [A] The beginning of the error was the calamitous struggle which arose in the 14th century concerning the occupant of the See of Peter. During that storm, Pierre d'Ailly¹¹⁴ († 1420) and John Gerson († 1429)¹¹⁵ seem to have subjected the power of the Roman Pontiff to the direction and regulation of a general council. But this doctrine was not drawn from the tradition of the Church, but was fabricated, in order that the schism be finished. Not even Gerson in his system was always the same, nor were there many who believed that the Apostolic See was subject to errors in Faith. Even Canus said in 1562: "We do not want to anticipate the sentence of the Church, but if it were referred to a general council, this error would be branded as heresy." He adds that one can safely follow the doctrine of papal infallibility, since it is the "common teaching" of Catholics.

[73.17] [B] In the year 1682, against the inerrancy of the Roman Pontiff, the fourth article of the Declaration of the Gallican clergy was posited, by which thirty-four bishops, convoked to Paris by Louis XIV, stated: "In questions of faith the

principal parts pertain to the Roman Pontiff, and his decrees pertain to all Churches and to each Church, but his judgement is not irreformable, unless the consent of the Church should be added to it." The consent of the how many and what kind of bishops is ambiguous, nor is it clear whether the consent is antecedent, subsequent, or concomitant, explicit or tacit. The Jansenists and Febronians went so far as to demand the complete and universal consent, if not of all the faithful, at least of all the bishops and priests. Cf. Const. *Inter multiplices*, 4 Aug. 1690, and *Auctorem Fidei*.

[73.18] [C] In the nineteenth century, the schismatic feeling of some said that national churches should be established. In addition, a certain science which was not immune from rationalism had the effect that some Catholics preferred to defect from the Church than to submit to the decrees of the Vatican Council (Döllinger)

[73.19] *Thesis: THE ROMAN PONTIFF, SPEAKING ex cathedra, IS INFALLIBLE.*

[73.20] ARGUMENT I. *In general from the very notion of the primacy.* From Sacred Scripture, two things are evident: it is necessary that the Church be submitted to the Roman Pontiff and that the Church cannot err in matters of faith and morals. But if the Roman Pontiff, speaking *ex cathedra*, did not have infallibility, both of these things would be destroyed. For either the Church does not obey the Pope or it follows him; if it should obey someone who errs, it is at the same risk as the Pontiff; if it does not follow the Pontiff, then the fullness of the pontifical power is made null. Therefore the infallible magisterium of the Roman Pontiff must be admitted.

[73.21] ARGUMENT II. *From Matth. XVI: 18.* [A] In the promise of the primacy, the Lord said to St. Peter: *upon this rock I will build My Church.* Therefore the Roman Pontiff is the *foundation* of the whole Church. But the Faith pertains to the essence of the Church which Faith will never defect. For if the foundation should crumble, the whole building which is founded upon it will fall down.

¹¹⁴ PIERRE D'AILLY (in Latin, Petrus Aliacensis, Petrus de Alliaco) (1351 – August 9, 1420), was a French theologian, astrologer, and cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church. He was born in Compiègne. He was chancellor of the University of Paris from 1385 to 1395. He was involved in the effort to end the Great Schism by means of an ecumenical council and participated in both the Council of Pisa (1409) and the Council of Constance (1414-1418) which condemned the Bohemian reformer Jan Hus. He was a lifelong friend and mentor to Jean Gerson. D'Ailly's *Imago Mundi*, a work of cosmography, influenced Christopher Columbus in his estimates of the size of world land-mass. *Aliacensis* crater, on the Moon, is named after him.

¹¹⁵ JEAN CHARLIER DE GERSON (December 13, 1363 [?] – July 12, 1429), French scholar, educator, reformer, and poet, chancellor of the University of Paris, a guiding light of the conciliar movement and one of the most prominent theologians at the Council of Constance, was born at the village of Gerson, in the bishopric of Reims in Champagne. His parents, Arnulph Charlier and Elizabeth de la Chardenière, "a second Monica," were pious peasants, and seven of their twelve children, four daughters and three sons, devoted themselves to a religious life. Young Gerson was sent to Paris to the famous college of Navarre when fourteen years of age. After a five years' course he obtained the degree of licentiate of arts, and then began his theological studies under two very celebrated teachers, Gilles des Champs (Aegidius Campensis) and Pierre d'Ailly (Petrus de Alliaco), rector of the college of Navarre, chancellor of the university, and afterwards bishop of Puy, archbishop of Cambrai and cardinal. Pierre d'Ailly remained his life-long friend, and in later life the pupil seems to have become the teacher (see preface to *Liber de vita Spir. Animae*).

Therefore the Supreme Pontiff, since he is the foundation of the infallible Church, cannot err in faith.

[73.22] [B] Christ continues in this way: *and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it*, i.e., against the rock or against the Church, to the extent that the Church is founded upon the rock (Peter). But the gates of hell are heresies. Therefore heresies will not prevail at all against him who is the *rock* and firmness of the whole Church. But the *rock* is the Supreme Pontiff. Therefore he cannot err in faith. This argument is reinforced by Matth. VII: 24-27, where the house of the foolish man is said to fall down, because "*he built his house upon sand*." But the house of the wise man does not fall, despite rains, floods, and winds, "because it has been founded upon a rock." The Faith of the Church is firm in the same manner, for it is founded *upon a rock*. Cf. St. Thom. *In Matth.* XVI, no. 2.

[73.23] ARGUMENT III. *From St. Luke XXII: 32.* The words of Christ are: "*But I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not: and thou, being once converted, confirm thy brethren.*" These words refer to St. Peter and his successors, as head of the Church. But in these words there is promised the infallible magisterium. Therefore the head of the Church, that is, the Roman Pontiff, enjoys infallible magisterium. *Proof of the minor.* [A] Peter, ordered to confirm all the others in faith, must necessarily be himself the most firm. But to Peter alone — for *thee, thy faith, thee* — is given the function of confirming in faith all the others, whom the Lord calls his brethren. Therefore Christ promised to the head of His Church, that is, St. Peter and his successors in the primacy that they would remain forever unstained by error, that is, that the Roman Pontiff would be infallible in teaching.

[73.24] [B] The same thing is effected by these words: *I have prayed for thee*. For Christ in praying was also envisaging the function of confirming. But Christ without doubt was heard because of His reverence. (Hebr. V: 7)

[73.25] [C] The parallel between the ideas found in Matthew and those in Luke are obvious.

The rock of the Church and the confirmer of brethren express a single concept of firmness.

[73.26] ARGUMENT IV. *From John XXI: 15-18.* Christ committed the whole flock to the Roman Pontiff, to be ruled by his supreme authority, with these words: "*Feed my lambs — feed my sheep.*" But to evangelize is to feed, as St. Bernard said (*De Consideratione*, IV, 3) Therefore it pertains to the Pontiff to nourish the entire flock of Christ with the food of evangelical truth. But if the supreme pastor were subject to error, it could happen that the entire flock of Christ could be led away from the salutary food of truth to the poisonous food of error. Christ, therefore, who gives congruous means to the end, has conceded to the supreme pastor the charism of inerrancy. Cf. St. Thomas, *In Joan.* XXI, lect. III and the Vatican Council, sess. IV, chap. 4.

OBJECTIONS

[73.27] OBJECTION I. What is certain and firm from Sacred Scripture is that Christ alone is the author of faith. Therefore pontifical infallibility, since it is certainly superfluous, is denied *a priori*.

[73.28] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent: Christ is the author of faith as it is to be effected interiorly, *I concede*; of the proposition of the faith, *I subdistinguish*: the principal author, *I concede*; excluding the pontifical magisterium as instrumental cause, *I deny*. Christ according to both natures at the same time is the Head of the whole Church with regard to government, dignity, and influence. Cf. St. Thomas in *De Veritate*, q. XXXIX, art. 4. But He uses the magisterium of the Pontiff as an instrument, in order that He propose the truths of the faith to His Church for belief.

[73.29] INSTANCE. Saint Peter denied the faith in the courtyard of Caiphas, and he hid in Antioch over the objection of Paul. Therefore the Pope is not more infallible than was blessed Peter.

[73.30] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent: these are deeds of Peter speaking *ex cathedra*, *I deny*; they pertain to the personal faith of Peter, *I subdistinguish*: by reason of loyalty and prudence, *I concede*; by reason of the faith properly so

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called, *I deny*. Indeed that the sin of Peter in the courtyard of Caiphas was private, everyone knows; nor did his private faith defect, but his profession of faith. Furthermore, the Apostle at that time had not been confirmed in the function of the Supreme Pastor, and he had not received the Holy Ghost. The matter of Antioch was an offence of prudence, and he did not defect from the faith either publicly or privately in any way.

[73.31] **INSTANCE.** It sometimes happens that the Roman Pontiffs provide an occasion for blame. But vices and infallibility are incompatible.

[73.32] **RESPONSE.** *Let the antecedent pass. I deny* the consequent. It is obvious that to defect from integrity of life and to err *ex cathedra* are two different things. So "Caiphas *although he was evil*, nevertheless *because he was the High Priest*, it is read that he unconsciously prophesied." (St. Thomas, *Quodlibetales*, IX, 16) This is aptly transferred to the Roman Pontiff, who, by the assistance of God speaking *ex cathedra*, exceeds himself.

[73.33] **OBJECTION II.** The Lord said to Peter: "Tu aliquando *conversus* confirma fratres tuos." But the word *conversus* limits the function of confirming to the person of Peter. From this text, therefore, it is not at all proven that the Pontiffs cannot err in a judgement of the faith.

[73.34] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the minor: the word *conversus* limits the function of the person of Peter, *I deny*; it determines the person of Peter in an accidental way, *I concede*. The word *conversus* does not affect the substance and character of the divine promise: *rogavi pro te, etc.*, as if the Lord had instituted a *converted confirmer*; it is instead an accident signifying: "after you have converted," or something similar to this.

[73.35] **INSTANCE.** It is certain that all of the Apostles were confirmed in the faith by divine power. Therefore there was no need for a function of a confirmer and an infallible doctor.

[73.36] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the antecedent. All the Apostles were confirmed in the faith, *I concede*; and the function of confirmer was instituted above all for the Apostles, *I deny*. Christ prayed for Peter, and created him the confirmer of

the faith, in order that the see of Peter be the bastion of faith for all men and ages, and for the Apostles themselves, to the extent that they were in need of this strengthening.

[73.37] **INSTANCE.** Pope Agatho I (†681) adduced Luke XXII in order to illustrate the primacy. Therefore that interpretation, because it is new, is worth nothing.

[73.38] **RESPONSE.** *I deny* the assertion, which invented by Launoinus (*ep.* V, 6) was repeated at the time of the Vatican Council. St. Ambrose (*de fide*, lib. V, 1), St. Leo the Great (*Serm.*, LXXXIII, 3), St. Cyril of Alexandria (*Comment. in Luc.*, XXII, 32) and others have referred this verse to the primacy. St. Gelasius (*ep.* 4) said to Honorius, the bishop of Dalmatia "handling the care of the entire flock of the Lord without ceasing, which to Blessed Peter was delegated by this word of the Lord Himself: '*Et tu conversus confirma fratres tuos*;' and likewise: '*Petre amas me? Pasce oves meas*;' we cannot nor should we ignore, which...etc." (Found in Thiel, I, p 321) Nor did the Fathers of the Council of Constantinople think that the interpretation of Agatho was *new*, since they exclaimed concerning the epistle which has been objected to us: *Peter has spoken through Agatho*.

[73.39] **OBJECTION III.** The testimonies of the sacred Codices concerning the magisterium can be explained in such a way that the Apostolic See would not err in matters which *have been decided*, but is not so strong in things which *must be decided*. Therefore the Pope cannot define.

[73.40] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the antecedent: The Holy Scriptures can be explained in such a way that the Pope is infallible both in matters to be decided and in those which have been decided, *I concede*; in one or the other, *I deny*. The character of the head, the confirmer, and the pastor of the whole Church, is that the supreme Pontiff by his firmness in matters to be decided given to the Church decided things which are true.

[73.41] **INSTANCE.** If we say that the series of Pontiffs is entirely free from all error, but not each Pontiff, then the power of the Roman See would be that which moves all to the unity of faith. By this

interpretation the meaning of Sacred Scripture is not forced.

[73.42] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the antecedent: if the series of Pontiffs did not err, the Roman See would be that which moves all men of all time to unity in faith, *I deny*; otherwise *let it pass*. The divine promise is that the gates of hell would *never* prevail against the Church, i.e., prevail against the rock of the Church. Furthermore, the very distinction between the *series* of Pontiffs and the single Pontiffs completely destroys active infallibility.¹¹⁶ For those whom Christ fed, His *single* vicars now feed; but if single Pontiffs could err in defining the faith, then none could be trusted with infallible certitude.

[73.43] **INSTANCE.** At least it is permitted to follow what Saint Leo the Great said: "The see is one thing; those presiding are another."

[73.44] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish:* St. Leo is distinguishing between the *sedes* and the *sedens*, with regard to those things which do not pertain to the *sedens* in virtue of his *sedes*, *I concede*; with regard to those things which the *sedens* has *only* in virtue of his *sedes*, *I deny*. In point of fact, the vices of Acacius had not been able to take away the rights of the episcopal see; but the rights of Peter flow from the see of Peter to the true Roman Pontiff. Who would say that the faithful are infallibly preserved in the true faith by the *sedes*, but not by the *sedens*? The people of Christ are preserved by the Pontiff, inasmuch as he acts in virtue of his office, that is, from his see or *ex cathedra*.

[73.45] Other things, which are objected by some, seem to be sufficiently discussed in the disputations concerning the primacy.

¹¹⁶ This is the theory of Hans Küng regarding papal infallibility, namely, that in the long run, it is impossible that a series of the same teachings from various Roman Pontiffs be erroneous. The Society of Saint Pius X attaches this same error to the universal ordinary magisterium, namely that for something to qualify as universal ordinary magisterium, it is necessary that it be taught repeatedly over a long period of time, and that it be accepted by the Catholic people. Nowhere can such a definition be found for the ordinary universal magisterium in the traditional theology of the Catholic Church. Just as this notion of "series" destroys active infallibility in the pope, it would also destroy it in the ordinary universal magisterium, since papal *ex cathedra* statements and universal ordinary magisterium differ only accidentally from the point of view of their teaching authority.

ARTICLE VI
[74]
WHETHER THE INFALLIBILITY OF THE ROMAN PONTIFF IS
DEMONSTRATED FROM TRADITION

[74.1] **ADVERSARIES.** By the Gallicans certain arguments were sought from tradition and historical facts, which would confound the theologians who were asserting pontifical infallibility. So Bossuet, contends that the *researched opinion of the Fathers* protects his *Defense*, and that nothing is repugnant to it except the *new* opinions of the scholastics. Döllinger in his *Erwägungen* or *Considerations*, and with him those who reject the Vatican definition, claim that the Catholic Church lacks the *historical sense*. When one reads these assertions, one would think that among the Orientals no one ever suspected the pope of being infallible and that all the facts are contrary to the Vatican doctrine. If some Western Fathers do not make mention of this dogma, they are said to be against us, and they respond to him who would cite Aquinas that the saint was deceived by counterfeit documents. See article IV for what St. Thomas says. In the present article, it must be proved that long before the time of St. Thomas and from the most ancient times, the doctrine concerning the infallible magisterium of the Roman Pontiff flourished in the Church.

[74.2] *Thesis:* THE INFALLIBILITY OF THE ROMAN PONTIFF IS CERTAIN FROM THE TESTIMONIES OF THE FATHERS.

[74.3] **ARGUMENT I.** *From the testimonies of the Fathers and ancient writers.* [A] *St. Clement of Rome* and *St. Ignatius of Antioch* can be cited not for proof but for confirmation. For Clement wrote his epistle to the Corinthians with an authority such that is becoming someone who is endowed with infallible magisterium. For this reason *St. Ireneus* said concerning this epistle: "the Church in Rome

dispatched a most powerful letter to the Corinthians, exhorting them to peace, renewing their faith, and declaring the tradition which it had lately received from the apostles..." (*Adv. Har.* III, 3)

[74.4] [B] *St. Ireneus*, in *Adv. Haer.* III, 3: "For it is a matter of necessity that every Church should agree with this Church, on account of its pre-eminent authority, that is, the faithful everywhere, inasmuch as the apostolical tradition has been preserved continuously by those [faithful men] who exist everywhere." But with these words, together with their circumstances, the *necessary consent of all the Churches with the Roman Church is affirmed, because in it there is an unshaken firmness of faith*. But this is the same as to recognize the infallible authority of the Roman Church. Therefore infallibility pertains to the Roman Pontiff. Since we have set forth above the text of St. Ireneus in what concerns the primacy, our argument does not lack foundation. For that *necessity of being in agreement*, which we have shown to be directly or indirectly expressed, arises *from the firmness of faith* in the Roman Church. For [1] to this Church is attributed *a more powerful principality*. But the holy martyr in Book IV, 26 teaches that those who have a succession from the Apostles have received with the succession of the episcopacy a *certain charism of truth*. But this *certain charism of truth* he believes to have been most in that Church which has such a *great principality*, that it is necessary that *all Churches agree with it*. [2] The authority "of this Church, known to all as the greatest and most ancient, founded and established by the most glorious Apostles Peter and Paul," is so firm, that Ireneus *confounds* the Gnostics and "all who in any way...gather in a way in which they must not." [3] In

the Roman Church, that tradition which is from the Apostles has always been preserved by those who are from everywhere." [4] After he enumerates the Roman Pontiffs up to Eleutherius, the holy doctor concludes: "And this is most abundant proof that there is one and the same vivifying faith, which has been preserved in the Church from the apostles until now, and handed down in truth." *Adv. her.* III, 3.

[74.5] These statements have the effect of showing that the authority of the Roman Church was so great, that it alone was the *most abundant proof* against all errors.

[74.6] [C] Among other witnesses there is St. Cyprian, who calls communion with the Roman Pontiff the same thing as "the unity and charity of the Church." *Epp.* 48 and 55. The same saint praises the Romans, that is, he praises the Roman Church, "among whom perfidy cannot have entrance." *Ep.* 59. — St. Ambrose: "Where Peter is, there is the Church; there is no death there, but eternal life; and therefore [Christ] added: 'And the gates of hell shall not prevail against it,' and 'I give you the keys of the kingdom of heaven.'" *In Ps.* XL, 30. He also says in the *De obitu fratris Satyr*, I, 47: "He called the bishop to him, and esteeming that there can be no true thankfulness except that it spring from true faith, he inquired whether he agreed with the Catholic bishops, that is, with the Roman Church?" Cf. Maximum M. *Ep. ad Petrum illustrem*. — St. Jerome said, writing to the Roman Pontiff in the midst of the storms of errors: "As I follow no leader save Christ, so I communicate with none but your blessedness, that is with the chair of Peter. For this, I know, is the rock on which the church is built. For whoever should eat the Lamb outside of this house, is profane." And: "He that gathers not with you scatters; he that is not of Christ is of Antichrist." *Ep.* 15 to Damasus. — St. Augustine: "In this chair of unity God placed the doctrine of truth." *Ep.* 105. The same St. Augustine, after having listed the Roman Pontiffs, adds: "This is the rock which the prideful gates of hell do not overcome." *In ps. contra partem Donati*. As well, Augustine, after having received rescripts from Innocent I, wrote to the councils of Carthage and Miletus concerning Pelagianism: "Concerning this matter two councils were sent to the Apostolic See,

from which also rescripts came. *The case is closed.*" *Serm.* CXXXI, 10. Cf. *De utilitate credendi*, cap. XVII. St. Peter Chrysologus to Eutyches, the abbot of Constantinople, directed these words: "In all things we exhort you, honorable brother, that you obediently listen to those things which have been written by the most blessed Pope of the Roman City, because blessed Peter, who both lives and presides in his proper see, gives the truth to those who seek it." In the *epistles* of St. Leo, 25. Cf. S. Epiphanius, *Ancoratus*, chap. IX, St. Ephrem, *Serm.* IV in hebdom. St. Leo the Great said: *That solidity of faith*, which is praised in the Prince of the Apostles, is perpetual." *Serm.* III, 2. Again: "For that *solidity* which from Christ the Rock Peter himself, made into a rock, received, he also transmitted to his heirs." *Serm.* V, 4.

[74.7] [D] For reasons of brevity, many other testimonies will be passed over, but we do put forth the formula of Hormisdas (514-523). Those bishops signed it who wished to return to Catholic unity from the schism of Acacia, as well as the Fathers of the eighth ecumenical council. Certainly a great number of bishops (around 2500) signed it, including Epiphanius, John and Mennas, patriarchs of Constantinople. Here is the formula:

[74.8] The first condition of salvation is to keep the norm of the true faith and in no way to deviate from what has been established by the Fathers. For it is impossible that the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, who said, "*Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church*," [Matthew 16:18], be passed over. And their truth has been proved by events, for in the Apostolic See the Catholic religion has always been kept unsullied. From this hope and faith we by no means desire to be separated and, desiring to follow what has been established by the Fathers, we declare anathema all heresies, and, especially, the heretic Nestorius, former bishop of Constantinople, who was condemned by the Council of Ephesus, by Blessed Celestine, bishop of Rome, and by the venerable Cyril, bishop of Alexandria. We likewise condemn and declare to be anathema Eutyches and Dioscorus of Alexandria, who were condemned in the holy Council of Chalcedon, which we follow and endorse. This Council followed the holy Council of

Nicea and preached the apostolic faith. And we condemn the assassin Timothy, surnamed Aelurus ["the Cat"] and also Peter [Mongos] of Alexandria, his disciple and follower in everything. We also declare anathema their helper and follower, Acacius of Constantinople, a bishop once condemned by the Apostolic See, and all those who remain in contact and company with them. Because this Acacius joined himself to their communion, he deserved to receive a judgment of condemnation similar to theirs. Furthermore, we condemn Peter ["the Fuller"] of Antioch with all his followers together with the followers of all those mentioned above.

[74.9] "Following, as we have said before, the Apostolic See in all things and proclaiming all its decisions, we endorse and approve all the letters which Pope St. Leo wrote concerning the Christian religion. Therefore, as we said above, following in all things the Apostolic See and preaching all things which have been decided by it, I hope I may deserve to be associated with you in the one communion which the Apostolic See proclaims, *in which the whole, true, and perfect solidity of the Christian religion resides*. We promise that from now on those who are separated from the communion of the *Catholic Church, that is, who are not in agreement with the Apostolic See*, will not have their names read during the sacred mysteries. But if I attempt even the least deviation from my profession, I admit that, according to my own declaration, I am an accomplice to those whom I have condemned. I have signed this, my profession, with my own hand, and I have directed it to you, Hormisdas, the holy and venerable pope of Rome." Found in Thiel, *Genuine epistles of the Roman Pontiff*. Fasc. II, pp. 754-755. From this we gather the following: [1] The Faith in the Apostolic See has been always preserved; [2] that this has happened *in virtue of* the statement of Our Lord: *Tu es Petrus*, etc. in such a way that *what was said* is proved by the effects.

[74.10] ARGUMENT II. *From the Councils*. [A] *From the Council of Ephesus*. Pope St. Celestine wrote this to the Fathers of Ephesus: "We have directed for our solicitude Arcadius and Projectus, bishops, and Philip the priest, in order that they be present at the

proceedings, and so that they can carry out *those things which have been previously established by us*. We have no doubt that you will give your assent to these things." Then the Fathers said, when they were pronouncing the sentence: "Obliged by the sacred canons and the epistle of our most holy father...Celestine the bishop of the Roman Church...we come by necessity to this grievous sentence against him [Nestorius]." Then Philip, the legate of the Roman Pontiff, said: "We give thanks ... to the Synod, because you joined yourselves as holy members...to the holy head...to the letter of our Pope which was recited to you. For your Beatitude is not unaware that the head of the *whole faith* and even of the Apostles is blessed Peter the Apostle." (Hard. I, 1471, 1506)

[74.11] [B] *From the Council of Chalcedon*. St. Leo the Great prescribed to the Fathers of Chalcedon what ought to be believed: "Once the audacity of arguing against the divinely inspired Faith was completely rejected, the vain infidelity of the erring settles down; nor should it be permitted to defend what is not permitted to be believed. Since according to the authority of the gospel, it was *most fully* declared by the letter which We sent to Flavian the bishop, of blessed memory, what is the pious...confession concerning the mystery of the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ." He said something similar in his letter to Theodoretus: "[God] has suffered us to sustain no harm in the person of our brethren, but has corroborated by the irrevocable assent of the whole brotherhood what *He had already laid down through our ministry*: to show that, what had been first formulated by the foremost See of Christendom, and then received by the judgment of the whole Christian world, had truly proceeded from Himself: that in this, too, the members may be at one with the Head." Concerning the Council he said: "*What the faith had previously taught*, this examination afterwards confirmed." Nor did anyone reject this teaching of faith, but, when the letter of Leo to Flavian was read, the Fathers of Chalcedon exclaimed: "We all believe in this way...*Peter has spoken through Leo*." Furthermore Dioscorus is condemned who "against him, to whom the care of the vineyard of the Lord

has been committed, has extended his insanity." There is no doubt that the word *vineyard* in this place refers especially to the integrity of the faith. Finally the Council writes to Leo: "And this golden chain leading down from the Author of the command to us, you yourself have steadfastly preserved, being set as the mouthpiece unto all of the blessed Peter, and imparting the blessedness of his Faith unto all. Whence we too, wisely taking you as our guide in all that is good, have shown to the sons of the Church their inheritance of Truth, not giving our instruction each singly and in secret, but making known our confession of the Faith in concert, with one consent and agreement. And we were all delighted, reveling, as at an imperial banquet, in the spiritual food, which Christ supplied to us through your letter: and we seemed to see the Heavenly Bridegroom actually present with us. For if 'where two or three are gathered together in His name,' He has said that 'there He is in the midst of them,' must He not have been much more particularly present with 520 priests, who preferred the spread of knowledge concerning Him to their country and their ease? Of whom you were chief, as the head to the members, showing your goodwill in the person of those who represented you; while our religious Emperors presided to the furtherance of due order, inviting us to restore the doctrinal fabric of the Church, even as Zorobabel invited Joshua to rebuild Jerusalem."

[74.12] The summary of all this is: Leo defines, because he is the *head*; the Fathers *follow* the Pope defining, because they are members. Cf. S. Thomas, *De Potentia*, X, art. 4, ad 13.

[74.13] [c] *The sixth ecumenical council, Constantinople III*, wrote to Agatho the Pope: "To you as the bishop of the first See of the universal Church, we gladly leave what ought to be done, you who are standing upon the firm rock of faith, in acquiescence to the letter of your confession from your paternal Beatitude...sent to the Emperor." Agatho, responding to the letter of Constantine the Emperor, recalls that the undiminished faith of the Roman Church has persevered "according to the divine promise of the very Lord Savior." He ordered that his definitions concerning the error of Sergius,

sent to the Council, be kept undiminished, because all of the Catholic Churches and universal Councils faithfully embracing the authority of the Roman Church, as of the Prince of the Apostles, have followed it in all things." The Fathers acclaimed the letter saying: "It was seen to be paper and ink, and through Agatho Peter spoke." Acta, XVIII. Cf. St. Thomas, l.c.; Hefele, *Conciliengesch.* III.

[74.14] [D] *the eighth ecumenical Council*, which is that of Constantinople IV is of much more value in proving the infallibility of the Pope, inasmuch as it received the formula of Hormisdas. For clearly among the ancient documents, this one is the most plain. I omit many other things.

[74.15] ARGUMENT III. *From facts*. I organize the many facts into five categories:

[74.16] [A] The Roman Pontiffs wrote with supreme authority to the Churches of both the East and West letters concerning matters of faith, affirming clearly that the Savior promised that the faith of Peter would never fail, and that it could never happen that the gates of hell and heresies would prevail against the rock. This is evident in the collection of letters of Leo the Great.

[74.17] [B] To the ancients the *Roman* faith and the *Catholic* faith are entirely one thing. St. Jerome said: "What does he call his faith? If he should respond *Roman*, then we are Catholics." *Apol. adv. Rufin.* I., 4. Aug. *Serm.* CXX, in Mai, *Nova patrum biblioth.*; Cyprian, Ambrose, Maximus, as cited above.

[74.18] [c] If there was ever a question of faith, the fathers, by writing, by traveling to Rome, by appealing, by obeying, proved that the matter was to be defined by Rome. So when Dionysius of Alexandria (†265), was writing against the heresy of Sabellius, some of the brothers of the Church, not understanding well the doctrine of the bishop, went to Rome and denounced him to Dionysius the Roman Pontiff. When these things were heard, Dionysius sent a letter to the Pope for the purpose of purging the book which he wrote, entitled, *Collection and Defense to Dionysius of Rome*. This is what is told by St. Athanasius in *De sent. Dionysii*. The heretics are also witnesses to the fact that this authority was

the greatest among Catholics, when they attempted to abuse that power, such as Valentinus, Cerdo, Marcion, Novatian, Nestorius, Sergius, and others.

[74.19] [D] Many heresies were condemned by the sole power of the Roman Pontiff, such as Montanism, in which Zephyrinus published a truly peremptory edict, despite Tertullian (Tertullian in *Contra Praxeam*, I) St. Prosper writes concerning the Pelagians: "Then the contrivances of these people were smashed, then they fell down in the places and leaders of their pride, when Innocent of blessed memory struck the heads of the wicked error with the apostolic sword etc." *Contra Collatorem*, chap. XXI. Likewise the error of Macedonius was condemned by Damasus. "When this was done, inasmuch as the controversy was terminated by the judgement of the Roman Church, everyone settled down (i.e., the bishops of the East)." Sozomenus, H.E., VI, 22.

[74.20] [E] After the passage of many centuries, when all the patriarchal sees had erred in the faith, the Roman Pontiffs, to whom an almost innumerable quantity of controversies had been referred, never taught any error *ex cathedra*. Therefore let us profess: *This is the finger of God*.

[74.21] ARGUMENT IV. *From the necessity of pontifical infallibility*. There must be one faith of the whole Church. But unity cannot be preserved unless a question of faith which has arisen be determined through him who is in charge of the whole Church, in order that, in such a way, his pronouncement be held by the whole Church firmly, as St. Thomas says In IIa IIæ, q. I art. 10. Therefore the Roman Pontiff is infallible.

[74.22] *Proof of the minor*. [A] All are bound to follow the pope in whom the full power resides. It is necessary, therefore, that by him all the faithful be preserved in the Faith. [B] In order that disputes concerning the Faith be suitably decided, there is required a certain permanent tribunal. But this is the infallible Pontiff. For a universal synod cannot be congregated for each error, since the episcopal care, the length of journeys, and dangers of war and other things of this type often greatly impede the pastors of the whole world from coming together in a synod.

But the consent of the whole Church, in most cases, cannot be expected, nor can it be certainly known. St. Thomas, in the *De Potentia*, I.c., and *Contra Gentes*, Book IV, no. 76, (and other references in the book).

[74.23] QUESTION I. *Whether the Roman Pontiff, defining ex cathedra, and an ecumenical council, joined to the Roman Pontiff, are two subjects of active infallibility, and two supreme infallible authorities?*

[74.24] RESPONSE. There is *one* infallible authority in the Church, which, however, is exercised in a twofold way. The subject of active infallibility is the Roman Pontiff, in whom, separately from an ecumenical council, is the highest and full power. But this power and infallibility are found in a council as in a subject that is more extended, when the body of bishops, with its head, exercises judgement and teaches the whole Church. The Fathers of the Vatican Council very clearly designate that there is one infallible authority, the Roman Pontiff, and that he enjoys that infallibility with which the divine redeemer willed that His Church be endowed in the defining of doctrine concerning faith and morals. (Session IV, chapter 4).

[74.25] QUESTION II. *By what criterion can the faithful know that the decrees of the Roman Pontiff are infallible?*

[74.26] [A] In the Vatican definition, only this is expressed: that the Roman Pontiff is infallible "when he speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when he is acting in his function as the pastor and doctor of all Christians, and with his supreme apostolic authority, defines a doctrine concerning faith and morals, to be held by the universal Church."¹

[74.27] [B] Besides this general rule, those things apply which were said concerning the decrees of the ecumenical councils. (pp. 466-467)

[74.28] [C] What Palmieri says also seems to be quite true: "Indeed these things are necessary that a Catholic know what must be believed by him, namely that the doctrine proposed is to be believed by all, and that it is proposed in virtue of that authority which is infallible. What more could be desired?"

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That a special mode be determined by which the Roman Pontiff defines that a doctrine be held by the universal Church, and, when he uses this, his definition should be considered infallible, and when he does not use it, it is licit to consider it not infallible? But it is not necessary *per se* to establish rules for the certain exercise of this authority, for since nature supplies to all men many ways and manners of signifying with certitude to others one's will, and the exercise of his faculty, there is no necessity why this power, which is given by nature to all, be limited in the leader, for what is demanded here is this, that he signify that he is acting as the leader, and that he will to oblige, in however manner it should be done, provided that it achieve what needs to be done." *Tract. de Rom. Pont.*, Thesis XXXI.

[74.29] QUESTION III. *To what things is papal infallibility extended?*

[74.30] *Resp.* [A] The Vatican Fathers, in Sess. IV, chap. 4, defining that the Roman Pontiff is the subject of infallibility "in order that the definitions be irreformable by themselves and not by the consent of the Church," expressed only in a general way the object to which the prerogative of infallibility is extended. They solemnly assert that the Pope enjoys that infallibility "when he defines a doctrine of faith or morals to be held by the universal Church." With these words, the Fathers did not affirm the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff in defining things connected with revealed doctrine, because of very serious reasons, indeed with explicit words, and much less did they exclude it. In fact, the very word *tenendam* was used to the exclusion of the formula which others proposed, namely "to be held *de fide*." For the Fathers feared that the inerrancy of the Roman Pontiff seemed to be limited by this formula to truths revealed in themselves which are to be believed by divine faith. Cf. *Coll. Lacen.*, Tome VII, p. 415, 1700-1713.

[74.31] [B] Pontifical infallibility is extended to those things which are connected with revealed doctrine. For [i] the Roman Pontiff enjoys that infallibility with which Christ wanted his Church to be endowed. Cf. *Conc. Vat.*, *l.c.* We have shown,

however, in q. 9, articles 2-6, that the Church is free from error also in those things which are connected with the revealed doctrine of faith or morals. Therefore the pontifical infallibility is extended to those objects.

[74.32] [2] The Vatican Fathers teach that the Holy Ghost was promised to the successors of Peter, so that by his assistance, revelation handed to the Apostles, that is the deposit of faith, should be preserved by them in a holy way and faithfully explained. *L.c.* But this preservation and explanation absolutely demands inerrancy, even for those things which are connected immediately to revealed things.

[74.33] [c] Just as the Church is infallible in making censures inferior to heresy, so is the Roman Pontiff. For to deny that the Church is infallible in making these censures is called heretical by some, and at least erroneous or proximate to error. (De Lugo, Ripalda, etc.)

[74.34] QUESTION IV. *What obedience is owed to the Roman Pontiff, when he is teaching something concerning Faith, or connected with it, when he does not define ex cathedra?*

[74.35] RESPONSE. When the Roman Pontiff "teaching something indeed," says Palmieri, "but not intending to impose an obligation of believing, something to be held by the universal Church, that is, he does not signify that he wants it so, then he is said to not speak *ex cathedra*, although he is speaking concerning doctrine regarding faith and morals. In this hypothesis, it is not sufficient to say that he is speaking as a private doctor, for although he is not speaking with the plenitude of authority, nevertheless he is speaking with authority. For this reason, the Roman Pontiff, speaking in this way, ought not to be thrown into the same category as some private doctors who have no authority."

[B] To the magisterium of the Roman Pontiff, even when he is not speaking *ex cathedra* is owed (1) the obedience of silence; (2) a religious assent, since there is nothing which would prudently indicate a suspension of assent. *De Romano Pontifice*, thesis XXXII, scholion 2.

OBJECTIONS

[74.36] **OBJECTION I.** The Church cannot make new dogmas. But the dogma of pontifical inerrancy is new. Therefore it is false.

[74.37] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the major: the Church is not able to *make* a new dogma, *I concede*; it is not able to proclaim an old dogma, *I deny*. There is nothing new in the Vatican decree except a more solemn definition; in this same way Saint Thomas says that in a new edition of the creed there is not contained "*another faith*" but the "*same faith* made more explicit." (IIa IIæ q. 1, a. 10, ad 2)

[74.38] **OBJECTION II.** The Supreme Pontiff, if he cannot err in a judgement of faith, has no need to do any research of the truth. But the Pontiffs usually have published their decrees only after a diligent research. Therefore they are not infallible.

[74.39] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the major: the Pontiff would have no need of research if he had inerrancy through divine revelation, *I concede*; through divine assistance, *I deny*. *I likewise distinguish* the minor: the Pontiffs inquire, because diligent research is the *cause* of the infallible sentence, *I deny*; because it is the means, subordinated to the assistance of the Holy Ghost, *I concede*.

[74.40] The Pontiff in defining *exceeds himself*; that is, he promulgates infallibly true decrees through the assistance of the Holy Ghost. In this he clearly exceeds *human* powers. But divine assistance does not take away the use of human means. For this reason the Fathers of the Vatican Council declared: "The Roman Pontiffs, moreover, according as the condition of the times and affairs advised, sometimes by calling ecumenical councils or by examining the opinion of the Church spread throughout the world; sometimes by particular synods, sometimes by employing other helps which divine Providence supplied, have defined that those matters must beheld which with God's help they have recognized as in agreement with sacred Scripture and apostolic tradition." [Denz. 1836] Concerning bishops who define in an ecumenical council, cf. *supra*, Question XIII.

[74.41] **INSTANCE.** What is decreed infallibly must not be examined again. But the bishops, and

even Roman Pontiffs, have wanted a truth which had already been determined by a pontifical judgement to be examined again in ecumenical councils. Therefore the decree *ex cathedra* of the Roman Pontiff can be erroneous.

[74.42] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the major: An infallible decree must not be re-examined by means of a dubitative examination, *I concede*; by a confirmative examination, *I subdistinguish*: that the truth be proposed by a greater authority extensively, *I concede*; intensively, *I deny*. So it has happened that Roman Pontiffs have wanted their judgements to be declared more solemnly in ecumenical councils, since the splendor of such a gathering and the external authority move the minds of men to the fullest; and because by the common counsel of so many outstanding men, those things are very safely and most efficaciously established, which have been judged to be decrees of faith which must be protected and most apt for the purpose of removing the causes of dissent.

[74.43] **OBJECTION III.** Saint Ireneus is considered a witness of pontifical inerrancy, because he taught that it was necessary that every Church be in agreement with (*convenire cum*) the Roman Church; for it has been declared in past times. But the quotation is not extant in the Greek, and Ireneus perhaps meant *convenire ad*, referring to the necessity of making a journey to Rome. Ireneus is therefore a doubtful witness.

[74.44] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the major: that testimony depends totally on the interpretation *convenire cum*, *I deny*; it is confirmed by this interpretation, *I concede*; *I distinguish* the minor: Ireneus perhaps understood the physical journey to Rome *materially*, *let it pass*; *formally*, *I deny*. And *I deny* the conclusion. *The minor is explained.*

[74.45] Let us say that Saint Ireneus said that it is necessary that "every Church, that is, *who are the faithful from everywhere*, must go to Rome." Those who interpret it in this way do not escape the force of the argument. For the *necessity* of that *going to Rome* proceeds from the *necessity of ecclesiastical agreement*, especially in faith, with the Roman Church. The *cause* of this *convenire*, in both

interpretations is *the more powerful principality* of the Roman Church; the *end* is the manifestation of vivifying faith. The argumentation of the holy martyr is this: the authority of the Roman Church is the fullest manifestation of faith; from this he concludes that all are confounded by the authority of this Church, who bind themselves together in a manner other than what they ought.

[74.46] Therefore, if we were to consider the whole text with its context and circumstances, two things are clear: [A] If the phrase *convenire ad* is taken for *convenire cum*, it demonstrates *immediately* the necessity of being in agreement in matters of faith with the Roman Church; [B] but if you contend that the *letter* of the text must be interpreted to mean a *coming together* in Rome, then the same thing is signified *mediately*.

[74.47] INSTANCE. Ireneus thinks that the tradition which is from the Apostles has been preserved in the Church of Rome "by those who are from everywhere." Therefore the faith is not through the Roman Church to the universal Church, but through the universal Church to the Roman Church.

[74.48] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the antecedent. The apostolic tradition has been preserved in the Roman Church by those who are from everywhere, which [the Roman Church] gave to all the power of preserving, *I concede*; which received from everyone the power of preserving, *I deny*.

[74.49] Saint Ireneus attributes that authority to the Roman Church independently from other Churches, through which [authority] the true faith can be and ought to be preserved by all. For, after having enumerated the Roman bishops from Saint Peter to Saint Eleutherius, he adds: "This manifestation is most complete;" by the authority of this the greatest Church, he says that he has confounded all heretics. The greater principality of this Church is such, that it is necessary that every Church conform to it. Therefore that statement which the holy martyr placed at the end of his argument — "in which [the tradition] was always preserved by those who were from everywhere, etc." — has no force to mean that the Roman Church would receive firmness of its faith "from those who

are from everywhere." Either it is a *secondary argument*, added from the authority of the other Churches, or it is a type of corollary, ~~very similar to the opinion of saint Optatus~~, very similar to the opinion of Saint Optatus, by which he teaches that the throne was situated in Rome by Peter, in which, by means of a single throne, unity is preserved by all. (*Contra Parmen.*) Cf. Pelag. I in Jaffé *Reg. Pont. Roman.*, no. 998.

[74.50] INSTANCE. Ireneus is praising the privileges of the Roman Church, but not the Roman Pontiff.

[74.51] RESPONSE. *I deny* the assertion. [A] The Roman Church is the head of the Faith only through its Roman Pontiff. This is clearly the mind of saint Ireneus. In fact, the saint set down this rule for everyone: "Wherefore it is incumbent to obey the presbyters who are in the Church—those who, as I have shown, possess the succession from the apostles; those who, together with the succession of the episcopate, have received the certain gift of truth, according to the good pleasure of the Father." (Liber IV, 26) [B] Linus is considered to be successor to Peter in power, and not the Roman Church. For this reason, the series of the *Roman Pontiffs* from Peter is constructed by Ireneus as a most complete manifestation of the truth. [C] The letter which Saint Clement wrote to the Corinthians, is said to be written by what is the Church of Rome. (*op. cit.*, Lib. IV, no. 3)

[74.52] OBJECTION IV. The formulæ of Sirmium teach heresy. But Liberius the Pope signed some formula of Sirmium. Therefore the Pontiff, since he was a supporter of the Arians, erred in a judgement of faith. *Proof of the minor*. St. Hilary, in his *Fragments*, Athanasius in his *Apol. contra Arianos*, chapter LXXXIX, and *Hist. Arian.* c. XLI, Jerome in his *Chronicle*, for the year 354, and *Catal. Script.*, c. XCVII, the *Prefatio* of the little book of prayers of Faustinus and Marcellinus, and Philostorgius the Arian are witnesses to the fact that Liberius signed a formula of Sirmium.

[74.53] RESPONSE. *I distinguish* the major: The formulæ of Sirmium teach heresy, that is, the second formula of the year 357, *I concede*; the first,

third, and fourth, *I subdistinguish*: by the interpretation of the heretics, *I concede*; in *se* and in that manner in which Liberius signed it, *I deny*.

[74.54] *I distinguish* the minor: Liberius signed it speaking *ex cathedra*, *I deny*; by a private error, *I subdistinguish*: the second formula, *I deny*; another formula and with his own Catholic meaning, let it pass.

[74.55] It is certain that Liberius is innocent of having signed the second formula. If the Pontiff signed another formula, the formula was such that it did not exclude a Catholic interpretation, or at least a neutral one. This is especially true since the Pontiff, in the opinion of those who assert that he did sign the formula of Sirmium, openly declared in what sense he was signing it. In no way, however, was Liberius defining in matters of faith and morals in signing a heretical document. For this reason, St. Jerome, although he believed that Liberius had fallen, in *ep.* 75 to Damasus, professed these things concerning the Roman Pontiff: "I unite myself in communion with the See of Peter—I know that the Church is built upon that rock. Whoever eats the Lamb outside of this house is profane. If anyone was not in the ark of Noe, he perished when the Flood prevailed."

[74.56] Furthermore, it seems that by suitable arguments it can be proved that the lapse was not true. — But there are witnesses to this lapse. — Witnesses, indeed, but whom rumors deceived, or whose testimonies have been found to be apocryphal, such as the three letters of Liberius, favorable to the Arians, in the *Fragments* of Hilary. Most witnesses, however, and who were writing in those circumstances of time and place in such a way that the truth could easily be distinguished from falsehood, absolve the Pontiff of fault.

[74.57] [A] St. Ambrose in *De Virg.* lib. III, 1, Saint Basil in *ep.* 263, Epiphanius in *Adv. Her.* LXXV, and Pope Siricius in *ep.* I ad Himer, glorify the sanctity and integrity of Liberius without any exception. Theodoretus, who is a completely reliable witness, when he is speaking about his [Liberius] return [to Rome], refers to the Pontiff as illustrious, most worthy of all praise, "that admirable Liberius," and "victorious athlete of truth." (*H.E.*, II, 17)

[74.58] [B] Theodoretus (*loc. cit.*) says that the return of Liberius to Rome was owing to the request of the Roman women; Socrates in the *H.E.*, II, 37 and Sulpitius Severus in the *Hist. Sacra*, II, 39 say that it [his return] was because of Roman seditions. But they say nothing about a fall. Add to this the fact that we read in Sozomenus (*H.E.*, IV, 15) that "Eudoxius"¹¹⁷ and with him those who favored the opinion of Aetius¹¹⁸ spread false rumors concerning Liberius' signing of the document.

[74.59] [C] The Romans, hostile to the Arians, paid respect with the highest honors to Liberius when he returned, even though he had made no retraction. Nor was his admiration confined to the common people alone, excited with joy over his return, but it was paid as well by the most illustrious men, and remained steadfast, just as the cited witnesses prove. These things are proved by two documents, recently discovered. [1] There is extant the *letter* of Pope Anastasius I (398-402) to Venerius, the bishop of Milan, in which "Liberius, the bishop of the Roman Church, of holy memory" is listed with Dionysius, Eusebius of Vercelli, and Hilary, excellent men, who "willingly bore exile" for the faith of Nicea, and "have been proved to have been holy bishops." Cf. Card. Pitra, *Anal. novissima*, t. I, p. 463.

[74.60] **OBJECTION IV.** Pope Honorius, in his letters written to Sergius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, taught as Pope what ought to be believed concerning the wills of Christ. But the letters of Honorius contain the error of the monothelites. Therefore Honorius, since he taught heresy as Pope, erred *ex cathedra*.

¹¹⁷ EUDOXIUS (died 370) was the eighth bishop of Constantinople from January 27, 360 to 370, previously bishop of Germanicia and of Antioch, and was one of the most influential Arians.

¹¹⁸ AETIUS OF ANTIOCH (Aëtius Antiochenus, Αἰτίος ο Αὐτιοχεύς, fl. 350), surnamed "the Atheist" by his trinitarian enemies [1] founder of an Arian Christian movement, was a native of Coele-Syria. The Anomoean sect of the Arians, of whom he was the leader, are sometimes called after him Aetians. His work *De Fide* has been preserved in connection with a refutation written by Epiphanius (*Haer.* lxxvi. 10). Its main thought is that the homoeousia, i.e. the doctrine that the Son (therefore the Begotten) is essentially God, is self-contradictory, since the idea of unbegottenness is just that which constitutes the nature of God.

[74.61] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the major. Honorius teaches in his letters to Sergius what ought to be believed, *I deny*; what ought to be done, *I subdistinguish*: he uses his supreme pontifical authority in defining, *I deny*; he uses his authority in directing, *I concede*. We will give responses to the minor below.

[74.62] Sergius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, skillfully preaching that there is one theandric operation in Christ, tried to persuade Honorius, the Roman Pontiff, that it should not be said that there are either one or two wills in Christ, because *saying* that there are two wills [1] "scandalizes many, inasmuch as it has not come forth from any of the saints or from anything which has been approved and established by the Church," [2] "because what follows from it is to preach that there are two wills which are contrary one to the other, as if the Divine Word wanted the salutary passion to be fulfilled, and the humanity was opposing its will to it, and was resisting it, which is impious."

[74.63] Honorius in the year 634 responded to Sergius in two letters. But he defined nothing concerning doctrine. This is proven.

[74.64] [A] The first letter ends with these words: "We exhort Your Fraternity *exhorting* you, that by avoiding the use of introduced terms, one or two operations, that you preach with Us that, by orthodox faith and Catholic unity, there is one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, the most true God, having operated in both natures divinely and humanly." In the second letter he says: "We should not preach so as to define one or two operations." Therefore nothing at all is defined.

[74.65] [B] In the first letter, he wrote these exact words: "Whether, however, on account of the works of the humanity and divinity, one or two operations ought to be proclaimed and understood, these things do not belong to us; let us leave them to the grammarians..." Clearly these are not the words of a Pontiff who is defining.

[74.66] [C] Sergius did not ask for any definition of the faith, but proposed a *practical* question concerning the use of one or two operations. Therefore Honorius defined nothing,

but considers the words not with respect to *doctrine* and *in se*, but with respect to *prudence* and to *the times*. With the following words he declares in his first letter the cause why one ought to avoid "the use of the introduced terms, one or two operations:" "new words are known to the saints of God to generate scandal, so that the little ones, either offended by the words of two operations, might follow the Nestorians, judging that we are thinking insane things, or, if we should certainly decide that only one operation ought to be admitted in Our Lord Jesus Christ, we might be thought to be professing the stupid dementia of the Eutychians, with senseless ears."

[74.67] Therefore it is clear that there is one proposal of Honorius, namely that the faithful, because the controversies have been avoided concerning the *word* of one or two operations, will be tranquil in the doctrine of Chalcedon. — The monothelites themselves seem to have appealed to the letters of Honorius only after Honorius and Sergius had died.

[74.68] **INSTANCE.** From the letters of the Pontiff an error is seen, since he wrote to Sergius: "It must be admitted that there is one will in Our Lord Jesus Christ."

[74.69] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish*: Honorius admits that there is one will in Christ, excluding a contrary will of the flesh, *I concede*; excluding a divine and natural human will, *I deny*. Contemporary witnesses, John IV, the second successor of Honorius, St. Maximus in his *Disputation with Pyrrhus*, and John the Abbot, who helped Honorius to write his letters, interpreted this quotation in the same manner. The context confirms that this interpretation is the true one. For Honorius said: "Whence we acknowledge one will in Our Lord Jesus Christ, because the divinity assumed our nature, *not our fault*; that nature, certainly, which was created before the sin, not that which was vitiated after the fall. There was not then assumed by the Savior a vitiated nature, which fought with the law of His mind." It will help to explain the matter in a few words.

[74.70] [A] The monothelites contended that there was only one will in Christ and one operation.

"But later on, Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch, Cyrus of Alexandria, and Sergius of Constantinople and some of their followers, held that there is one will in Christ, although they held that in Christ there are two natures united in a hypostasis; because they believed that Christ's human nature never moved with its own motion, but only inasmuch as it was moved by the Godhead, as is plain from the synodical letter of Pope Agatho [Third Council of Constantinople, Act. 4]." (IIIa, q. 18, art. 1) The Catholic Church teaches that there are two wills in Christ, namely a divine will, which belongs to the divine nature, and a human will, which the Son of God assumed with the human nature, as a natural faculty of the human nature. Therefore in Christ there was a movement of the will proper to the human nature. From the fact, however, that it was in the divine Person, the human will had a determined mode of willing, in such a way that it would be moved according to the command of the divine will. Therefore Catholics [1] profess that there are two wills and operations in Christ; [2] deny that there are contrary wills in Christ.

[74.71] [B] Honorius openly professes the Catholic doctrine. For in his first letter Christ is called by him "completely God and man." But the will absolutely pertains to the plenitude and perfection of the human nature. This is also evident from the second letter: "We must confess that both natures are united in one Christ by a natural unity, operating and operative in conjunction with each other, and the divine operating the things which are of God, and the human executing the things which are of the flesh." Then he affirms "[Two natures operating]...not dividedly, or confusedly, or convertibly." Therefore Honorius, as we have stated, in the same way that he professes that there are two natures, each operating what is proper to each neither dividedly, nor confusedly, nor convertibly, thus did not exclude the human will, which the human nature essentially includes, but he excludes the contrary will.

[74.72] **OBJECTION V.** The sixth ecumenical Council [Constantinople III] in its thirteenth session (March 28, 681), condemned Honorius with these

words: "Reconsidering the dogmatic epistles which were written by Sergius, once patriarch of the Imperial city, which may God preserve, both to Cyrus, who was then bishop of Phasis, and to Honorius, once Pope of ancient Rome; similarly also the epistle from him, that is, Honorius, written to the same Sergius, and find them entirely different from the apostolic teachings, and the definition of the Holy Councils and of all reliable fathers, and following the false doctrines of heretics; we in every way reject them, and execrate them as noxious to the soul. And we have decreed to throw out from the Church of God the names of those whose impious dogmas we execrate, that is, of Sergius, once bishop of this imperial city, which may God preserve, who undertook to write on this wicked dogma; of Cyrus of Alexandria, of Pyrrhus; of Peter, and of Paul, who died in the bishopric of this city, which may God preserve, who thought similarly to them... We have also decided to eject, together with these, from the Holy Catholic Church of God, and to anathematize, Honorius, who was pope of ancient Rome, because we find, from the writings he gave to Sergius, that in all things he held the latter's view, and confirmed the impious dogmas."¹¹⁹ Then the letters of Honorius were burned and anathema was pronounced upon him. Therefore Honorius, unless we prefer to say that a general council is subject to error, must be considered a formal heretic.

[74.73] **RESPONSE.** I distinguish the antecedent. The Father of that council condemned the Roman Pontiff as a heretic by means of a sentence which was not confirmed by Rome; *let it pass*; by a sentence confirmed by Rome, *I deny*.

[74.74] The argument, which is taken from the council's sentence upon Honorius, in the opinion of many adversaries, leaves no room for doubt. There is, however, a threefold way in which to untie the knot. For Albertus Pighius,¹²⁰ in his *De hierarchia eccl. lib. IV*, for Baronius in *Annales* for the years 680-683, as

¹¹⁹ In the 16th action, the Fathers exclaimed: "To the heretic Sergius anathema, to the heretic Honorius anathema; to the heretic Theodore of Pharan, anathema."

¹²⁰ ALBERT PIGHIUS (Pigghe) (born at Kampen, Overijssel, Netherlands, about 1490; died at Utrecht, 26 December 1542) was a Dutch Roman Catholic theologian, mathematician, and astronomer.

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well as Barruel,¹²¹ Damberger,¹²² and others think that the acts of the Council of Constantinople were falsified, in which some words were removed, and others inserted. But this thesis seems to be obsolete. Others hold that Honorius was branded with the mark of heresy by the sixth ecumenical council, not because he himself had been a heretic, but because he favored heresy. So says Garnier¹²³ in his *Dissertation*, which he connected to his *Liber Diurnus Rom. Pont.*, as well as Billuart, in *De incarnatione*, digress. histor., sect. IV — Very many older authors as well as recent ones affirm that the oriental bishops congregated in the council without a doubt condemned the heresy of Honorius, but that their sentence was mitigated in such a way by Leo II and other Roman Pontiffs, that, because of neglect to defend the faith, Honorius should be numbered among those who favored heresy, and not placed together with the heretics because of a false doctrine.

¹²¹ ABBÉ AUGUSTIN BARRUEL (October 2, 1741, Villeneuve-de-Berg, Ardèche — October 5, 1820) was a French Jesuit priest. He is now mostly known for documenting the conspiracy theory involving the Bavarian Illuminati and the Jacobins in his book *Memoirs Illustrating the History of Jacobinism* (original title *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Jacobinisme*) published in 1797. In short, Barruel wrote that the French Revolution was planned and executed by the secret societies.

¹²² JOSEPH FERDINAND DAMBERGER (1 March 1795 — 1 April 1859) was a historian of the Catholic Church. Damberger was born in Passau, Bavaria. After completing his earlier studies in the public schools of his native town, he pursued the study of law at Landshut, then studied theology at Salzburg, Landshut, and Munich, and was ordained a priest in 1818. While at the Munich Lyceum he had also devoted himself to historical studies. Until 1837 he was particularly active as a preacher at Landshut and at St. Cajetan's, Munich. His first historical works appeared in Ratisbon in 1831, three closely related narratives: *Fürstentafel der Staatengeschichte*; *Fürstenbuch zur Fürstentafel der europäischen Staatengeschichte*; *Sechzig genealogische, chronologische und statistische Tabellen zur Fürstentafel und Fürstenbuch*. [1] In 1837 he joined the Society of Jesus, completed his novitiate at Brieg, canton of Valais, Switzerland, where he spent about ten years, partly as a mission-preacher and partly as professor of ecclesiastical history at Lucerne. A collection of his mission sermons was printed (Lucerne, 1842; 2nd ed., 1852), but was violently attacked (*Missionsunfug der Jesuiten*; Bern, 1842). The defeat of the Sonderbund (1847) brought with it the expulsion of the Jesuits from Switzerland. Damberger then spent several years in Innsbruck and Regensburg, and in 1853 became confessor at the Convent of Schäftlarn in Bavaria, where he died. He was working on *Synchronistische Geschichte der Kirche und der Welt im Mittelalter* (Ratisbon, 1850–63). The last volume was finished and published after his death by Father Daniel Rattinger. The narrative reaches the year 1378. In its day it was considered an important piece of work. [1]

¹²³ JEAN GARNIER (11 November 1612 — 26 November 1681) was a French Jesuit church historian, patristic scholar, and moral theologian.

The following hold to this opinion: Anastasius the Librarian¹²⁴ (died 886) in his *Collectanea ad Joannem Diaconum*; Torquemada in his *Summa de Ecclesia*, II, 93; Cariophilus in *Confutatio Nili de primatu papae*, chap. V, who said that the sixth council, when *without the pope* it condemned Honorius, "did absolutely nothing." — Combefis¹²⁵ in *Opera S. Maximi*, t. II, in which he commends this third solution with these words: "This is the defense which is known to the ancients; this is the proven defense." Among the more recent authors there is Schneemann¹²⁶ in *Studien über die Honoriusfrage* (1864); Pennaci, *De Honorii causa in Concilio VI* (1870); Hefele, *Konziliengeschichte* (1877) etc. This sentence seems to be the truer one, for it does not conflict with any ancient document, it is in conformity with solid and completely certain heads of doctrine concerning the authority of the councils, which, no one doubts, can defect sometimes from the truth when separated from the supreme Pastor of the Church, just as all Catholics affirm, namely that decrees of councils of this type can be rescinded or mitigated or determined by the pontifical authority.

¹²⁴ ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS (c. 810 — c. 878) was Head of archives (bibliothecarius, literally "librarian") and antipope of the Roman Catholic Church.

¹²⁵ FRANÇOIS COMBEFIS (or Combefisius) (November 1605 — 23 March 1679) was a French Dominican patrologist. He published previously unedited works by saint John Chrysostom.

¹²⁶ GERHARD SCHNEEMANN (born at Wesel, Lower Rhine, 12 February 1829; d. at Kerkrade, Netherlands, 20 November 1885) was a German Jesuit. After studying law for three years, he entered the seminary at Münster where he was ordained subdeacon in 1850. He became a member of the Society of Jesus, 24 November 1851, and was ordained priest on 22 December 1856. For some years he taught philosophy at Bonn and Aachen, and subsequently lectured on church history and canon law in the Jesuit scholasticate at Maria Laach Abbey. His first notable publication was "Studien über die Honoriusfrage" (Freiburg, 1864) against the opinion of Ignaz von Döllinger. Between the years 1865 and 1870, he contributed a number of dissertations to "Die Encyclica Papst Pius IX" and "Das öcumenische Concil", two series of papers that were published at Freiburg under the general title of *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, later called *Stimmen der Zeit*. In 1871 the *Stimmen* became a regular monthly review and for six years was edited by Schneemann. He was the chief promoter in the collaboration and publication of the *Acta et decreta sacrorum conciliorum recentiorum*, commonly called *Collectio Lacensis*, and died while preparing the documents of the First Vatican Council for the seventh and last volume. His work *Controversiarum de divinae gratiae liberique arbitrii concordia initia et progressus* (Freiburg, 1881), was the occasion of a renewed controversy on the nature of grace and free will.

[74.75] **INSTANCE.** The Third Council of Constantinople was confirmed by Leo II and was called "The holy and universal and great sixth council;" the decree of faith, in which the anathema was pronounced against Honorius was sent to the bishops of Spain for their signature as a "definition of the venerable council." Therefore Leo II had no thought of rescinding the decrees of the sixth council.

[74.76] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the consequent: Leo II rescinded no decree of this council in its totality, *I concede*; did not partially retract the meaning of any decree, *I deny*. The sentence of the conciliar Fathers has value only to the extent that the Supreme Pontiff approves it. But Leo II in his epistle to Constantine Pagonatus, the emperor, confirming the decree of the sixth synod, made a decision concerning the sentence conferred upon Honorius with these words: "We anathematize the inventors of the new heresy...as well as Honorius, who did not illuminate this apostolic Church by means of doctrine of apostolic tradition, but by a profane betrayal permitted the immaculate faith to be subverted." Likewise in his letter to Ervigius, the King of Spain, he condemns Honorius, who "permitted the rule of faith to be stained." In his letter to the Spanish bishops, he wrote that Sergius, Pyrrhus, and others who were branded with the anathema of the sixth council, were conspicuous "for their treason against the purity of apostolic tradition," but said this about Honorius: "He did not extinguish the flame of nascent heretical teaching, as it behooves apostolic authority, but encouraged it by his neglect." What shall we say, therefore? Although the sixth council anathematized Honorius as a heretic, nevertheless that sentence has no value, since the Roman Pontiff did not confirm it in the same sense. This seems to be the true solution of the proposed difficulty, which solution is the old one, as is evident from Anastasius the Librarian (died 886) in his *Collect. ad Joannem Diac.*

[74.77] **OBJECTION VI.** An infallible Pontiff cannot contradict another Pontiff. But a Pontiff, speaking *ex cathedra*, is often found to be

contradicting another Pontiff, speaking the same way. For example, the Bull *Unam Sanctam* of Pope Boniface VIII was abrogated by the Brief *Meruit* of Clement V for France, and Leo X confirmed it.

[74.78] **RESPONSE.** *I distinguish* the major. A pontiff speaking *ex cathedra* cannot contradict another who is speaking with supreme authority, *I concede*; the same must be said of Pontiffs who are not defining, *I deny*. *I distinguish* the minor: those things which are objected here are considered to be said *ex cathedra*, *let it pass*; are said to be authentic documents: *I subdistinguish*: which contradict each other, *I deny*; in which one explains the other, *I concede*. Clement V did not reject the decree *Unam Sanctam*, but pacified the dislike of certain persons for Boniface. This is very important in the responses of Clement V, that through *Unam Sanctam*, the King of France, as well as the Kingdom and its other territories, were "no more" subject to the Church "than they were before."

[74.79] Many other things have been gathered by the adversaries by which they think that the falsity of the pontifical inerrancy is proven. The Magdeburg Centuries¹²⁷ accumulated more than fifty facts with the hope of destroying the pontifical authority. But the matter turned out otherwise. Of these decrees which are said to be erroneous, many are fictitious, or certainly not erroneous, and none is *ex cathedra*.

¹²⁷ THE MAGDEBURG CENTURIES is a celebrated ecclesiastical history, divided into thirteen centuries, covering thirteen hundred years, ending in 1298; it was first published from 1559 to 1574. It was compiled by several Lutheran scholars in Magdeburg, known as the Centuriators of Magdeburg. The chief of the Centuriators was Matthias Flacius.[1] Due to its revolutionary critical method of presenting history, it is the basis of all modern church history.[2] It is said that Baronius undertook his *Annales Ecclesiastici* purely to oppose the Magdeburg Centuriators.

ARTICLE VII
[75]
THE VALUE OF THE SYLLABUS

[75.1] I. WHAT THE SYLLABUS IS. At the occasion and time at which Pope Pius IX decided to write the encyclical *Quanta Cura* to all of the Catholic bishops on the 8th of December, 1864, Cardinal Antonelli, to whom Pius IX confided this thing, sent the Syllabus to all Catholic bishops, which comprises 80 noted propositions. The title of this document is *The Syllabus embracing the principal errors of our age, which are noted in the consistorial allocutions, in encyclicals and other apostolic letters of our Most Holy Father Pope Pius IX.*

[75.2] In that Syllabus no special censure is joined to any proposition by which it is condemned, for example, as heretical, erroneous. But all are shown as *noted*. However, each of the propositions has a note indicating from which act of the Pontiff it is taken. These acts or documents, published by Pius IX, in which the propositions of the Syllabus are condemned, are thirty-two in number, going from November 9, 1846 to December 29, 1864. "It is entirely necessary to consult [those encyclical letters and allocutions] if one wants to discover the true sense in which those pronouncements are censured by the pontifical authority." Cf. *Acta Pii IX, ex quibus excerptus est Syllabus*, in the Preface, which Pius IX approved.

[75.3] II. THE TWOFOLD NOTION OF THE VALUE OF THE SYLLABUS. [A] All Catholics must give the assent of their minds to all doctrines which are given in the Syllabus, for even if the 80 propositions noted in it are not considered to be proscribed by the infallible judgment of the Pontiff, nevertheless the condemnation of these same propositions cannot be called into doubt, since the bishops of the whole Catholic Church solemnly promulgated the doctrine of the Syllabus, as a

doctrine to be held by all the faithful. Therefore, even apart from this question, the value of the Syllabus, with regard to *matter*, will always remain absolutely firm in the practical order.

[75.4] [B] But the propositions of the Syllabus are considered to be condemned by the infallible judgement of the Roman Pontiff. Here it should be noted that it is not said that the propositions *in the Syllabus* are condemned, but the propositions *of the Syllabus*. In other words, the Syllabus can be considered [1] as an authentic collection showing errors condemned elsewhere by Pius IX, and [2] as a document which contains the very act of condemnation. Concerning each of these things I will say a little.

[75.5] III. THE DOCTRINE OF THE SYLLABUS MUST BE TAKEN AS A DOCTRINE NOTED BY THE ROMAN PONTIFF FOR THE WHOLE CHURCH. This is proven (1) by extrinsic reason and (2) by intrinsic reason.

[75.6] [1] *By extrinsic reason.* The extrinsic and indeed certain criterion by which we know that a certain doctrine has been struck by condemnation for the whole Church is without a doubt the mind and agreement of the bishops asserting that the doctrine has been condemned in the aforesaid manner. But there is such an agreement concerning the propositions of the Syllabus. Ergo. The *minor* seems to be certain. Cardinal Franzelin said concerning the agreement: "What shows us most of all the authority which must be attributed to it and the submission of the mind which must be given to the doctrine declared in the Syllabus, is doubtlessly that mind and agreement, at least morally unanimous of the whole Catholic episcopate; for from it can be clearly seen the whole complex of doctrine received as doctrine in the document,

proposed authentically by the supreme teacher of the Church." *Ep.* March 19, 1868.

[2] *An intrinsic reason.* Although the Syllabus, if it is considered entirely separately from its circumstances, in itself and in its own words does not contain those formulas by which doctrinal pronouncements are made by the supreme authority of Roman Pontiffs, nevertheless the circumstances show what we are asking here, namely that the propositions contained in the Syllabus are proscribed by some censure by the Supreme Pontiff for the whole Church, and therefore, by a judgment are condemned, to which judgment all the faithful are bound to adhere both in mind and speech. *The circumstances*, however, by which this is apparent are *the title of the document*, which is entitled "Syllabus Comprising the Principal Errors of Our Time, which are *Noted* in the Consistorial Allocutions, the Encyclicals, and other Apostolic Letters of Our Most Holy Lord Pope Pius IX;" — the letter of Cardinal Antonelli, which he sent to all the Catholic bishops with the Syllabus; — the notice which is attached to each of the theses of the Syllabus, indicating the pontifical documents from which they are drawn; — the Encyclical *Quanta Cura*, written at the same occasion and time as the Syllabus to all the bishops, in which we read these things: "We have condemned the principal errors of our very sad age in many published encyclical letters, and consistorial allocutions, and in other apostolic letters." But these things correspond sufficiently to the title of the Syllabus. From all of these things, it is confirmed that the doctrine which is given in the Syllabus must be taken as a doctrine noted by the Supreme Pontiff for the whole Church.

[75.7] IV. CONCERNING THE QUESTION WHETHER THE PROPOSITIONS OF THE SYLLABUS ARE CONDEMNED ALSO BY A SENTENCE WHICH IS DONE IN THE SYLLABUS, THERE IS A TWOFOLD OPINION.

[75.8] [A] The first opinion is of those who deny that an infallible judgment of the supreme teacher and pastor of the Church was done in the Syllabus. Rinaldi thinks this way, proving indeed in an excellent manner that the *propositions* which the

Syllabus comprises, are condemned by the infallible authority of the supreme pastor, in such a way, however, that the Syllabus itself is an authentic list with its own authority, but is not the sentence itself, which he says is in the documents of Pius IX, which the Syllabus indicates. [B] The other opinion is that in the Syllabus there are not only condemned propositions, but also a condemnation of propositions. I will adduce some testimonies which favor this opinion. Mercurelli, the secretary of Pius IX, on January 14, 1865, wrote concerning the Syllabus of December 8th, 1864: "The errors were again condemned in a global manner." The Synod of Utrecht in 1865 says that the propositions of the Syllabus "were condemned by Pius IX on Dec. 8th, 1864." Therefore they are contained *in* the Syllabus. The Synod of Baltimore in 1866, in the letter to Pius IX: "You have *destroyed* all the modern errors against Faith, as well as heresies which are making progress in whatever way, collected into one volume by means of your Syllabus, as if by using the apostolic sword." Cardinal Mazella teaches that there is no doubt that the Syllabus must be taken as a definition *ex cathedra*. (*De Religione et Ecclesia*, p. 822, ed. 3) There is the letter of Leo XIII to Leopold Dujardin on August 28th, 1879, in which he talks about propositions condemned in the Syllabus. But then the same Pontiff wrote in this way: "Pius IX, as the opportunity presented itself to him, noted many false opinions which were beginning to become very strong, and these same later he ordered to be collected into one, in order that in such a great collection of errors Catholics might have what they could follow without stumbling." *Immortale Dei*.

[75.9] These things having been explained, I would not dare to say whether or not the Syllabus constitutes a document pronounced *ex cathedra*. Pius IX did not declare the Syllabus to be a document *de fide* in *Quanta Cura*, nor in any other letter did he ever affirm this to the bishops of the Catholic Church. For the same reason, the author of the Commentary on the Constitution *Officiorum act. Munerum*, in the *Acta Sanctæ Sedis*, vol. XXX, 1897-1898, p. 307, gives his pronouncement very humbly: "This thesis, [whether or not the Syllabus constitutes

a document pronounced *ex cathedra*] always has seemed to us and seems very difficult to prove.”

[75.10] V. WHAT IS THE PRACTICAL VALUE OF THE SYLLABUS. Cardinal Franzelin, in his letter cited above, says: “Although, therefore, considering only the manner in which the encyclical *Quanta Cura* and the Syllabus at first were published, we are able to recognize a distinction between the former which emanated immediately from the Pope himself, and the latter, which indeed contains sentences of the Pope from other documents, but which under this form seems to have been communicated to the bishops only by the order of the same Pontiff. Nevertheless, when one considers all of the circumstances, and most of all the manner in which each document has been held in the Church by a moral consent, as if of the same *ratio*, practically the Syllabus has the same value as the Encyclical itself.” Beware, however, that you conclude from this that there is no longer a need to make any further distinction.

[75.11] [A] And indeed if for all and each of the propositions of the Syllabus we would like to discover the grade by which each is condemned by the judgment of the Pontiff, it seems that one must have recourse to those acts from which Pius IX ordered the propositions to be gathered into one. For to someone who looks at these things, the solution will be apparent if he should follow two rules. [1] Whenever it is certain that some proposition has been proscribed with the will of obliging definitively the universal Church by the authority of the Supreme Pontiff, then without a doubt this proposition must be held to be

condemned by an infallible judgment. [2] It is necessary that the censures which are affixed in the pontifical documents to each of the theses be considered. The propositions in the Syllabus are all shown as *noted*. But to be *noted* is also said of those propositions which the Church condemns by an inferior censure. Nevertheless, it is certain for other reasons that some theses, for example, the first, are heretical; others are not heretical, but are offensive to the Apostolic See, false, etc. e.g., thesis 38. From these things, it is certain that the Syllabus is not a list of propositions which have been condemned, each and every one, by a dogmatic declaration; on the other hand, they would err greatly if they contended that no proposition is proscribed with a dogmatic sentence, which is contained in that catalogue. One should also recall what we said on pages 379-389 concerning censures, and concerning the faith by which truths proposed by the Church must be believed.

[75.12] [B] If we are speaking about censures to be incurred, this rule seems to be in effect from the *Acta Sanctæ Sedis*: “Those who defend errors condemned in the Syllabus, inasmuch as it is the Syllabus...incur no excommunication, since it not endowed with any sanction or penalty by Pius IX.” ASS, vol. XXX, 1897-1898., p. 309. However it is possible that someone who should defend one of these errors be heretical, because an error of this type is proscribed as heretical in another definition *de fide*.

ARTICLE VIII

[76]

THE AUTHORITY OF THE ROMAN CONGREGATIONS IN DOCTRINES OF FAITH AND MORALS

[76.1] I. THE ROMAN CONGREGATIONS are groups of cardinals constituted by the Roman

Pontiff as supreme tribunals for the purpose of directing, discussing, and deciding certain affairs of

the Church. The first congregation is considered to be the tribunal of the Inquisition, which was constituted by Paul III in 1542. Later more congregations were created by diverse Pontiffs. Each congregation has a *prefect*, which is either the Supreme Pontiff himself or some cardinal, a *secretary*, who is sometimes a cardinal, and sometimes a bishop or inferior prelate; and many cardinal *judges*. Pious and learned men are added as *consultors*. [See Canon Law for the list of Congregations and their functions].

[76.2] II. THE DOCTRINAL AUTHORITY OF THE CONGREGATIONS OF THE INQUISITION AND THE INDEX. The jurisdiction of the Roman Congregations, since it is exercised in the name of the Roman Pontiff, is *universal* and *apostolic*. That it is also ordinary is clear from the bull of Sixtus V *Immensa*, in 1587. We do not go further in explaining the authority of all the congregations, but we will speak here only about the Inquisition and the Index, to which it pertains principally to make decisions concerning doctrine. But the whole authority of the congregations is taken from the Roman Pontiff, of whom they are organs. Therefore one must inquire in what sense the doctrinal decisions of the Inquisition and the Index are done with the authority of the Pontiff. In this matter, three things should be recalled.

[76.3] [1] In the decrees of the Inquisition, there is first a session in which the cause to be decided is prepared, and then a second session, in which the inquisitor cardinals are accustomed to give their vote, and then a third session, which is called *solemn*, in which the matter is brought to an end. In the solemn session, the Roman Pontiff presides. For this reason, there is always this formula: *Sanctissimus decrevit* —The decrees of the Index are not published without the consent of the Roman Pontiff. In the current practice of the Curia, the approbation of the Pontiff is done at the end of the decree: *Quibus Sanctissimo Domino Nostro N. per me infrascriptum Sacrae Congregationis a secretis relatis Sanctitas Sua decretum probavit and promulgari praecepit.*

[76.4] [2] The approbation of the Pontiff is either *common* or *solemn*. Common approbation is

that by which the decree of the Congregation is approved by the Pontiff in such a way that the decree does not cease to be the act of the Congregation. That approval is solemn, when the decree is approved in such a way that the Pope *makes the whole thing his own*, although a certain mention is made for the purpose of indicating the previous examination of the Congregation. This act is customarily done in the form of a *bull*, such as the Bull of Pius V, *Ex omnibus afflictionibus*, Oct 1, 1567, against Baius, of Innocent X, *Cum occasione*, May 31, 1653 against Jansenius. Only that formula, however, by which it is customarily expressed, that His Holiness has approved the decree and has ordered it to be promulgated, does not have that power that a decree of this type obtain any other authority than what is proper to the Congregation.

[76.5] [3] The doctrinal decrees of the Inquisition and the Index, which are published with solemn approbation and as papal acts, must be held as infallible declarations. However, the other kind of decree, which is published only with the common approbation of the Pontiff, and as an act of the Congregation, indeed provides to the theologian a very serious argument, but not infallible. Hence Gotti says: "A controversy of faith cannot be decided by the Congregation of the Inquisition in such a way that it becomes an article of faith, and that those who dissent from it are immediately heretics in virtue solely of the judgment of the Sacred Congregation." *De locis theol.* I, 3, dub. 9, § 2, no. 12. And certainly the Pontiff cannot delegate his infallibility to the Congregation; the care of watching over the safety of the doctrine can be delegated, and in fact, he does delegate it to the Congregations, although they continue to depend on the Pontiff.

[76.6] III. WHAT ASSENT IS OWED TO THE DOCTRINAL DECREES WHICH ARE PUBLISHED ONLY WITH THE COMMON APPROBATION OF THE PONTIFF, EITHER BY THE CONGREGATION OF THE INQUISITION OR BY THE INDEX? There is not required an assent of faith which is *properly and immediately divine*, which is given because of the authority of God revealing, nor an assent of

ecclesiastical faith, which is due to that authority defining a truth infallibly, but the assent of obsequious silence is not sufficient. But it is necessary that we give to the decrees concerning which we spoke a religious assent which is at once external and internal. There are grades of internal assent; the religious and internal assent is not metaphysical and the highest, but we understand it to be of a certain moral nature. This inferior grade of assent corresponds to the inferior grade of authority. Cf. *Gotti, l.c.* An example would be two men, Antonio Rosmini and Vincenzo Gioberti. The first, when his works were condemned, namely *Cinque Piaghe della Santa Chiesa* and *Costituzioni secondo la giustizia sociale*, he laudably submitted himself. The other, when his book entitled *Gesuita moderno* was condemned, he maintained silence. Because of this submission, Kraus very rightly praised the humility of Vincenzo and his devout mind of the Church. However, it could happen, when it concerns a decree that is not truly infallible, that a certain fear of the opposite remain.

[76.7] IV. THREE PRINCIPAL REASONS DEMAND THIS ASSENT. [1] The Congregations, by which decrees of this type are published, and which are approved by the Roman Pontiff for the purpose of preserving doctrine, are considered to express the doctrine of the Roman Church with moral certitude, and there seems to be a certain divine assistance which redounds on them. — [2] The decision of very wise men must be taken very seriously, and furthermore it is correct that Catholics are satisfied with it, since the facts and such a great multitude of decrees show how safely we are to follow the decrees of the Congregations. [3] Pius IX, in his letter *Libenter Accepimus* to the Archbishop of Munich, writes that the obligation “by which Catholic teachers and writers are completely bound” is not limited to those things only “which are proposed by the infallible judgment of the Church, as dogmas of faith to be believed by all.” Then he adds: “Since it is a matter of that subjection by which in conscience all those Catholics are bound who work in the speculative sciences, in order that they might bring new advantages to the Church by their

writings, on that account then, the men of the same convention should recognize that it is not sufficient for learned Catholics to *accept* and revere the aforesaid dogmas of the Church, but that it is also necessary to subject themselves to the decisions pertaining to doctrine which are issued by the Pontifical Congregations, and also to those forms of doctrine which are held by the common and constant consent of Catholics as theological truths and conclusions, so certain that opinions opposed to these same forms of doctrine, although they cannot be called heretical, nevertheless deserve some theological censure.” Cf. *Gotti, l.c.*

[76.8] V. AN OBJECTION FROM THE CONDEMNATION OF GALILEO GALILEI. The doctrine of Galileo concerning the immobility of the sun and the mobility of the earth was condemned in Rome on March 5, 1616. Paul V, the Pope, when the decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Index was made known to him, ordered the edict to be published. In the decree that was published on March 6, 1616, the aforesaid doctrine is said to be against Sacred Scripture. Galileo, despite the decree again taught his system, first in a book entitled *Saggiatore*, then in the *Dialogo di Galileo Galilei delli due massimi sistemi del mondo, Tolemaico e Copernicano*, Florence, 1632. Then on June 22, 1633, the sentence came forth from the Sacred Congregation of the Inquisition by which it was determined that the book, *Dialogorum Galilei Galilei* should be prohibited by public edict, and the author himself was sent to prison. On the same day Galileo abjured before the Cardinals in Rome in the convent of the Minerva. It said that Galileo, after having taken the oath said, “*E pur si muove.*” But this is a fable. The first mention of it is in the works the Abbot Iraitl, *Querelles Littéraires*. The martyrdom of the very famous man never took place. He died piously on January 8, 1642.

[76.9] QUESTION: WAS THERE A DOCTRINAL EDICT AGAINST GALILEO?

[76.10] RESPONSE: The key to this question lies in this: whether the decree of the Index in the year 1616 was a mere disciplinary decree or a

doctrinal one. There is a twofold opinion. Some say that the decree was essentially disciplinary. For we read in the decree: "Because it has come to the knowledge of the aforesaid Sacred Congregation that that false pythagorean doctrine, which is entirely contrary to divine scripture, concerning the mobility of the earth and the immobility of the sun...has already been spread abroad and has been received by many, therefore lest an opinion of this kind be spread about for the destruction of Catholic truth, [the Congregation] has decided that...all the books teaching this same thing should be prohibited, according as, by the present decree, it prohibits, condemns and suspends." From these words they infer that indeed the doctrine was the *motive* of the decree but that the matter decreed was only a prohibition of the books. Scheeben, *Handbuch der katholischen Dogmatik*, and Jauguey, *Le procès de Galilée*, p. 73.

[76.11] [2] Others affirm that the decree is dogmatic, or if it is primarily disciplinary, it is certainly secondarily dogmatic. Bouix, *Revue des sciences ecclésiastiques*. 1866. Grisar, *Galileistudien*, page 151. The principal argument of this opinion seems to be that in other documents pertaining to the question of Galileo, the falsehood of the Copernican doctrine is said to be declared and defined. In the decision of June 22, 1633, we find these things: "In order that such a pernicious doctrine be taken away entirely, and lest it spread further to the grave detriment of Catholic truth, a decree came forth from the Sacred Congregation of the Index by which the books were prohibited which treat of such doctrine, and it was declared false and entirely contrary to sacred and divine Scripture."

[76.12] Whatever is the case, in the cause of Galileo there is nothing found which is defined *ex cathedra* by the Roman Pontiffs; nor can anything be adduced from the condemnation of the persons or the doctrine which is contrary to the dogma of Pontifical inerrancy.

[76.13] **INSTANCE.** From the acts of the Inquisition it is certain that, when the decree was read, the Pontiff ordered "that the decree be published."

[76.14] **RESPONSE.** The Pontiff ordered, but did not take the matter to himself as if he himself were speaking *ex cathedra*, using his supreme authority. Therefore the Pontiff ordered the Congregation to act as a Congregation. So the decree was published as an act of the Congregation.

Because of this, many prudent men did not think that a definitive sentence of the supreme authority had been handed down, e.g., Riccioli, Marinus Mersenne, Libertus Fromond, Gassendi, concerning which cf. Grisar (and other references in book).

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SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

QUESTION 8.

THE GRACE OF CHRIST, AS HE IS THE HEAD OF THE CHURCH

1. Is Christ the Head of the Church?
2. Is He the Head of men as regards their bodies or only as regards their souls?
3. Is He the Head of all men?
4. Is He the Head of the angels?
5. Is the grace of Christ as Head of the Church the same as His habitual grace as an individual man?
6. Is to be Head of the Church proper to Christ?
7. Is the devil the head of all the wicked?
8. Can Anti-Christ be called the head of all the wicked?

Article 1. Whether Christ is the Head of the Church?

Objection 1. It would seem that it does not belong to Christ as man to be Head of the Church. For the head imparts sense and motion to the members. Now spiritual sense and motion which are by grace, are not imparted to us by the Man Christ, because, as Augustine says (De Trin. i, 12; xv, 24), "not even Christ, as man, but only as God, bestows the Holy Ghost." Therefore it does not belong to Him as man to be Head of the Church.

Objection 2. Further, it is not fitting for the head to have a head. But God is the Head of Christ, as man, according to 1 Corinthians 11:3, "The Head of Christ is God." Therefore Christ Himself is not a head.

Objection 3. Furthermore, the head of a man is a particular member, receiving an influx from the heart. But Christ is the universal principle of the whole Church. Therefore He is not the Head of the Church.

On the contrary, It is written (Ephesians 1:22): "And He . . . hath made Him head over all the Church."

I answer that, As the whole Church is termed one mystic body from its likeness to the natural body of a man, which in divers members has divers acts, as the Apostle teaches (Romans 12; 1 Corinthians 12), so likewise Christ is called the Head of the Church from a likeness with the human head, in which we may consider three things, viz. order, perfection, and power: "Order," indeed; for the head is the first part of man, beginning from the higher part; and hence it is that every principle is usually called a head according to Ezekiel 16:25: "At every head of the way, thou hast set up a sign of thy prostitution"--"Perfection," inasmuch as in the head dwell all the senses, both interior and exterior, whereas in the other members there is only touch, and hence it is said (Isaiah 9:15): "The aged and honorable, he is the head"--"Power," because the power and movement of the other members, together with the direction of them in their acts, is from the head, by reason of the sensitive and motive power there ruling; hence the ruler is called the head of a people, according to 1 Samuel 15:17: "When thou wast a little one in thy own eyes, wast thou not made the head of the tribes of Israel?" Now these three things belong spiritually to Christ. First, on account of His nearness to God His grace is the highest and first, though not in time, since all have received grace on account of His grace, according to Romans 8:29: "For whom He foreknew, He also predestinated to be made conformable to the image of His Son; that He might be the first-born amongst many brethren." Secondly, He had perfection as regards the fulness of all graces, according to John 1:14, "We saw Him [Vulgate: 'His glory'] . . . full of grace and truth," as was shown, 7, 91. Thirdly, He has the power of bestowing grace on all the members of the Church, according to John 1:16: "Of His fulness we have all received." And thus it is plain that Christ is fittingly called the Head of the Church.

Reply to Objection 1. To give grace or the Holy Ghost belongs to Christ as He is God, authoritatively; but instrumentally it belongs also to Him as man, inasmuch as His manhood is the instrument of His Godhead. And hence by the power of the Godhead His actions were beneficial, i.e. by causing grace in us, both meritoriously and efficiently. But Augustine denies that Christ as man gives the Holy Ghost authoritatively. Even other saints are said to give the Holy Ghost instrumentally, or ministerially, according to Galatians 3:5: "He . . . who giveth to you the Spirit."

Reply to Objection 2. In metaphorical speech we must not expect a likeness in all respects; for thus there would be not likeness but identity. Accordingly a natural head has not another head because one human body is not part of another; but a metaphorical body, i.e. an ordered multitude, is part of another multitude as the domestic multitude is part of the civil multitude; and hence the father who is head of the domestic multitude has

a head above him, i.e. the civil governor. And hence there is no reason why God should not be the Head of Christ, although Christ Himself is Head of the Church.

Reply to Objection 3. The head has a manifest pre-eminence over the other exterior members; but the heart has a certain hidden influence. And hence the Holy Ghost is likened to the heart, since He invisibly quickens and unifies the Church; but Christ is likened to the Head in His visible nature in which man is set over man.

Article 2.

Whether Christ is the Head of men as to their bodies or only as to their souls?

Objection 1. It would seem that Christ is not the Head of men as to their bodies. For Christ is said to be the Head of the Church inasmuch as He bestows spiritual sense and the movement of grace on the Church. But a body is not capable of this spiritual sense and movement. Therefore Christ is not the Head of men as regards their bodies.

Objection 2. Further, we share bodies with the brutes. If therefore Christ was the Head of men as to their bodies, it would follow that He was the Head of brute animals; and this is not fitting.

Objection 3. Further, Christ took His body from other men, as is clear from Matthew 1 and Luke 3. But the head is the first of the members, as was said above (1, ad 3). Therefore Christ is not the Head of the Church as regards bodies.

On the contrary, It is written (Philippians 3:21): "Who will reform the body of our lowliness, made like to the body of His glory."

I answer that, The human body has a natural relation to the rational soul, which is its proper form and motor. Inasmuch as the soul is its form, it receives from the soul life and the other properties which belong specifically to man; but inasmuch as the soul is its motor, the body serves the soul instrumentally. Therefore we must hold that the manhood of Christ had the power of "influence," inasmuch as it is united to the Word of God, to Whom His body is united through the soul, as stated above (Question 6, Article 1). Hence the whole manhood of Christ, i.e. according to soul and body, influences all, both in soul and body; but principally the soul, and secondarily the body: First, inasmuch as the "members of the body are presented as instruments of justice" in the soul that lives through Christ, as the Apostle says (Romans 6:13): secondly, inasmuch as the life of glory flows from the soul on to the body, according to Romans 8:11: "He that raised up Jesus from the dead shall quicken also your mortal bodies, because of His Spirit that dwelleth in you."

Reply to Objection 1. The spiritual sense of grace does not reach to the body first and principally, but secondarily and instrumentally, as was said above.

Reply to Objection 2. The body of an animal has no relation to a rational soul, as the human body has. Hence there is no parity.

Reply to Objection 3. Although Christ drew the matter of His body from other men, yet all draw from Him the immortal life of their body, according to 1 Corinthians 15:22: "And as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive."

Article 3.

Whether Christ is the Head of all men?

Objection 1. It would seem that Christ is not the Head of all men. For the head has no relation except to the members of its body. Now the unbaptized are nowise members of the Church which is the body of Christ, as it is written (Ephesians 1:23). Therefore Christ is not the Head of all men.

Objection 2. Further, the Apostle writes to the Ephesians (5:25-27): "Christ delivered Himself up for" the Church "that He might present it to Himself a glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing." But there are many of the faithful in whom is found the spot or the wrinkle of sin. Therefore Christ is not the Head of all the faithful.

Objection 3. Further, the sacraments of the Old Law are compared to Christ as the shadow to the body, as is written (Colossians 2:17). But the fathers of the Old Testament in their day served unto these sacraments, according to Hebrews 8:5: "Who serve unto the example and shadow of heavenly things." Hence they did not pertain to Christ's body, and therefore Christ is not the Head of all men.

On the contrary, It is written (1 Timothy 4:10): "Who is the Saviour of all men, especially of the faithful," and (1 John 2:2): "He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for those of the whole world." Now to save men and to be a propitiation for their sins belongs to Christ as Head. Therefore Christ is the Head of all men.

I answer that, This is the difference between the natural body of man and the Church's mystical body, that the members of the natural body are all together, and the members of the mystical are not all together—neither as regards their natural being, since the body of the Church is made up of the men who have been from the beginning of the world until its end—nor as regards their supernatural being, since, of those who are at any one time, some there are who are without grace, yet will afterwards obtain it, and some have it already. We must therefore consider the members of the mystical body not only as they are in act, but as they are in potentiality. Nevertheless, some are in potentiality who will never be reduced to act, and some are reduced at some time to act; and this according to the triple class, of which the first is by faith, the second by the charity of this life, the third by the fruition of the life to come. Hence we must say that if we take the whole time of the world in general, Christ is the Head of all men, but diversely. For, first and principally, He is the Head of such as are united to Him by glory; secondly, of those who are actually united to Him by charity; thirdly, of those who are actually united to Him by faith; fourthly, of those who are united to Him merely in potentiality, which is not yet reduced to act, yet will be reduced to act according to Divine predestination; fifthly, of those who are united to Him in potentiality, which will never be reduced to act; such are those men existing in the world, who are not predestined, who, however, on their departure from this world, wholly cease to be members of Christ, as being no longer in potentiality to be united to Christ.

Reply to Objection 1. Those who are unbaptized, though not actually in the Church, are in the Church potentially. And this potentiality is rooted in two things—first and principally, in the power of Christ, which is sufficient for the salvation of the whole human race; secondly, in free-will.

Reply to Objection 2. To be "a glorious Church not having spot or wrinkle" is the ultimate end to which we are brought by the Passion of Christ. Hence this will be in heaven, and not on earth, in which "if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves," as is written (1 John 1:8). Nevertheless, there are some, viz. mortal, sins from which they are free who are members of Christ by the actual union of charity; but such as are tainted with these sins are not members of Christ actually, but potentially; except, perhaps, imperfectly, by formless faith, which unites to God, relatively but not simply, viz. so that man partake of the life of grace. For, as is written (James 2:20): "Faith without works is dead." Yet such as these receive from Christ a certain vital act, i.e. to believe, as if a lifeless limb were moved by a man to some extent.

Reply to Objection 3. The holy Fathers made use of the legal sacraments, not as realities, but as images and shadows of what was to come. Now it is the same motion to an image as image, and to the reality, as is clear from the Philosopher (De Memor. et Remin. ii). Hence the ancient Fathers, by observing the legal sacraments, were borne to Christ by the same faith and love whereby we also are borne to Him, and hence the ancient Fathers belong to the same Church as we.

Article 4. Whether Christ is the Head of the angels?

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Objection 1. It would seem that Christ as man is not the head of the angels. For the head and members are of one nature. But Christ as man is not of the same nature with the angels, but only with men, since, as is written (Hebrews 2:16): "For nowhere doth He take hold of the angels, but of the seed of Abraham He taketh hold." Therefore Christ as man is not the head of the angels.

Objection 2. Further, Christ is the head of such as belong to the Church, which is His Body, as is written (Ephesians 1:23). But the angels do not belong to the Church. For the Church is the congregation of the faithful: and in the angels there is no faith, for they do not "walk by faith" but "by sight," otherwise they would be "absent from the Lord," as the Apostle argues (2 Corinthians 5:6-7). Therefore Christ as man is not head of the angels.

Objection 3. Further, Augustine says (Tract. xix; xxxiii in Joan.), that as "the Word" which "was in the beginning with the Father" quickens souls, so the "Word made flesh" quickens bodies, which angels lack. But the Word made flesh is Christ as man. Therefore Christ as man does not give life to angels, and hence as man He is not the head of the angels.

On the contrary, The Apostle says (Colossians 2:10), "Who is the head of all Principality and Power," and the same reason holds good with the other orders of angels. Therefore Christ is the Head of the angels.

I answer that, As was said above (1, ad 2), where there is one body we must allow that there is one head. Now a multitude ordained to one end, with distinct acts and duties, may be metaphorically called one body. But it is manifest that both men and angels are ordained to one end, which is the glory of the Divine fruition. Hence the mystical body of the Church consists not only of men but of angels. Now of all this multitude Christ is the Head, since He is nearer God, and shares His gifts more fully, not only than man, but even than angels; and of His influence not only men but even angels partake, since it is written (Ephesians 1:20-22): that God the Father set "Him," namely Christ, "on His right hand in the heavenly places, above all Principality and Power and Virtue and Dominion and every name that is named not only in this world, but also in that which is to come. And He hath subjected all things under His feet." Therefore Christ is not only the Head of men, but of angels. Hence we read (Matthew 4:11) that "angels came and ministered to Him."

Reply to Objection 1. Christ's influence over men is chiefly with regard to their souls; wherein men agree with angels in generic nature, though not in specific nature. By reason of this agreement Christ can be said to be the Head of the angels, although the agreement falls short as regards the body.

Reply to Objection 2. The Church, on earth, is the congregation of the faithful; but, in heaven, it is the congregation of comprehensors. Now Christ was not merely a wayfarer, but a comprehensor. And therefore He is the Head not merely of the faithful, but of comprehensors, as having grace and glory most fully.

Reply to Objection 3. Augustine here uses the similitude of cause and effect, i.e. inasmuch as corporeal things act on bodies, and spiritual things on spiritual things. Nevertheless, the humanity of Christ, by virtue of the spiritual nature, i.e. the Divine, can cause something not only in the spirits of men, but also in the spirits of angels, on account of its most close conjunction with God, i.e. by personal union.

Article 5.

Whether the grace of Christ, as Head of the Church, is the same as His habitual grace, inasmuch as He is Man?

Objection 1. It would seem that the grace whereby Christ is Head of the Church and the individual grace of the Man are not the same. For the Apostle says (Romans 5:15): "If by the offense of one many died, much more the grace of God and the gift, by the grace of one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many." But the actual sin of Adam is distinct from original sin which he transmitted to his posterity. Hence the personal grace which is proper to Christ is distinct from His grace, inasmuch as He is the Head of the Church, which flows to others from Him.

Objection 2. Further, habits are distinguished by acts. But the personal grace of Christ is ordained to one act, viz. the sanctification of His soul; and the capital grace is ordained to another, viz. to sanctifying others. Therefore the personal grace of Christ is distinct from His grace as He is the Head of the Church.

Objection 3. Further, as was said above (Question 6, Article 6), in Christ we distinguish a threefold grace, viz. the grace of union, capital grace, and the individual grace of the Man. Now the individual grace of Christ is distinct from the grace of union. Therefore it is also distinct from the capital grace.

On the contrary, It is written (John 1:16): "Of His fulness we all have received." Now He is our Head, inasmuch as we receive from Him. Therefore He is our Head, inasmuch as He has the fulness of grace. Now He had the fulness of grace, inasmuch as personal grace was in Him in its perfection, as was said above (Question 7, Article 9). Hence His capital and personal grace are not distinct.

I answer that, Since everything acts inasmuch as it is a being in act, it must be the same act whereby it is in act and whereby it acts, as it is the same heat whereby fire is hot and whereby it heats. Yet not every act whereby anything is in act suffices for its being the principle of acting upon others. For since the agent is nobler than the patient, as Augustine says (Gen. ad lit. xii, 16) and the Philosopher (De Anima iii, 19), the agent must act on others by reason of a certain pre-eminence. Now it was said above (1, 7, 9) grace was received by the soul of Christ in the highest way; and therefore from this pre-eminence of grace which He received, it is from Him that this grace is bestowed on others—and this belongs to the nature of head. Hence the personal grace, whereby the soul of Christ is justified, is essentially the same as His grace, as He is the Head of the Church, and justifies others; but there is a distinction of reason between them.

Reply to Objection 1. Original sin in Adam, which is a sin of the nature, is derived from his actual sin, which is a personal sin, because in him the person corrupted the nature; and by means of this corruption the sin of the first man is transmitted to posterity, inasmuch as the corrupt nature corrupts the person. Now grace is not vouchsafed us by means of human nature, but solely by the personal action of Christ Himself. Hence we must not

distinguish a twofold grace in Christ, one corresponding to the nature, the other to the person as in Adam we distinguish the sin of the nature and of the person.

Reply to Objection 2. Different acts, one of which is the reason and the cause of the other, do not diversify a habit. Now the act of the personal grace which is formally to sanctify its subject, is the reason of the justification of others, which pertains to capital grace. Hence it is that the essence of the habit is not diversified by this difference.

Reply to Objection 3. Personal and capital grace are ordained to an act; but the grace of union is not ordained to an act, but to the personal being. Hence the personal and the capital grace agree in the essence of the habit; but the grace of union does not, although the personal grace can be called in a manner the grace of union, inasmuch as it brings about a fitness for the union; and thus the grace of union, the capital, and the personal grace are one in essence, though there is a distinction of reason between them.

Article 6.

Whether it is proper to Christ to be Head of the Church?

Objection 1. It seems that it is not proper to Christ to be Head of the Church. For it is written (1 Samuel 15:17): "When thou wast a little one in thy own eyes, wast thou not made the head of the tribes of Israel?" Now there is but one Church in the New and the Old Testament. Therefore it seems that with equal reason any other man than Christ might be head of the Church. Kings

Objection 2. Further, Christ is called Head of the Church from His bestowing grace on the Church's members. But it belongs to others also to grant grace to others, according to Ephesians 4:29: "Let no evil speech proceed from your mouth; but that which is good to the edification of faith, that it may administer grace to the hearers." Therefore it seems to belong also to others than Christ to be head of the Church.

Objection 3. Further, Christ by His ruling over the Church is not only called "Head," but also "Shepherd" and "Foundation." Now Christ did not retain for Himself alone the name of Shepherd, according to 1 Peter 5:4, "And when the prince of pastors shall appear, you shall receive a never-fading crown of glory"; nor the name of Foundation, according to Apocalypse 21:14: "And the wall of the city had twelve foundations." Therefore it seems that He did not retain the name of Head for Himself alone.

On the contrary, It is written (Colossians 2:19): "The head" of the Church is that "from which the whole body, by joints and bands being supplied with nourishment and compacted groweth unto the increase of God." But this belongs only to Christ. Therefore Christ alone is Head of the Church.

I answer that, The head influences the other members in two ways. First, by a certain intrinsic influence, inasmuch as motive and sensitive force flow from the head to the other members; secondly, by a certain exterior guidance, inasmuch as by sight and the senses, which are rooted in the head, man is guided in his exterior acts. Now the interior influx of grace is from no one save Christ, Whose manhood, through its union with the Godhead, has the power of justifying; but the influence over the members of the Church, as regards their exterior guidance, can belong to others; and in this way others may be called heads of the Church, according to Amos 6:1, "Ye great men, heads of the people"; differently, however, from Christ. First, inasmuch as Christ is the Head of all who pertain to the Church in every place and time and state; but all other men are called heads with reference to certain special places, as bishops of their Churches. Or with reference to a determined time as the Pope is the head of the whole Church, viz. during the time of his Pontificate, and with reference to a determined state, inasmuch as they are in the state of wayfarers. Secondly, because Christ is the Head of the Church by His own power and authority; while others are called heads, as taking Christ's place, according to 2 Corinthians 2:10, "For what I have pardoned, if I have pardoned anything, for your sakes I have done it in the person of Christ," and 2 Corinthians 5:20, "For Christ therefore we are ambassadors, God, as it were, exhorting by us."

Reply to Objection 1. The word "head" is employed in that passage in regard to exterior government; as a king is said to be the head of his kingdom.

Reply to Objection 2. Man does not distribute grace by interior influx, but by exteriorly persuading to the effects of grace.

Reply to Objection 3. As Augustine says (Tract. xlvii in Joan.): "If the rulers of the Church are Shepherds, how is there one Shepherd, except that all these are members of one Shepherd?" So likewise others may be called foundations and heads, inasmuch as they are members of the one Head and Foundation. Nevertheless, as Augustine says (Tract. xlvii), "He gave to His members to be shepherds; yet none of us calleth himself the Door."

He kept this for Himself alone." And this because by door is implied the principal authority, inasmuch as it is by the door that all enter the house; and it is Christ alone by "Whom also we have access . . . into this grace, wherein we stand" (Romans 5:2); but by the other names above-mentioned there may be implied not merely the principal but also the secondary authority.

Article 7.

Whether the devil is the head of all the wicked?

Objection 1. It would seem that the devil is not the head of the wicked. For it belongs to the head to diffuse sense and movement into the members, as a gloss says, on Ephesians 1:22, "And made Him head," etc. But the devil has no power of spreading the evil of sin, which proceeds from the will of the sinner. Therefore the devil cannot be called the head of the wicked.

Objection 2. Further, by every sin a man is made evil. But not every sin is from the devil; and this is plain as regards the demons, who did not sin through the persuasion of another; so likewise not every sin of man proceeds from the devil, for it is said (De Eccles. Dogm. lxxxii): "Not all our wicked thoughts are always raised up by the suggestion of the devil; but sometimes they spring from the movement of our will." Therefore the devil is not the head of all the wicked.

Objection 3. Further, one head is placed on one body. But the whole multitude of the wicked do not seem to have anything in which they are united, for evil is contrary to evil and springs from divers defects, as Dionysius says (Div. Nom. iv). Therefore the devil cannot be called the head of all the wicked.

On the contrary, A gloss [St. Gregory, Moral. xiv] on Job 18:17, "Let the memory of him perish from the earth," says: "This is said of every evil one, yet so as to be referred to the head," i.e. the devil.

I answer that, As was said above (Article 6), the head not only influences the members interiorly, but also governs them exteriorly, directing their actions to an end. Hence it may be said that anyone is the head of a multitude, either as regards both, i.e. by interior influence and exterior governance, and thus Christ is the Head of the Church, as was stated (6); or as regards exterior governance, and thus every prince or prelate is head of the multitude subject to him. And in this way the devil is head of all the wicked. For, as is written (Job 41:25): "He is king over all the children of pride." Now it belongs to a governor to lead those whom he governs to their end. But the end of the devil is the aversion of the rational creature from God; hence from the beginning he has endeavored to lead man from obeying the Divine precept. But aversion from God has the nature of an end, inasmuch as it is sought for under the appearance of liberty, according to Jeremiah 2:20: "Of old time thou hast broken my yoke, thou hast burst my bands, and thou saidst, 'I will not serve.'" Hence, inasmuch as some are brought to this end by sinning, they fall under the rule and government of the devil, and therefore he is called their head.

Reply to Objection 1. Although the devil does not influence the rational mind interiorly, yet he beguiles it to evil by persuasion.

Reply to Objection 2. A governor does not always suggest to his subjects to obey his will; but proposes to all the sign of his will, in consequence of which some are incited by inducement, and some of their own free-will, as is plain in the leader of an army, whose standard all the soldiers follow, though no one persuades them. Therefore in the same way, the first sin of the devil, who "sinneth from the beginning" (1 John 3:8), is held out to all to be followed, and some imitate at his suggestion, and some of their own will without any suggestion. And hence the devil is the head of all the wicked, inasmuch as they imitate Him, according to Wisdom 2:24-25: "By the envy of the devil, death came into the world. And they follow him that are of his side."

Reply to Objection 3. All sins agree in aversion from God, although they differ by conversion to different changeable goods.

Article 8.

Whether Anti-Christ may be called the head of all the wicked?

Objection 1. It would seem that Anti-Christ is not the head of the wicked. For there are not several heads of one body. But the devil is the head of the multitude of the wicked. Therefore Anti-Christ is not their head.

Objection 2. Further, Anti-Christ is a member of the devil. Now the head is distinguished from the members. Therefore Anti-Christ is not the head of the wicked.

Objection 3. Further, the head has an influence over the members. But Anti-Christ has no influence over the wicked who have preceded him. Therefore Anti-Christ is not the head of the wicked.

On the contrary, A gloss [St. Gregory, Moral. xv] on Job 21:29, "Ask any of them that go by the way," says: "Whilst he was speaking of the body of all the wicked, suddenly he turned his speech to Anti-Christ the head of all evil-doers."

I answer that, As was said above (Article 1), in the head are found three things: order, perfection, and the power of influencing. But as regards the order of the body, Anti-Christ is not said to be the head of the wicked as if his sin had preceded, as the sin of the devil preceded. So likewise he is not called the head of the wicked from the power of influencing, although he will pervert some in his day by exterior persuasion; nevertheless those who were before him were not beguiled into wickedness by him nor have imitated his wickedness. Hence he cannot be called the head of all the wicked in this way, but of some. Therefore it remains to be said that he is the head of all the wicked by reason of the perfection of his wickedness. Hence, on 2 Thessalonians 2:4, "Showing himself as if he were God," a gloss says: "As in Christ dwelt the fulness of the Godhead, so in Anti-Christ the fulness of all wickedness." Not indeed as if his humanity were assumed by the devil into unity of person, as the humanity of Christ by the Son of God; but that the devil by suggestion infuses his wickedness more copiously into him than into all others. And in this way all the wicked who have gone before are signs of Anti-Christ, according to 2 Thessalonians 2:7, "For the mystery of iniquity already worketh."

Reply to Objection 1. The devil and Anti-Christ are not two heads, but one; since Anti-Christ is called the head, inasmuch as the wickedness of the devil is most fully impressed on him. Hence, on 2 Thessalonians 2:4, "Showing himself as if he were God," a gloss says: "The head of all the wicked, namely the devil, who is king over all the children of pride will be in him." Now he is said to be in him not by personal union, nor by indwelling, since "the Trinity alone dwells in the mind" (as is said De Eccles. Dogm. lxxxiii), but by the effect of wickedness.

Reply to Objection 2. As the head of Christ is God, and yet He is the Head of the Church, as was said above (1, ad 2), so likewise Anti-Christ is a member of the devil and yet is head of the wicked.

Reply to Objection 3. Anti-Christ is said to be the head of all the wicked not by a likeness of influence, but by a likeness of perfection. For in him the devil, as it were, brings his wickedness to a head, in the same way that anyone is said to bring his purpose to a head when he executes it.

SUPER SOLIDITATE

PIUS VI

NOVEMBER 28, 1786

THAT THE CHURCH was established by Jesus Christ on the solid foundation of the rock;¹ that Peter, above all the others, was chosen by the singular favor of Jesus Christ, so that having the power of His Vicar on earth, he became the Prince of the apostolic college, and received, in consequence, for himself and for his successors until the end of time, the charge and supreme authority to feed the flock,² to confirm his brethren,³ to bind and to loose throughout the entire world:⁴ these are dogmas of faith received from the lips of Jesus Christ Himself, handed down and defended by the constant teaching of the Fathers, which the universal Church has kept in every age with religious care, and which she has very often confirmed by the decrees of the Sovereign Pontiffs and the Councils against the errors of the innovators.

In fact, Jesus Christ willed in the primacy of the Apostolic See, to fortify and knit closer that bond of unity by means of which the Church, destined as she was to spread through the whole world, was to form but one body out of so many scattered members under a single head. Thus the virtue of that power was not only to contribute to the power of the First See, but even more particularly to the integrity and conservation of the entire body.

Therefore, it is hardly surprising that in past ages those whom the old enemy of the human race has filled with his own hatred of the Church, have been in the habit of attacking in the first place this See which

maintains unity in all its vigor: so that, by destroying, if it were possible to do so, the foundation and severing the bond between the Churches and the head, the body which is the principal source of their support, their strength, and their beauty, after having by this means reduced the Church to desolation and ruin by crushing their strength, they might in the end strip her of that liberty which Jesus Christ gave to her, and reduce her to a state of unworthy servitude.

THE ERRORS OF EYBEL

While St. Augustine tells us that "it is in the chair of unity that God has placed the doctrine of unity,"⁵ there is nothing, on the contrary, that the unfortunate writer does not use to attack and outrage in every possible way this See of Peter, where the Fathers have unanimously recognized and venerated that chair "in which alone unity was to be conserved by all Christians, and from which flow out to all the Churches the rights of communion, which we must venerate;"⁶ "with which it is necessary for every Church to be in agreement, that is to say, the faith from whatever area they come."⁷

Eybel has not feared to stigmatize as fanatic those whom he has heard cry out at the sight of the Pope: "This is he who has received from God the keys of the kingdom of heaven with the power to bind and to loose! This is he to whom no other bishop can be compared! This is he from whom the bishops themselves received their authority, as he has received from

God the supreme authority! This is the Vicar of Jesus Christ, the Visible Head of the Church, the supreme judge of the faithful! Is it therefore fanatic — we say this only with a horror — is that word, therefore, fanatic of Jesus Christ, which promises to Peter, with the power of binding and loosing, the keys of the kingdom of heaven, those keys which St. Optatus of Mila did not hesitate — following Tertullian — to say had been put in the hands of St. Peter alone, to be handed on to others?⁸ Must we call fanatic the solemn decrees of often renewed of popes and councils, where are to be found the condemnation of those who deny that in blessed Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, the Roman Pontiff, his successor, has been appointed by God, the visible Head of the Church, and the Vicar of Jesus Christ; that plenary power has been given to him to govern the Church; that all those who bear the name of Christian owe him a sincere obedience; and that such is the virtue of that primacy which he possesses by divine right, that he is above all other bishops, not only by reason of the honor of his rank, but also by reason of the extent of his supreme power?

Such language only makes all the more deplorable both the blind temerity of a writer who has been assiduous in reviving in his tract the errors condemned by so many decrees; of a man who does not fear to say, or to insinuate in many places, and by a thousand directions: "That every bishop is called by God as much as the pope is, to the government of the Church, and that he has received no less power; that Jesus Christ gave the same power to all the Apostles, that what some men

¹ Matth. XVI: 18

² John XXI: 17

³ Luke XXII: 32

⁴ Matth. XVI: 19

⁵ Epist. 105

⁶ Optatus of Mila, *book II contr. Parm.*; St. Ambrose,

Epist. 11, 1

⁷ St. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* III, 3.

⁸ Tertullian, *Scorp.* XI: Optatus of Mila, *ibid.*

believe can be obtained only from the sovereign Pontiff, and granted only by him, insofar as it depends upon the consecration and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, can be obtained equally from every bishop; that Jesus Christ willed His Church to be administered after the fashion of a republic; that it is true that the government

This description sounds like what the Modernists have done with their "papacy."

of the Church needs a president for the sake of unity, but that this president must not be permitted to meddle in the affairs of others who govern as he does; that his whole privilege consists in the right to exhort the negligent to fulfill their duties; that thus, in virtue of his primacy, he has no other prerogative than to make up for the negligence of others, and to provide, by his exhortations and example, for the conservation of unity; that the popes have no power in another diocese, except in extraordinary cases; that the Sovereign Pontiff is a head who has his power and stability from the Church; that the Sovereign Pontiffs have allowed themselves to violate the rights of bishops by reserving to themselves absolutions, dispensations, decisions, appeals, the conferring of benefices." In a word, the author of this tract here enumerates in great detail all the functions which he puts in the category of reserved cases usurped by the Pontiff to the prejudice of the rights and the dignity of the bishops.

The teaching of the Fathers of the Church

This author, less to conciliate than in some way to take by surprise the confidence which he wishes to win for his case, rattles off in a long series the names of the holiest of Fathers, and, with superb effrontery, misconstrues their pronouncements lifted haphazardly from their works and lumped together, citing passages which stress the episcopal dignity, and maintaining silence on those in which they have exalted the singular preeminence of the pontifical power. If these Fathers were still living, they

would refute the impudent calumny of this writer in the same terms in which they have not only celebrated the primacy of the Apostolic See, and their devotedness to this chair, but have left to future ages the testimony of this loyalty in their immortal writings.

Saint Cyprian expresses himself in the following terms: "There is only one God, only one Christ, only one Church, and only one chair founded on Peter by the word of Jesus Christ," and he declares openly: "that the chair of Peter is this principal Church from which springs the sacerdotal unity to which error has no access."⁹

It is St. John Chrysostom who declares without ambiguity that "Peter could, in virtue of his power, choose a successor to the traitor Judas."¹⁰ And Peter himself, in later times and his first successors, used this right stemming from the primacy either to found Churches throughout the West, giving them bishops and assigning them a portion of the flock they were to care for, and this before the holding of any council, or in designating regions whose limits they had determined as a single see, whose bishop, in virtue of the apostolic authority was to have preeminence over his colleagues in the episcopate.

On this institution of churches, we have very clear testimony in the writings of Innocent I.¹¹ He speaks of it as a well known matter, something anyone can understand, that the authority of the sovereign Pontiffs has not come from a discipline antecedently established by the councils, since it was a common practice before any of the disciplinary matters later regulated by conciliar decrees. It is not less evident that the Sovereign Pontiff himself determined by his decrees that the Church of Antioch would be the head of the dioceses of the Orient.¹²

It is St. Epiphanius who bears witness that *Ursace* and

Valens, moved to repentance, presented to Pope Julius the writs containing the retractions of their errors, and asked to be admitted to communion and penance.¹³

It is St. Jerome who declares profane the man who is not in communion with the chair of Peter, knowing full well that it is on this rock that the Church has been built. So he addresses himself only to Pope Damasus in the gravest controversies: for it is from him alone that he wishes to learn both the language that is to be adopted in the Church and the persons with whom he can communicate.

It is St. Augustine who testifies, after having learned it in the Scriptures, "that the primacy of the Apostles is preeminent in Peter in virtue of a more excellent grace; that this primacy of the apostolate is to be preferred to all episcopal dignity; that the Roman Church, the See of Peter, is that rock which the proud gates of hell cannot vanquish."¹⁴ This is the language which refutes another of the writer's calumnies: that which pretends that in designating the rock on which He built His Church, Jesus Christ wished men to understand not the person, but rather the faith and the confession of Peter: as if the Fathers who, because of the marvelous fecundity of the Scriptures, have also given this latter sense to the word of Peter, have by that fact abandoned the literal sense, which bears directly on St. Peter, and did not, very openly, retain this literal sense. It is thus that Saint Ambrose, St. Augustine's master, says: "It is to Peter Himself that it was said: 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church.' Therefore where Peter is, there is the Church."¹⁵

Such is the unanimous language of the Fathers, such is the perpetual tradition of the Doctors: a tradition which St. Bernard, who has gathered it from the ancients, condensed in these few words addressed to Pope Eugene:¹⁶ "It is in your hands that

⁹ Epist. XL, LV.

¹⁰ Hom. III in Act. Apost.

¹¹ Epist. ad Decent. Eugab.

¹² Epist. ad Alexandrum Antioch.

¹³ Haer. LXVIII.

¹⁴ Epist. 15.

¹⁵ De baptismo, II, 1

¹⁶ In Psalms XL, 30

¹⁷ De Considerat. II, 8

the keys of heaven have been placed; to them that the sheep have been entrusted... Other shepherds have each their own flocks assigned to them; but to you all the flocks are entrusted, as a single flock to a single pastor. You alone are the only pastor, not only, of all the sheep, but of all the shepherds." It is on the milk of this doctrine that have been nourished all those who have grown to manhood in the Church of Christ; it is this milk, if they will remember, that was given from their earliest years to those — whoever they are — who are allowing themselves to be driven about by every wind of doctrine. In every age it has been preached as the teaching of the gospel that the sheep were entrusted to Peter, by Christ for him to provide for their food, not Peter who was entrusted to the sheep to receive his spiritual nourishment from them.

Testimony of the Councils

Moreover, on this point the ecumenical councils have never strayed from the teaching of the Fathers. The Fathers assembled at Chalcedon (451) proclaim that they heard the very words of Peter in the mouth of Leo. They have recognized also that it was not from any other bishop, but from Leo as from their head, that they were to draw the strength and stability of what had been done in this council: and it was for this reason that they begged him to confirm it.

The eighth general council, in its first session, approved the tenor of the formula read before the holy assembly, in which, after many great eulogies on the authority of the Roman Pontiff, it was prescribed that "in the celebration of the sacred mysteries there should not be recited the names of those who had been separated from the communion of the Catholic Church, that is to say, those who were not in accord with the apostolic see." Even more, since it remained to pass on certain dispensations which the good of the Church seemed urgently to demand, the Fathers (of the Council) did not dare to take it

upon themselves to grant them; they believed that they should be petitioned from the Holy See by the patriarch Ignatius; thus recognizing that the patriarchs themselves did not have the power to dispense from the canons.

The great Council of the Lateran, which was the fourth of that name (1215) declares (in canon 5) that the Lord has ordained that the Roman Church enjoys the primacy of ordinary power over all the other Churches, since she is the mother and mistress of all the faithful of Jesus Christ.

In the Second Council of Lyons (1274) the profession of the Greeks was published bearing witness to the fact that they recognized that the Roman Church has a primacy over the entire Catholic Church, and a principality which is both sovereign and plenary, a prerogative which she has received with fullness of power from the Lord Himself in the person of blessed Peter, the Prince, or the chief of the Apostles, whose successor is the Roman Pontiff. Following the line of these last councils, the Council of Florence (1439) by a famous decree sanctioned the Catholic dogma of the primacy.

Inspired by the same divine spirit, the Fathers of the Council of Trent declared "that the sovereign Pontiffs, in virtue of the supreme power over the whole Church, which has been given to them, have the right to reserve to their special judgement certain graver cases of a criminal nature." (Session XIV, 7) It follows from the language of the Fathers of the Council of Trent that the power of the Sovereign Pontiff extends to the whole Church, that it embraces equally in its authority all the spiritual functions which the author of this tract endeavors against all reason to strip from it, that this power does not come to the Pontiffs from an external source; that it is not conferred upon them by subordinates, but that it is inherent in the primacy by ordinary right, *jure ordinario*. This must be recognized by anyone who has the intimate conviction that the heavenly wisdom of the councils is of more

worth than all of the vain disputes of human ignorance.

Eybel appeals to the Council of Constance. But he should have reminded himself that there the conciliar Fathers condemned the errors of Wycliffe, who advanced the position, that "it is not necessary to salvation to believe that the Roman Church occupies the first rank among the other Churches, ~~not~~ that the pope is the proximate and immediate Vicar of Christ." Likewise the errors of John Huss, who held that Peter is not, and he never was, the head of the holy Catholic Church. Martin V, offering the language of sound doctrine to these errors, laid down that those suspected of holding them should be interrogated, and that they were to be asked "if they believed that Peter was the Vicar of Jesus Christ, having the power on earth to bind and to loose?" Further, "whether a pope canonically elected was the successor of St. Peter, having supreme authority in the Church of God?" And, "Whether they believed that the pope had the power to grant indulgences to all Christians; and whether each bishop could grant indulgences to those under his jurisdiction, according to the limits described by the sacred canons?" This is a clear refutation of Eybel's error, who, speaking of indulgences, dared to write that "every bishop can grant indulgences in the same way as the pope."

Any man who will meditate attentively and fairly on these documents drawn from the Fathers and the Councils without allowing himself to be blinded by his prejudices, will have no difficulty in convincing himself that they give evidence, as far as the sovereign Pontiff is concerned, of an authority which is superior to one which would be limited, as has been claimed, to a simple direction with respect to the bishops, or that the pope's authority is confined to exhorting them, warning them, and supplying for their deficiencies.

Let us go even further. The Fathers of the Council of Basel themselves openly declare (in Session V) and profess that they believe in the response which they address to the bishop of

Taranto: "That the Roman Pontiff is the head and the primate of the Church, the Vicar of Jesus Christ; raised to this dignity not by men, or by councils, but by Jesus Christ; that he is the pastor of the faithful; that to him the Lord has given the keys; that to him alone it was said: 'Thou art Peter;' that he alone has been called to the plenitude of power, while the other bishops have received only a share in sollicitude (for the flock)." Eybel should blush at the impudent audacity with which he attempts to weaken the plenitude of powers which the assembly at Basel places among the capital points of our doctrine, so well known, so widely held, that it is superfluous to recall them.

Moreover, the way in which Saint Augustine expresses himself, as we have just cited it, witnesses to the fact that "the principality of the apostolic chair has always been in vigor in the Roman See,"¹⁸ that this principality of the Apostle has always been preeminent over any episcopal dignity; this language, we say, can be verified among other things by this remarkable observation: that the successor of Peter, by the very fact that he occupies the place of Peter, has, by divine right, under this authority the entire flock of Jesus Christ: so that he receives, with his function of Pontiff, the power to govern the entire Church. While it is necessary, on the other hand, that a special part of the flock be assigned to each of the other bishops, not by divine right, but by ecclesiastical law, not by the lips of Jesus Christ Himself, but by the hierarchical order, so that over this restricted part of the flock he can employ the ordinary power with which he has been invested to govern it.

He who would wish to take from the Roman Pontiff the sovereign authority which he has to make these assignments would find himself under the necessity of impugning the legitimacy of succession of the multitude of bishops who, all over the world, govern individual churches, and for the government of which these prelates have received their mission from the

Sovereign Pontiff. Therefore it is impossible, without causing very great disturbance in the Church, and without exposing episcopal authority itself to imminent danger, it is impossible to attack this great and marvelous assemblage of power which God has deigned to grant to the chair of Peter; power and virtue which, as St. Leo the Great says, "Peter personally governs all those whom Jesus Christ governs principally: in such wise that if Jesus Christ has willed that there should be something in common between Peter and the other Princes of the Church, it is only through (and by) Peter that He has given what He has not refused to the others."¹⁹

The witness of the Churches of France. Eybel is loud in his praises of the bishops and doctors of the Church of France. But this is all in vain: for who among them are the ones whom he is trying to represent as sharing his opinions? Are they the most ancient, or those who, in the Middle Ages, or in more recent times, have made that church illustrious by their learning and holiness? We will cite from among the most ancient only a few from among many.

Let him not despise the testimony of Saint Caesarius of Arles and of Saint Avitus of Vienne. The first, in a petition addressed to Pope Symmachus, says: "As the source of the episcopate comes from blessed Peter, so it is necessary for Your Holiness to show clearly to each one of the churches what must be observed, laying down for them suitable rules of discipline." Saint Avitus, addressing Pope Hormisdas, writes: "I beg you to let me know how I should answer your sons who are my brothers in Gaul, if they should consult me: for their devotion to the Apostolic See is such that I can in all security speak not only for those of Vienne, but I can also promise you that every one of them in France will welcome with the same eagerness whatever you shall decide in matters of faith." The Fathers of the Council of Orléans (538) (canon 3) recall the form to be observed in the election of

metropolitans as laid down by the decrees of the Apostolic See.

In the Middle Ages, let Eybel listen to Hincmar of Rheims protesting that he, has always shown himself faithful and obedient in all things to the apostolic chair, the mother and mistress of all the churches, and to the pontiffs who occupy it, declares openly what is due to the Holy See, what he is persuaded the faithful owe it, by the very fact that he wishes to insist he has never failed in this duty. (Council of Douai, 871) Let him listen to Yves of Chartres, reprimanding with the strongest expressions the boldness of those who raise proud heads against the Apostolic See, saying "that when one opposes it with one's own judgements and constitutions, one incurs the charge of heretical perversity; that it belongs absolutely and without exception to this See to confirm or invalidate the consecration both of metropolitans of other bishops, to reexamine their constitutions and their judgements; while this See must maintain without variation what it has pronounced and not tolerate any inferior assuming the right to judge it or correct it."²⁰ He further supports this by the authority of Pope Gelasius.

If from those ancient times we come down to a more recent period, Eybel ought not to have been in ignorance about the very grave censures leveled against the notorious apostate De Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato, by the distinguished Faculty of Theology of Paris. He would there have seen the condemnation to be anticipated for his own tract. In fact, these are the errors which this faculty did not hesitate to stigmatize as heretical and schismatic in his writings of this unworthy prelate: "To say that the Apostles were not equal in power is to advance a proposition which is only a human invention, and which has no foundation in the holy gospels, or in the inspired writings of the New Testament." (The Faculty declares this proposition heretical and schismatic, understood with reference to the ordinary

heads wrong

¹⁸ *Epist.* XLIII, 3.

¹⁹ *Serm.* IV, in anniv. suae assumpt.

²⁰ *Ep.* VIII ad Rich. Senon.

apostolic jurisdiction which existed only in St. Peter.)

"It cannot be said that there is only one supreme head in the

This is what Vatican II teaches.

Church, or only one ruler, unless one understands by this Jesus Christ." "All the bishops together and in one body govern the same Church, each one with full power."

"The Roman Church has, it is true, the first rank among the other churches, because of its nobility, its reputation, its name, and the authority of its dignity; but not because of its primacy of government and jurisdiction."

(The Faculty declares this proposition heretical and schismatic, because it openly alleges that the Roman Church has not, by reason of divine right, the authority over the other churches.) "Each bishop is universal, by divine right."

"The monarchical form of government was not immediately instituted by Christ." "It is false to hold that the unity of the Catholic Church consists in the unity of a visible head." De Dominis, having added that "the teaching of the doctors of Paris understood as it should be, differed in nothing from his own," the latter immediately refuted this calumny with which the innovator attempted to blacken them, and declared that "this was a pure libel against the Faculty of Paris."²¹

In the assembly of 1681, the bishops of France published, on this subject of the primacy of the Roman Pontiff, a striking testimony fully in accord with that rendered by the theological Faculty of Paris, and with constant tradition of their predecessors. "The pope is above all the bishops, he is head of the Church, the center of unity, and he possesses the primacy of authority and jurisdiction over us given him by Christ Jesus in person of Saint Peter. If one fails to admit these truths, he is a schismatic, yes, and a heretic."²²

TENDENTIOUS INTERPRETATION

The author of this tract could not have been entirely ignorant of the documents which can be culled from all past ages on the subject of the Roman Primacy. His bad faith is made all the more remarkable because of his stubborn opposition to the Holy See, since unable to blot out or destroy these brilliant testimonies of the Fathers, he does not blush, and here his insolence is excessive, to present them as allegories which have been badly interpreted; whence it happens in great measure — according to him — that for many centuries the pope has been believed to be in fact what he is not: as if these Fathers eminent in sanctity, whom God has given to his Church as pastors and teachers, could, on the matter of the greatest importance and which touches on the very constitution of the Church, have unanimously fallen into error, or become the cause of deceiving the faithful! As if Bybel did not, rather stand convicted of a criminal error, since he is determined to embrace, in the matter of the sovereign pontificate, a different belief from the one which has been handed down by all the centuries past.

²¹ see d'Argentre, *Coll. Judic.*, ii, page 105ff.

²² *Coll. P.D.* vol. 3, p. 355.

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SCHISMATIC CLERGY

Instruction *Laudabilem majorum*, September 26, 1791, to the French Bishops

His Holiness has declared that it is not permitted to receive the baptism of the intruded clergy, except in cases of extreme necessity, and if no one else can be found to give baptism; the sacrament should be conferred by legitimate clergy, or by others armed with their permission.

For, since the intruded pastor is certainly schismatical, and his schism is obvious, it follows that the action of a Catholic who addresses himself to the intruded cleric for the administration of baptism, is, from every point of view, vicious, evil and forbidden. In effect, this would be to communicate with schismatics in divine matters and in the very wickedness of the schism, which is by its very nature evil, and hence forbidden by the natural law as well as by the divine. For what is the sin of schism committed by the intruded priest, if it is not usurp by his own action the pastoral ministry

without any authorization, and even in contempt of the authority of the bishop whom he rejects? And what else is the Catholic doing who receives baptism from the intruded priest, except to commit the crime of schism with him, since one in administering baptism, and the other, in receiving it, consummates a premeditated offense, which neither one could have committed without the concurrence ~~without~~ of the other. So when a Catholic cooperates in the schism by his conduct, it is impossible for him not to assent by that very fact to the sin of schism, and not to recognize and treat the intruder as a legitimate priest. [So those who actively participate in the *una cum* Mass cannot not assent to the insertion of the heretic's name into the canon of the Mass].

LEO XII

EXHORTATION PASTORIS ÆTERNI

July 2nd, 1826, to the Anti-Concordat Party of the French Nation, otherwise known as the
Petite Église

Therefore, dearly beloved, beware of false leaders; do not follow their counsels; resist their deadly suggestions. In fact they are seeking to snatch you from the bosom of the Church, then to bring about your final perdition, when they strive to separate you from communion with us, with the Holy See. They flatter themselves falsely on the pretended communion with the Apostolic See, while they refuse communion with the Roman Pontiff and with the bishops in communion with him. Do not let yourselves be deceived by this illusion. Remember and understand well that "where Peter is, there is the Church" (St. Ambrose, *In Psalm. 40*, no. 30); that "they who have not in their midst the See of Peter, who rend it by impious schism, have no part with Peter's inheritance." (St. Ambrose, *De Pœnit. Book 1*, chap. 7, vii); that "those who refuse to associate themselves with the communion of the

Compare Vatican II: "It follows that the separated Churches and Communities as such, though we believe them to be deficient in some respects, have been by no means deprived of significance and importance in the mystery of salvation. For the Spirit of Christ has not refrained from using them as means of salvation which derive their efficacy from the very fullness of grace and truth entrusted to the Church." (*Unitatis Redintegratio*, no.

chair of Peter belong to the Antichrist, not to Christ" (St. Jerome, *Epist. XV ad Damasum*). And do not forget either the expression of Saint Cyprian: "This bishop is in the Church, and the Church is in the bishop." (*Epist. LXLX*, no. 8)

If each of you in the light of faith, meditates within himself on these truths in tranquillity of mind before his crucifix, it will be easy for him to see that the outcome of slogans such as you have heard can be nothing else than, by separating you from the Roman Pontiff and the bishops in communion with him, to separate you from the Catholic Church in its entirety, and consequently you will cease to have her for a mother. For how could the Church be your mother, unless your fathers are the shepherds of the Church, that is to say, the bishops? How can you boast of the title *Catholic*, if, separated from the center of catholicity, that is to say, from this Apostolic and Holy See and from the Sovereign Pontiff in whom God has placed this source of unity, you break with Catholic unity? [Let the Society of Saint Pius X contemplate these words.] The Catholic Church is one, she is neither broken nor divided: therefore, your "petite église" cannot belong in any sense to the Catholic Church.

GREGORY XVI

THE CONDITION OF SALVATION

ENCYCLICAL *SUMMO JUGITER*, MAY 27TH, 1832 TO THE BISHOPS OF BAVARIA

NECESSITY OF FAITH FOR SALVATION

To come now to the present concern, we must first turn our attention toward that faith without which it is impossible to please God. (Heb. XI: 6) and which is jeopardized, as we have already pointed out, by those who wish to extend beyond certain limits the liberty for mixed marriages. For in fact, you know as well as we do, venerable brothers, with what constancy our fathers endeavored to inculcate this article of faith which these innovators dare to deny, namely the necessity of Catholic faith and unity to obtain salvation.

Catholic Unity

This what was taught by one of the most famous of the disciples of the Apostles, St. Ignatius Martyr, in his epistle to the Philadelphians: "Do not deceive yourselves," he wrote to them, "he who adheres to the author of a schism will not possess the kingdom of God." (no. 3) St. Augustine and the other bishops of Africa assembled in 412 in the Council of Circa expressed themselves in the following terms on this subject: "He who is separated from the body of the Catholic Church, however laudable his conduct may otherwise seem, will never enjoy eternal life, and the anger of God remains on him by reason of the

crime of which he is guilty in living separated from Christ." (*Epist.* 141) And without citing here the witness of almost innumerable other ancient fathers, we will limit ourselves to quoting our glorious predecessor, Saint Gregory the Great, who gives explicit testimony to the fact that such is the teaching of the Catholic Church on this head: "The holy universal Church," he says, "teaches that God cannot be truly adored except within its fold: she affirms that all those who are separated from her will not be saved." (*Moral. in Job*, XIV, 5)

It is also stated in the decree on faith published by another of our predecessors, Innocent III, in concert with the fourth ecumenical council of the Lateran, "that there is only one universal Church of the faithful, outside of which no one can be saved." (*Cap. Firmiter*; cf. Denz. 428) Finally this same teaching is expressed in the professions of faith which have been proposed by the Apostolic See; in the one which all the Latin Churches use (cf. Denz. 994) as also in the two others, one of which is received by the Greeks (cf. Gregory XIII, *Prof. Sanctissimus*, Denz. 1083) and by all other Eastern Catholics. (Benedict XIV, *Nuper ad nos*; Denz. 1459ff.)

THE NECESSITY OF OBEYING THE POPE AND THE BISHOPS

Encyclical *Mirari vos*

Let all remember that the judgement on the orthodox teaching with which the faithful must be instructed, and the government and the administration of the entire Church belong to the Roman Pontiff, to whom, "the plenitude of power to feed, direct, and govern the universal Church, has been given by Christ the Lord," as the Fathers of the Council of Florence have expressly declared (Session XXV, *In definit.*) It is the duty of each bishop to attach himself loyally to the Chair of Peter, religiously to keep the deposit, and to govern the flock which has been entrusted to him. It is the duty of priests to submit to the bishops, whom Saint

Jerome exhorts "to consider as the fathers of their souls" (*Ep.* LII ad Nepotian., I, 24); and they must never forget that the ancient canons forbid them to do anything in their ministry, and to arrogate to themselves the power of teaching and preaching "without the permission of the bishop, to whose faith the people are confided, and from whom an account of their souls will be demanded." (X. can. app. xxviii.) [Compare this text with the attitude and practices of the Society of Saint Pius X]

INDIFFERENTISM

We come now to another cause, alas! all too fruitful of the deplorable ills which today afflict the Church. We mean indifferentism, or that widespread and dangerous opinion sown by the perfidy of the wicked, according to which it is possible, by the profession of some sort of faith, to procure the soul's salvation, provided that one's morals conform to the norms of justice and probity. But in a question which is so clear and so evident, it will doubtless be easy for you to root out from among the people confided to your care so pernicious an error. The Apostle warns us of it: "One God, one faith, one baptism." (Eph. IV: 5) Therefore, let them tremble who imagine that any religion will lead them by an easy path to a haven of eternal happiness; let them reflect seriously on the words of the Savior Himself: "He who is not with Me is against Me" (Luke XI: 23) that those who gather not with Him, scatter (Luke XI: 23), and that, consequently, "beyond a doubt those perish eternally who keep not the Catholic

Faith entire and unchanged." (*Athanasian Creed*) Let them listen to Saint Jerome himself, who tells them that at the time when the Church was divided among the three parties, he used to repeat constantly and with unshaken resolution to anyone who was making an effort to win his support: "He who is united to the Chair of Peter is with me." (*Epist. XVI*) It would be vain to have any illusions on this point, saying that one has likewise been regenerated in the water of baptism, for St. Augustine would answer him: "The branch separated from the stock also keeps its form; but what good is the form, if it does not draw its life from the root?" (*Ps. C. part. Donat*)

Apostolic letter *Cum in Ecclesia*, Sept. 17, 1833

It is neither in secrecy or behind closed doors nor by insinuations, but in the most open fashion, orally, by writings, and even in the pulpit, that they have again and again stated and put forward the

Compare Vatican II's *Lumen Gentium*, no. 22: "The order of bishops, which succeeds to the college of apostles and gives this apostolic body continued existence, is also the subject of supreme and full power over the universal Church, provided we understand this body together with its head the Roman Pontiff and never without this head."

bold pretension that: "all the bishops, inasmuch as they are successors of the Apostles, have received from Christ in equal measure that sovereign power to govern the Church,

and that it does not reside solely in the Roman Pontiff, but in the entire episcopate. Further, that Christ willed the Church to be administered in the manner of a republic so that all men, not only clerics of lower rank but even the laity would enjoy the right of suffrage." Thus all power would have been given immediately to the society of the faithful, to be delegated to the bishops and to the Sovereign Pontiff. Finally they hold that many articles in present discipline are useless, dangerous, or harmful, and should be modified in conformity with the needs of the times."

Commissum divinitus, May 17, 1835, to the Swiss Clergy.

What he granted to Peter alone among the Apostles, when he promised to him the keys of heaven and entrusted to him the office of feeding lambs and sheep and of confirming his brethren, He willed — for the good of the Church which was to endure until the end of time — to continue in the successors of Peter, whom he would put at the head of the same Church with the same rights. Such has always been the constant and unanimous belief of all Catholics. It is an article of faith that the Roman Pontiff, successor of Blessed Peter and Prince of the Apostles, not only has a primacy of honor, but also of authority and jurisdiction over the universal Church, and that, consequently, the bishops, too, are under his authority. That is why, as Saint Leo goes on to say, "It is necessary for the whole Church throughout the entire world, to be united to the Holy See of Peter, that is to say, to the Roman

Church, and to have recourse to it as to the center of Catholic unity and ecclesiastical communion, so that he who dares to withdraw from the unity of Peter is excluded from the divine mysteries." (cf. *Epist. X*, ad episc. prov. Vienne) And St. Jerome adds: "He who eats of the lamb outside of the ark of Noe perished in the moment of the deluge." (*Ep. XV ad Damasum*) And like the man who gathers not with Christ, he who gathers not with His Vicar, "the same scattereth" (Luke XI: 23). Now, how is it possible for a man to gather with the Vicar of Christ, if he rejects his sacred authority, if he violates the rights in virtue of which that Vicar holds himself to be at the head of the Church, the center of unity, possessed of the primacy of order and jurisdiction, and the power divinely transmitted to him in all its fullness to pasture, rule, and govern the universal Church?

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Letter *Has ad te litteras*, May 23, 1840, to the Bishop of Chelm on the schismatic tendencies of the Ruthenian Uniates.

They, the Ruthenian schismatics, differ also on the subject of submission to the Roman Pontiff, successor of Peter, the prince of the Apostles, to whom, to use the term of the Council of Chalcedon, "the protection of the vineyard was entrusted by the Lord" (*In relatione ad Leonem, PP*), and to the Church, as Irenaeus says, "by reason of her eminent

primacy, every other Church must be in harmony, that is to say, the faithful of the entire world." (*Adv. hæreses*, book III, chapter 3, no. 2). Finally, as St. Jerome says, "Whoever gathereth not with Him, scattereth (Luke XI, 23), that is to say, he who is not Christ's, is Antichrist's." (*Epist. XV ad Damasum*).

anti-ecumenical

THE PRINCIPLE OF SALVATION

LETTER *PERLATUM AD NOS*, JULY 17, 1841, TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF LWOW.

With God's help, your clergy will never have any more pressing anxiety than to preach the true Catholic faith: he who does not keep it whole and without error, will indubitably be lost. They will endeavor, therefore, to favor union with the Catholic Church; for he who is separated from it

will not have life. They will maintain obedience to this sovereign chair of Peter, in which Christ the Lord laid the foundation of this same Church, and where, consequently, is to be found that the entire and perfect stability of the Christian religion.

PIUS IX

1846-1878

LETTER *SINGULARI QUIDEM*, MARCH 17, 1856, TO THE AUSTRIAN EPISCOPATE.

The true Church is one, holy, catholic, apostolic, and Roman; unique: the chair founded on Peter by the Lord's words (Matth. XVI: 18). [Anti-Frankenchurch] Outside her fold is to be found neither the true Faith

Compare Ratzinger: "This communion exists especially with the Eastern Orthodox Churches which, though separated from the See of Peter, remain united to the Catholic Church by means of very close bonds, such as the apostolic succession and a valid Eucharist, and therefore merit the title of particular Churches."

He says that "the universal Church becomes present in them [the particular Churches] with all her essential elements." [Letter to the bishops of the Catholic Church on Some Aspects of the Church Understood as Communion (1992) (§ 8)]

nor eternal salvation, for it is impossible to have God for father if one does not have the Church for mother, and it is in vain that one flatters oneself on belonging to the Church, if one is separated from the chair of Peter on which the

Church is founded. There could be no greater crime, no more detestable injury, than opposition to Christ, than the rending of the Church purchased and engendered by His divine Blood, than the furious attacks of pernicious discord against the peaceful and single-minded people of God, to the detriment of evangelical charity. The Church declares openly that all man's hope, all his salvation, is in the Christian Faith, in that Faith which teaches the truth, dissipates by its divine light the darkness of human ignorance, works through charity; that it is at the same time in the Catholic Church, who, because she keeps the true worship, is the inviolable sanctuary of faith itself and the temple of God, outside of which, except with the excuse of invincible ignorance [Anti-Feeney], there is no hope of life or of salvation.

anti-ecumenical

ALLOCUTION *JAMDUDUM CERNIMUS* TO THE CONSISTORY, MARCH 18, 1861

In fact there is only one true and holy religion, founded and instituted by Christ Our Lord. Mother and nurse of the virtues, Destroyer of vice, Liberator

of souls, Guide to true happiness, she is called catholic, apostolic and Roman. [Anti-Frankenchurch]

APOSTOLIC LETTER *MULTIPLICES INTER*, JUNE 10, 1851

[The Pope condemns the work of a certain Francis de Paul G. Vigili]

In fact the author, even though he is a Catholic, and even (so it has been said) engaged in the sacred ministry, desirous of abandoning himself with impunity and security to indifferentism and rationalism (with which errors he shows that he is

tainted), denies the Church the power of defining as a dogma that the religion of the Catholic Church is the only true religion, and teaches that each one is free to embrace and profess whatever religion reason tells them is the true one.

anti-religious liberty

LETTER *SINGULARI QUIDEM*, MARCH 17, 1856 TO THE AUSTRIAN EPISCOPATE.

The true Church is one, holy, catholic, apostolic, and Roman; unique [anti-Frankenchurch]: the chair founded on Peter by the Lord's words; outside her fold is to be found neither the true faith nor eternal salvation [anti-Frankenchurch, anti-ecumenism], for it is impossible to have God for Father if one has not the Church for mother, and it is in vain that one flatters oneself on belonging to the Church, if one is separated from the chair of Peter on which the church is founded [anti-Frankenchurch]. There could be no greater crime, no more detestable injury

than opposition to Christ, than the rending of the Church purchased and engendered by His divine Blood, than the furious attacks of pernicious discord against the peaceful and single-minded people of God, to the detriment of evangelical charity.

The church declares openly that all man's hope, all his salvation, is in Christian faith, in that faith which teaches the truth, dissipates by its divine light the darkness of human ignorance, works through charity; that it is at the same time in the

Catholic Church, who, because she keeps the true worship, is the inviolable sanctuary of faith itself and the temple of God, outside of which, except with the excuse of invincible ignorance [anti-Feeney], there is no hope of life or of salvation.

Nevertheless, we must not conclude from this that in the Church of Christ religion makes no progress: it certainly does, and very considerable progress: but this has to be progress in, not changes in, faith [anti-Modernist]. Let knowledge, science, wisdom of all men and of each men grow — as they must — and increase like the whole Church in extent and

strength in the course of centuries and ages. Let man see more clearly what before he believed in a confused manner. Let posterity congratulate itself on understanding what antiquity venerated by faith alone. Let men polish the precious stones of divine teaching, adapt them with fidelity, set them with prudence, so that they will shine with grace and beauty: for all this, nothing must be changed in dogma, in meaning, or in thoughts, so that in expressing ourselves in a new manner, we shall not advance new matter.

ALLOCUTION *JAMDUDUM CERNIMUS* TO THE CONSISTORY, MARCH 18, 1861.

[Struggle between the partisans of modern civilization and the defenders of the rights of the Church]

9/1/00
The former demand that the Roman Pontiff be reconciled with and come to terms with progress and liberalism — these are their expressions — in one word, with modern civilization. The latter maintaining, and with reason, that the immutable and unshakable principles of eternal justice be kept without alteration; they insist that we keep intact the salutary force of our divine religion which alone can extend the kingdom of God and bring remedies to the ills which afflict humanity, which is the one true norm by which the children of men can, in this mortal life, acquire all virtue and make their way to the harbor of the blessed eternity. But the

proponents of modern civilization do not understand this opposition, although they claim to be true and sincere friends of religion. We would wish to believe them, if the sad set of events happening every day in the sight of everyone did not prove to us to the contrary.

In fact there is only one true and holy religion, founded and instituted by Christ our Lord. Mother and Nurse of the virtues, Destroyer of vice, Liberator of souls, Guide to true happiness, she is called Catholic, apostolic and Roman. [anti-Frankenchurch; anti-ecumenism]

HOMILY *EXULTAT COR*, JUNE 8, 1862

GOD AS HE IS EVER ALMIGHTY and admirable, in manifesting within the one Catholic Church the eminent sanctity of His servants of every age, of both sexes, and of every rank and condition, and confirming the sanctity with wonderful miracles, never ceases, by this splendid proof, to give evidence of the fact that this Catholic Church, divinely founded and established by Him for the

salvation of all men, and rich with every heavenly treasure, is the only true Church; that she is the pillar and ground of truth; that she has neither spot nor wrinkle, but that holy and without sin, she is the one with whom He has promised to remain all days even to the end of time.

anti Franken
anti ecumenism

LETTER *QUANTO CONFICIAMUR MÆRORE*, AUGUST 10, 1863

AND HERE BELOVED SONS AND VENERABLE BROTHERS, we must once more recall and condemn the very grave error into which, unfortunately, some Catholics have fallen, who embrace the belief that persons living in error and outside the true faith and Catholic unity can reach eternal life. This is absolutely contrary to Catholic teaching. [Therefore heretical] We know and you know that those who are invincibly ignorant of our most holy religion, and who, carefully observing the natural law and its precepts placed by God in the hearts of all men, and, disposed to obey God, lead an honest and upright life, can, with the help of divine light and grace, merit eternal life; for God, who has perfect knowledge, examines and judges the minds, the souls, the thoughts and deeds of all men, and does not permit, in His sovereign goodness and mercy, any man not culpable of willful sin to be punished with eternal torment. [Anti-Feeney] But this Catholic dogma is equally well known: that none can be saved outside the Catholic Church, and that those who knowingly rebel against the teaching and authority

of the Church cannot obtain eternal salvation, nor can those who willfully separate themselves from union with the Church and with the Roman Pontiff, the successor of Peter, to whom the Savior has entrusted the safekeeping of his vineyard. [Anti-Frankenchurch; anti-ecumenism]

The words of Jesus Christ are in fact extremely clear: "If he will not hear the Church, let him be to thee as a heathen and a publican." (Matthew 18:17) "He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me." (Luke X: 16) "He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved: but he that believeth not shall be condemned." (Mark XVI: 16) "He that believeth in him is not judged." (John III: 18); "He that is not with me, is against me; and he that gathereth not with me, scattereth." (Luke XI: 23). So the Apostle Paul says that men are subverted and condemned by their own judgment. (Titus III: 11) and the Prince of the Apostles calls "lying teachers of them who shall bring in sects of perdition, and deny the Lord who bought them: bringing upon

themselves swift destruction." (Peter II: 1) [anti-ecumenical]

LETTER *TUAS LIBENTER*, DECEMBER 21, 1863 TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF MUNICH.

WE ADDRESS TO THE MEMBERS of this Congress well merited praise, because, rejecting, as We expected they would, this false distinction between the philosopher and the philosophy of which we have spoken in earlier letters, they have recognized and accepted that all Catholics are obliged in conscience in their writings to obey the dogmatic decrees of the Catholic Church, which is infallible. In giving them the praise which is their due for confessing a truth which flows necessarily from the obligation of the Catholic faith, we love to think that they have not intended to restrict this obligation of obedience, which is strictly binding on Catholic professors and writers, solely to the points defined by the infallible judgment of the Church as dogmas of faith which all men must believe. And we are persuaded that they have not intended to declare that this perfect adhesion to revealed truths, which they have recognized to be absolutely necessary to the true progress of science and the refutation of error, could be theirs if faith and obedience are only accorded to dogmas expressly defined by the Church. Even when it is only a question of the submission owed to divine faith, this cannot be limited merely to points

defined by the express decrees of the ecumenical councils, or of the Roman Pontiffs and of this Apostolic See; this submission must also be extended to all that has been handed down as divinely revealed by the ordinary teaching authority of the entire church spread over the whole world, and which, for this reason, Catholic theologians, with the universal and constant consent, regard as being of the faith. But, since it is a question of the submission obliging in conscience all those Catholics who are engaged in the study of the speculative sciences so as to procure for the Church new advantages by their writings, the members of the Congress must recognize that it is not sufficient for Catholic savants to accept and respect the dogmas of the Church which we have been speaking about: they must, besides, submit themselves, whether to doctrinal decisions stemming from pontifical congregations, or to points of doctrine which, with common and constant consent, are held in the Church as truths and as theological conclusions so certain that opposing opinions, though they may not be dubbed heretical, nonetheless, merit some other form of theological censure.

LETTER FROM THE HOLY OFFICE, SEPTEMBER 16, 1864 TO THE ENGLISH EPISCOPATE.
(*Foundation at London of a society "for the promotion of the unity of Christendom"*)

IN EFFECT, FORMED AND DIRECTED BY PROTESTANTS, the society draws its inspiration from the expressly formulated idea that the three Christian communions, Roman Catholic, Greek schismatic, and Anglican, although separated and divided among themselves, have equal rights to the use of the name Catholic. The society is, therefore, open to anyone, no matter where he is, the Catholic, Greek schismatic, or Anglican, on this condition only, that no one is permitted to raise a question on the diverse points of doctrine which separate them, and that each one shall be free to conform with complete tranquility to the precepts of his own religious confession. The society prescribes for all of its members the prayers to be recited, and for priests the sacrifices to be celebrated, for this intention: namely, that the three Christian communions in question which together form, as it is supposed, the Catholic Church, may in the end be united to form a single body.

This novelty is all the more dangerous in that is presented under the appearances of piety and eager solicitude for the unity of Christian society. The foundation on which it is built is such that it destroys at one stroke the divine constitution of the Church. [anti-frankenchurch]

It can be summed up in this proposition, that the true Church of Jesus Christ is made up of one

part Roman Church, established and propagated throughout the world, and one part the schism of Photius, and the Anglican heresy, both of which have, with the Church of Rome, one same Lord, one same faith, one same baptism. To bring about the disappearance of the dissensions which rend these three Christian communions to the great scandal of all men and to the great harm of truth and charity, the society orders prayers and sacrifices to obtain from God the grace of unity.

Surely, Catholics desire nothing so much as the disappearance, among Christians of all systems and assumptions, and that all should be eager to keep unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. This is why the Catholic Church prays and invites the faithful to pray to Almighty God that all those who have left the Holy Roman Church may be converted to the true faith, may abjure their errors, and return in grace to her fold, outside of which there is no salvation. [anti-ecumenical] Moreover, she prays and orders prayers that all men may come, with the help of God's grace, to the knowledge of the truth. But that Christians and ecclesiastics should pray for Christian unity under the direction of heretics, and, what is worse, according to an intention which is radically impregnated and vitiated by heresy, this is absolutely impossible to tolerate.

Some Heretic
Munich

The true Church of Jesus Christ is established by divine authority and is to be recognized by the four marks which we profess in the Creed; and each of these marks is so bound up with the others that they cannot be separated; hence it follows that the Church which is said to be and is truly Catholic, must shine at the same time by reason of the prerogatives of unity, of holiness, and of apostolic succession. The Catholic Church is therefore one, with the visible and perfect unity which is worldwide and of all nations, one with that unity whose principle, the indefectible source and origin, is the supreme authority and preeminent primacy of blessed Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and of his successors in the see of Rome. And there is no other Catholic Church than this one which, built on Peter alone, rises a compact body, united by bonds of faith and charity. This is what St. Cyprian professed in all sincerity when he addressed himself in these terms to Pope Cornelius: *"...in order that our colleagues prove firmly and hold to You and your communion, that is, the unity of the Catholic Church as well as charity."* (Ep. 45)

Pope Hormisdas insisted the same thing should be affirmed by the bishops abjuring the schism of Acacius in a formula approved by the whole of Christian antiquity, where it is said that "they are separated from the communion of the Church who are not in agreement with the Apostolic See." [anti-frankenchurch; anti-ecumenism] And far from it being the case that communions separated from the See of Rome have the right to call themselves and to be regarded as Catholic, is rather by this separation and this want of agreement that one can recognize which are the societies, which are the Christians

who do not keep the true faith, nor the true teaching of Christ, as St. Irenaeus demonstrated in luminous fashion already in the second century of the Church. But Christians be on guard, therefore, and with the greatest care avoid entering those societies which they cannot join without detriment to their faith. Let them hear St. Augustine teaching us that there can be neither truth, nor piety where Christian unity and the charity of the Holy Ghost are lacking. [anti-frankenchurch; anti-ecumenism]

Another reason for the faithful to remain outside of the London society is to be found in the fact that its members favor indifferentism and are a cause of scandal. This society, or at least its founders and directors, profess that Photianism and Anglicanism are two forms of the true Christian religion in which it is possible to please God, as in the Catholic Church; but if these differing Christian communions are prey to dissensions, it is without loss to the faith, for the faith remains one and the same for all communions. This is the scourge of religious indifferentism pure and simple; in our times above all it is on the increase, with great damage to souls. Therefore there is no need to demonstrate that Catholics affiliating themselves with this society become an occasion of spiritual ruin for Catholics and non-Catholics alike, above all if one considers that the vain hope of seeing these three communions — which will remain themselves and persistent in their viewpoints — unite, will come to this, that the society will deflect conversions to the faith and endeavor to prevent them by the papers it will publish.

LETTER JAM VOS OMNES, SEPTEMBER 13, 1868 TO PROTESTANTS AND OTHER NON-CATHOLICS.

NOW, ANYONE WHO WISHES to examine with care and to meditate on the condition of the different religious societies divided among themselves and separated from the Catholic Church, who, since the time of our Lord Jesus Christ and his apostles has always exercised by her legitimate pastors and still exercises today the divine power which was given to her by the same Lord, will easily be convinced that no one of these societies nor all of them together in any way constitute or are that one Catholic Church which our Lord founded and established and which he willed to create. [anti-frankenchurch] Nor is it possible either, to say that these societies are either a member or a part of the same church, since they are visibly separated from Catholic unity. [anti-frankenchurch] Since in fact these sects are lacking that living authority established by God especially to teach men the truths of faith and the norms of morality, to guide and direct them in all that concerns their eternal salvation, it follows that there is a continual variation in their teaching. This is also why mobility and instability are never at an end in the same societies.

Therefore, everyone will understand, everyone will see clearly and without hesitation, that this is in

complete opposition to the Church instituted by our Lord, since in this Church the truth must always remain stable and inaccessible to every change so as to keep absolutely intact the deposit confided to her and for whose safeguard the presence and assistance of the Holy Ghost have been promised to her forever. Nor is there anyone ignorant of the fact that dissension in doctrine and opinion has given rise to social cleavages, which in their turn have spawned numberless sects and communions which are constantly spreading to the great detriment of Christian and civil society. [anti-ecumenism]

Whoever in fact recognizes that religion is the foundation of human society cannot fail to see the influence of or to admit the force of this division of principles, this opposition, and this rivalry of religious societies upon civil society, or with what violence is denial of the authority established by God to govern the beliefs of the human mind and to direct the actions of men — in their private as well as in their social life — has raised up, propagated, and kept alive these deplorable changes, these disturbances which today trouble and crush almost every nation. [anti-liberalism and religious liberty]

APOSTOLIC LETTER *NON SINE GRAVISSIMO*, FEBRUARY 24, 1870, THE APOSTOLIC DELEGATE
AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

TO CARRY OUT YOUR MISSION with exactitude, Venerable Brother, you will have to recall and to inculcate in the faithful committed to your care this truth which is part of the Catholic faith: namely, that the Roman Pontiff, in the person of blessed Peter, has received from our Lord Jesus Christ the full power and authority to feed, to guide, and to govern the Universal Church; that the free

and entire exercise of this power can ^{recognize} ~~recognizable~~ no limitation or restriction in point of territories or of nationalities; and that all those who glory in the title of Catholic must not only be united to him in matters of faith and dogmatic truth, but also be submissive to him in matters of liturgy and discipline. [anti-SSPX]

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTION *PASTOR AETERNUS*, JULY 18, 1870 [VATICAN COUNCIL]

below
Hence we teach and declare that by the appointment of our Lord the Roman Church possesses a sovereignty of ordinary power over all other Churches, and that this power of jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff which is truly episcopal, is immediate; to which all of whatsoever rite and dignity, both pastors and the faithful, both individually and collectively, are bound, by their duty of hierarchical subordination and true obedience, to submit, not only in matters which belong to faith and morals, but also in those that appertain to the discipline and government of the Church throughout the world [anti-SSPX]; so that the Church of Christ may be one flock under one supreme pastor, through the preservation of unity,

both of communion and of profession of the same faith, with the Roman Pontiff. This is the teaching of Catholic truth from which no one can deviate without loss of faith and of salvation. [Compare Vatican II: "For the Spirit of Christ has not refrained from using them [schismatic sects] as means of salvation which derive their efficacy from the very fullness of grace and truth entrusted to the Church." (*Unitatis Redintegratio*, no. 3) The question then arises: if it is Catholic truth that it is necessary to submit to the Roman Pontiff, and that one cannot deviate from this truth without loss of salvation, how can a sect which deviates from this truth be a means of salvation?]

- Ordination - Flies
- Exorcist - Vili
- Confirmation - Faley + Bede + Tonge



ENCYCLICAL *QUARTUS SUPRA*, JANUARY 6, 1873 TO THE ARMENIANS

In fact, it is as contrary to the divine constitution of the Church as it is to perpetual and constant tradition for anyone to attempt to prove the catholicity of his faith and truly call himself a Catholic when he fails in obedience to the Apostolic See. [anti-SSPX] For it is necessary for all the other Churches, that is, for all the faithful of the entire world, to be in agreement with this See by reason of its sovereign primacy, and he who abandons the chair of Peter on which the Church is founded, is falsely persuaded that he is in the Church, since he is already a sinner and a schismatic who raises up a chair against the one Chair of Peter, from which flow to all others the sacred rights of communion. [anti-frankenchurch]

All these declarations are so emphatic that we must conclude from them that a man who has been declared schismatic by the Roman Pontiff must cease absolutely to claim the name of Catholic so long as he fails to recognize and does not expressly revere that Pontiff's power and its fullness. [anti-frankenchurch]

But since the neo-schismatics cannot reap any advantage from it, they have applied themselves to follow in the footsteps of modern heretics; they have excused themselves by saying that the sentence of excommunication pronounced against them in our name by our venerable brother the Archbishop of Tyana, Apostolic Delegate to Constantinople, was unjust and therefore null and void [anti-SSPX]. They have even gone so far as to say that they could not submit to it for fear that the faithful, once deprived of their ministry, would espouse the cause of the heretics. [anti-SSPX] Here is surely a new kind of reason, absolutely unheard-of, quite unknown to the Fathers of the Church! In fact, the entire Church in every part of the world knows that the See of St. Peter the Apostle has the power to loose the bonds imposed by the sentence of any bishop, no matter who he may be, since this See has the right to judge the affairs of the Church, and no one may lawfully appeal against that judgment.

But the neo-schismatics say that there is no question of dogma, but only of discipline [anti-SSPX], because it is discipline which is concerned in Our Constitution *Reversurus* of July 12, 1867, and consequently the name of Catholic cannot be forbidden those who refuse to recognize it. But you understand without difficulty, we are convinced, how useless and vain such a subterfuge is. For the Catholic Church has always considered schismatic all those who obstinately resist the authority of her legitimate prelates [anti-SSPX], and especially her supreme pastor [anti-SSPX], and any who refuse to execute their orders and even to recognize their authority. The members of the Armenian faction of Constantinople having followed this line of conduct, no one, under any pretext, can believe them innocent of the sin of schism, even if they had not

been denounced as schismatic by apostolic authority. [anti-SSPX]. [N.B. Note the distinction of the *sin* of schism, and that one can be guilty of it before any legal declaration. The same may be said of the sin of heresy].

Now, such teaching [that the Holy See is overstepping its powers in regulating the discipline of the Eastern churches] is not only heretical after the definitions and declarations of the ecumenical Council of the Vatican on the nature of the reasons for the primacy of the Sovereign Pontiff, but it has always been considered to be such and has been abhorred by the Catholic Church. It is for this reason that the bishops of the ecumenical Council of Chalcedon, openly confessing in their acts the supreme authority of the Apostolic See, humbly requested our predecessor St. Leo to deign to confirm and sanction their decrees, even those treating of discipline.

And in truth "the successor of Peter, by the very fact that he holds the place of Peter, has, by right divine, the whole flock of Christ confided to his care, so that he receives, at the same time with the episcopacy, the power of universal government, while to the other bishops it is necessary to assign a special part of the flock, so that they may exercise over that portion ordinary power of government; and they do so, not by divine right, but by ecclesiastical right, not by virtue of an order from Jesus Christ, but by a disposition of the hierarchy. If the supreme power of St. Peter and his successors to assign in this manner the various parts of the flock were to be disputed, the very foundations of the Churches (above all, of the principal ones) as well as their prerogatives would be shaken;" "for if Christ willed that the other princes of the Church were to have something in common with St. Peter, it is only through the intermediary of Peter that He has given them what he did not refuse to them." (St. Leo, sermons three on the anniversary of his assumptions; cited by Pius VI in *Super soliditate*).

For what concerns the exclusion of laymen from the election of bishops, it is necessary, in order not to say anything which is contrary to the Catholic faith, to distinguish with care the right to elect bishops from the rights to give testimony regarding the life and conduct of those who are to be elected. To recognize as belonging to the laity the right to elect bishops would be to renew the false positions of Luther and Calvin who stated that this power belongs to the laity by divine right. Now no one is ignorant of the fact that the Catholic Church has always reprobated this teaching, and that the people have never had, either by divine right, or by ecclesiastical right, the power to elect bishops or other ministers of divine worship.

LETTER *PER TRISTISSIMA* MARCH 6, 1873 TO THE ST. AMBROSE CIRCLE OF MILAN.

BUT YOU, DEARLY BELOVED SONS, remember that in all that concerns the faith, morals, and government of the Church, the words which Christ said of Himself: "He that gathereth not with me scattereth", can be applied to the Roman Pontiff

who holds the place of God on earth. [Consequently non-Catholic sects, far from being "particular Churches" in the Church of Christ, are merely groups which scatter].

ENCYCLICAL *ETSI MULTA*, NOVEMBER 21, 1873

THE VERY FIRST ELEMENTS of Catholic doctrine teach that no one can be considered a legitimate bishop if he is not united by the communion of faith and charity with the Rock on which the Church of Christ is built, if he does not adhere to the Supreme Pastor to whom are confided all the sheep so that he may feed them, and if he is not bound to him who has the office of confirming his brethren who are in the world. In fact, "Our Lord spoke to Peter; He spoke to one alone to establish unity on one alone." (St. Pacien, *Epist.* 3 *ad Sympron.*, no. 11) Again: "The divine favor granted a great and admirable participation of its power" to Peter, and "if it willed that the other

princes should receive something from it, it never granted concession to others except by means of Peter." (St. Leo, *Serm.* 3 *in sua assumpt.*) Whence it follows that from this Apostolic See where Peter lives and presides and grants to all those who seek it the truth of faith, emanate all the rights of holy communion; and this same See "is certainly to the other Churches spread through the world what the head is to the other members of the body, and who so separates himself from this See becomes a stranger to the Christian religion, since he ceases to be part of its structure. [anti-frankenchurch][anti-ecumenism]

ENCYCLICAL *QUÆ IN PATRIARCHATU*, SEPTEMBER 1, 1876,
TO THE CLERGY AND FAITHFUL OF THE CHALDEAN RITE.

WHAT GOOD IS IT TO PROCLAIM aloud the dogma of the supremacy of St. Peter and his successors? What good is it to repeat over and over declarations of faith in the Catholic Church and of obedience to the Apostolic See when actions give the lie to these fine words? Moreover, is not rebellion rendered all the more inexcusable by the fact that obedience is recognized as a duty? Again, does not the authority of the Holy See extend, as a sanction, to the measures which we have been obliged to take, or is it enough to be in communion of faith with this See without adding the submission of obedience, — a thing which cannot be maintained without damaging the Catholic faith?

In fact, Venerable Brothers and beloved sons, it is a question of recognizing the power (of this See), even over your Churches, not merely in what pertains to faith, but also in what concerns discipline. He who would deny this is a heretic; he who recognizes this and obstinately refuses to obey is worthy of anathema. [anti-SSPX] Therefore let those who have gone astray from the right path under the impression that things were otherwise, hasten to repent; let all, if they entertain a sincere charity for their patriarch (as they should), make every effort to bring him back to the right path, either by petition, or by exhortation, or by prayers to God, each one as the Lord shall inspire him.

POPE LEO XIII

1878-1903

ENCYCLICAL *IMMORTALE DEI*, NOVEMBER 1, 1885

The only true religion is the one established by Jesus Christ himself, which He committed to his Church to protect and to propagate. [anti-ecumenical]

ENCYCLICAL *SAPIENTIÆ CHRISTIANÆ*, JANUARY 10, 1890

IN FIXING THE LIMITS OF OBEDIENCE, let none imagine that the authority of the bishops, and especially of the Roman Pontiff, is only to be respected in matters of dogma, the obstinate rejection of which cannot be distinguished from the crime of heresy. Nor is it by any means sufficient that a sincere and firm assent be given to the teachings delivered by the Church, which, though not defined by solemn acts, are nevertheless, by common and

universal consent, believed as divinely revealed, and which the Vatican Council decreed as of "Catholic and divine faith." [universal ordinary magisterium] But it is moreover a chief duty of Christians to permit themselves to be ruled and guided by the bishops, and particularly by the Apostolic See.

LETTER EXIMIA NOS LÆTITIA, JULY 19, 1893 TO THE BISHOP OF POITIERS

Petite Église

by schismatics

From this it follows also that they cannot promise themselves any of the graces and fruits of the perpetual sacrifice and of the sacraments which, although they are sacrilegiously administered, are nonetheless valid and serve in some measure that form and appearance of piety which St. Paul mentions (I Corinthians XIII: 3) and which St. Augustine speaks of at greater length: "The form of the branch," says the latter with great precision, "may still be visible, even apart from the vine, but the invisible life of the root can be preserved only in union with the stock. That is why the corporal sacraments, which some keep and use outside the unity of Christ, can preserve the appearance of piety. But the invisible and spiritual virtue of true

piety cannot abide there any more than feeling can remain in an amputated member." (Sermon LXXI, in Matth. 32) But since they no longer have even a single priest who adheres to their tenets, they cannot even boast of this appearance of piety. They no longer have the sacraments, with the exception of baptism, which they confer, so it is said, without ceremonies on children; a fruitful baptism for the latter, provided that once the age of reason is reached they do not embrace the schism; but deadly for those who administer it, for in conferring it they willfully act in schism. [Anti-frankenchurch] [Anti-ecumenism] [Anti-SSPX] [Compare]

ENCYCLICAL SATIS COGNITUM, JUNE 29, 1896

IT IS SUFFICIENTLY WELL KNOWN unto you that no small share of Our thoughts and of Our care is devoted to Our endeavor to bring back to the fold, placed under the guardianship of Jesus Christ, the Chief Pastor of souls, sheep that have strayed. Bent upon this, We have thought it most conducive to this salutary end and purpose to describe the exemplar and, as it were, the lineaments of the Church. Amongst these the most worthy of Our chief consideration is Unity. This the Divine Author impressed on it as a lasting sign of truth and of unconquerable strength. The essential beauty and comeliness of the Church ought greatly to influence the minds of those who consider it. Nor is it improbable that ignorance may be dispelled by the consideration; that false ideas and prejudices may be dissipated from the minds chiefly of those who find themselves in error without fault of theirs; and that even a love for the Church may be stirred up in the souls of men, like unto that charity wherewith Christ loved and united Himself to that spouse redeemed by His precious blood. "Christ loved the Church, and delivered Himself up for it" (Eph. v., 25).

If those about to come back to their most loving Mother (not yet fully known, or culpably abandoned) should perceive that their return involves, not indeed the shedding of their blood (at which price nevertheless the Church was bought by Jesus Christ), but some lesser trouble and labor, let them clearly understand that this burden has been laid on them not by the will of man but by the will and command of God. They may thus, by the help of heavenly grace, realize and feel the truth of the divine saying, "My yoke is sweet and my burden light" (Matt. xi., 30).

Wherefore, having put all Our hope in the "Father of lights," from whom "cometh every best gift and every perfect gift" (Ep. James i., 17) - from Him, namely, who alone "gives the increase" (I Cor. iii., 6) - We earnestly pray that He will graciously grant Us the power of bringing conviction home to the minds of men.

HUMAN CO-OPERATION

2. Although God can do by His own power all that is effected by created natures, nevertheless in the counsels of His loving Providence He has preferred to help men by the instrumentality of men. And, as in the natural order He does not usually give full perfection except by means of man's work and action, so also He makes use of human aid for that which lies beyond the limits of nature, that is to say, for the sanctification and salvation of souls. But it is obvious that nothing can be communicated amongst men save by means of external things which the senses can perceive. For this reason the Son of God assumed human nature - "who being in the form of God... emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of man" (Philipp. ii., 6,7) - and thus living on earth He taught his doctrine and gave His laws, conversing with men.

THE CHURCH ALWAYS VISIBLE

3. And, since it was necessary that His divine mission should be perpetuated to the end of time, He took to Himself Disciples, trained by Himself, and made them partakers of His own authority. And, when He had invoked upon them from Heaven the Spirit of Truth, He bade them go through the whole world and faithfully preach to all nations, what He had taught and what He had commanded, so that by the profession of His doctrine, and the observance of His laws, the human race might attain to holiness on earth and never-ending happiness in Heaven. In this wise, and on this principle, the Church was begotten. If we consider the chief end of His Church and the proximate efficient causes of salvation, it is undoubtedly spiritual; but in regard to those who constitute it, and to the things which lead to these spiritual gifts, it is external and necessarily visible. The Apostles received a mission to teach by visible and audible signs, and they discharged their mission only by words and acts which certainly appealed to the senses. So that their voices falling upon the ears of those who heard them begot faith in souls. "Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the words of Christ" (Rom. x., 17). And faith itself - that is assent given to the first and supreme truth - though residing essentially in the intellect, must be

body & soul

manifested by outward profession: "For with the heart we believe unto justice, but with the mouth confession is made unto salvation" (Rom. x., 10). In the same way in man, nothing is more internal than heavenly grace which begets sanctity, but the ordinary and chief means of obtaining grace are external: that is to say, the sacraments which are administered by men specially chosen for that purpose, by means of certain ordinances.

Jesus Christ commanded His Apostles and their successors to the end of time to teach and rule the nations. He ordered the nations to accept their teaching and obey their authority. But his correlation of rights and duties in the Christian commonwealth not only could not have been made permanent, but could not even have been initiated except through the senses, which are of all things the messengers and interpreters.

For this reason the Church is so often called in Sacred Scripture a body, and even the body of Christ - "Now you are the body of Christ" (1 Cor. xii., 27) and precisely because it is a body is the Church visible: and because it is the body of Christ is it living and energizing, because by the infusion of His power Christ guards and sustains it, just as the vine gives nourishment and renders fruitful the branches united to it. And as in animals the vital principle is unseen and invisible, and is evidenced and manifested by the movements and action of the members, so the principle of supernatural life in the Church is clearly shown in that which is done by it.

From this it follows that those who arbitrarily conjure up and picture to themselves a hidden and invisible Church are in grievous and pernicious error: as also are those who regard the Church as a human institution which claims a certain obedience in discipline and external duties, but which is without the perennial communication of the gifts of divine grace, and without all that which testifies by constant and undoubted signs to the existence of that life which is drawn from God. It is assuredly as impossible that the Church of Jesus Christ can be the one or the other, as that man should be a body alone or a soul alone. The connection and union of both elements is as absolutely necessary to the true Church as the intimate union of the soul and body is to human nature. The Church is not something dead: it is the body of Christ endowed with supernatural life. As Christ, the Head and Exemplar, is not wholly in His visible human nature, which Photinians and Nestorians assert, nor wholly in the invisible divine nature, as the Monophysites hold, but is one, from and in both natures, visible and invisible; so the mystical body of Christ is the true Church, only because its visible parts draw life and power from the supernatural gifts and other things whence spring their very nature and essence. But since the Church is such by divine will and constitution, such it must uniformly remain to the end of time. If it did not, then it would not have been founded as perpetual, and the end set before it would have been limited to some certain place and to some certain period of time; both of which are contrary to the truth. The union consequently of visible and invisible elements because it harmonizes with the natural order and by God's will belongs to the very essence of the Church, must necessarily remain so long as the Church itself shall endure. Wherefore Chrysostom writes: "Secede not from the Church: for nothing is stronger than the Church. Thy hope is the Church; thy salvation is the Church; thy refuge is the Church. It is higher than the

heavens and wider than the earth. It never grows old, but is ever full of vigor. Wherefore Sacred Scripture pointing to its strength and stability calls it a mountain" (Hom. *De capto Eutropio*, n. 6).

Also Augustine says: "Unbelievers think that the Christian religion will last for a certain period in the world and will then disappear. But it will remain as long as the sun - as long as the sun rises and sets: that is, as long as the ages of time shall roll, the Church of God - the true body of Christ on earth - will not disappear" (*In Psalm. lxx.*, n. 8). And in another place: "The Church will totter if its foundation shakes; but how can Christ be moved?...Christ remaining immovable, it (the Church), shall never be shaken. Where are they that say that the Church has disappeared from the world, when it cannot even be shaken?" (*Enarratio in Psalm. ciii.*, sermo ii., n. 5).

He who seeks the truth must be guided by these fundamental principles. That is to say, that Christ the Lord instituted and formed the Church: wherefore when we are asked what its nature is, the main thing is to see what Christ wished and what in fact He did. Judged by such a criterion it is the unity of the Church which must be principally considered; and of this, for the general good, it has seemed useful to speak in this Encyclical.

HOW CHRIST MADE HIS CHURCH

4. It is so evident from the clear and frequent testimonies of Sacred Scripture that the true Church of Jesus Christ is one, that no Christian can dare to deny it. But in judging and determining the nature of this unity many have erred in various ways. Not the foundation of the Church alone, but its whole constitution, belongs to the class of things effected by Christ's free choice. For this reason the entire case must be judged by what was actually done. We must consequently investigate not how the Church may possibly be one, but how He, who founded it, willed that it should be one.

But when we consider what was actually done we find that Jesus Christ did not, in point of fact, institute a Church to embrace several communities similar in nature, but in themselves distinct, and lacking those bonds which render the Church unique and indivisible after that manner in which in the symbol of our faith we profess: "I believe in one Church." [anti-frankenchurch]

"The Church in respect of its unity belongs to the category of things indivisible by nature, though heretics try to divide it into many parts...We say, therefore, that the Catholic Church is unique in its essence, in its doctrine, in its origin, and in its excellence...Furthermore, the eminence of the Church arises from its unity, as the principle of its constitution - a unity surpassing all else, and having nothing like unto it or equal to it" (S. Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromatum* lib. viii., c. 17). For this reason Christ, speaking of the mystical edifice, mentions only one Church, which he calls His own: "I will build my church;" any other Church except this one, since it has not been founded by Christ, cannot be the true Church. [anti-ecumenical] This becomes even more evident when the purpose of the Divine Founder is considered. For what did Christ, the Lord, ask? What did He wish in regard to the Church founded, or about to be founded? This: to transmit to it the same mission and the same mandate which He had received from the Father, that they

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As thou hast

should be perpetuated. This He clearly resolved to do: this He actually did. "As the Father hath sent me, I also send you" (John xx., 21). "~~As thou hast sent Me~~ into the world I also have sent them into the world" (John xvii., 18).

But the mission of Christ is to save that which had perished: that is to say, not some nations or peoples, but the whole human race, without distinction of time or place. "The Son of Man came that the world might be saved by Him" (John iii., 17). "For there is no other name under Heaven given to men whereby we must be saved" (Acts iv., 12). The Church, therefore, is bound to communicate without stint to all men, and to transmit through all ages, the salvation effected by Jesus Christ, and the blessings flowing there from. Wherefore, by the will of its Founder, it is necessary that this Church should be one in all lands and at all times. To justify the existence of more than one Church it would be necessary to go outside this world, and to create a new and unheard-of race of men.

That the one Church should embrace all men everywhere and at all times was seen and foretold by Isaiah, when looking into the future he saw the appearance of a mountain conspicuous by its all surpassing altitude, which set forth the image of "The House of the Lord" - that is, of the Church, "And in the last days the mountain of the House of the Lord shall be prepared on the top of the mountains" (Isa. ii., 2).

But this mountain which towers over all other mountains is one; and the House of the Lord to which all nations shall come to seek the rule of living is also one. "And all nations shall flow into it. And many people shall go, and say: Come, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the House of the God of Jacob, and He will teach us His ways, and we will walk in His paths" (Ibid., ii., 2-3).

Explaining this passage, Optatus of Milevis says: "It is written in the prophet Isaiah: 'from Sion the law shall go forth and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.' For it is not on Mount Sion that Isaiah sees the valley, but on the holy mountain, that is, the Church, which has raised itself conspicuously throughout the entire Roman world under the whole heavens....The Church is, therefore, the spiritual Sion in which Christ has been constituted King by God the Father, and which exists throughout the entire earth, on which there is but one Catholic Church" (*De Schism. Donatist.*, lib. iii., n. 2). And Augustine says: "What can be so manifest as a mountain, or so well known? There are, it is true, mountains which are unknown because they are situated in some remote part of the earth....But this mountain is not unknown; for it has filled the whole face of the world, and about this it is said that it is prepared on the summit of the mountains" (*In Ep. Joan.*, tract i., n. 13).

CHRIST THE HEAD OF THE CHURCH

5. Furthermore, the Son of God decreed that the Church should be His mystical body, with which He should be united as the Head, after the manner of the human body which He assumed, to which the natural head is physiologically united. As He took to Himself a mortal body, which He gave to suffering and death in order to pay the price of man's redemption, so also He has one mystical body in which and through which He renders men partakers

of holiness and of eternal salvation. God "hath made Him (Christ) head over all the Church, which is His body" (Eph. i., 22-23). Scattered and separated members cannot possibly cohere with the head so as to make one body. But St. Paul says: "All members of the body, whereas they are many, yet are one body, so also is Christ" (1 Cor. xii., 12). Wherefore this mystical body, he declares, is "compacted and fitly jointed together. The head, Christ: from whom the whole body, being compacted and fitly jointed together, by what every joint supplieth according to the operation in the measure of every part" (Eph. iv., 15-16). And so dispersed members, separated one from the other, cannot be united with one and the same head. "There is one God, and one Christ; and His Church is one and the faith is one; and one the people, joined together in the solid unity of the body in the bond of concord. This unity cannot be broken, nor the one body divided by the separation of its constituent parts" (S. Cyprianus, *De Cath. Eccl. Unitate*, n. 23). And to set forth more clearly the unity of the Church, he makes use of the illustration of a living body, the members of which cannot possibly live unless united to the head and drawing from it their vital force. Separated from the head they must of necessity die. "The Church," he says, "cannot be divided into parts by the separation and cutting asunder of its members. What is cut away from the mother cannot live or breathe apart" (Ibid.). What similarity is there between a dead and a living body? "For no man ever hated his own flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it, as also Christ doth the Church: because we are members of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones" (Eph. v., 29-30).

Another head like to Christ must be invented - that is, another Christ - if besides the one Church, which is His body, men wish to set up another. "See what you must beware of - see what you must avoid - see what you must dread. It happens that, as in the human body, some member may be cut off - a hand, a finger, a foot. Does the soul follow the amputated member? As long as it was in the body, it lived; separated, it forfeits its life. So the Christian is a Catholic as long as he lives in the body: cut off from it he becomes a heretic - the life of the spirit follows not the amputated member" (S. Augustinus, *Sermo cclxvii.*, n. 4). [anti-ecumenical]

The Church of Christ, therefore, is one and the same for ever; those who leave it depart from the will and command of Christ, the Lord - leaving the path of salvation they enter on that of perdition. "Whosoever is separated from the Church is united to an adulteress. He has cut himself off from the promises of the Church, and he who leaves the Church of Christ cannot arrive at the rewards of Christ....He who observes not this unity observes not the law of God, holds not the faith of the Father and the Son, clings not to life and salvation" (S. Cyprianus, *De Cath. Eccl. Unitate*, n. 6). [anti-ecumenical][anti-Islam and anti-Judaism]

UNITY IN FAITH

6. But He, indeed, Who made this one Church, also gave it unity, that is, He made it such that all who are to belong to it must be united by the closest bonds, so as to form one society, [anti-frankenchurch] one kingdom, one body - "one body and one spirit as you are called in one hope of your calling" (Eph. iv., 4). Jesus Christ, when His death was nigh at hand, declared His will in this matter, and solemnly offered it up, thus addressing His Father: "Not for

them only do I pray, but for them also who through their word shall believe in Me...that they also may be one in Us...that they may be made perfect in one" (John xvii., 20-21 23). Yea, He commanded that this unity should be so closely knit and so perfect amongst His followers that it might, in some measure, shadow forth the union between Himself and His Father: "I pray that they all may be one as Thou Father in Me and I in Thee" (Ibid. 21).

Agreement and union of minds is the necessary foundation of this perfect concord amongst men, from which concurrence of wills and similarity of action are the natural results. Wherefore, in His divine wisdom, He ordained in His Church Unity of Faith; a virtue which is the first of those bonds which unite man to God, and whence we receive the name of the faithful - "one Lord, one faith, one baptism" (Eph. iv., 5). That is, as there is one Lord and one baptism, so should all Christians, without exception, have but one faith. And so the Apostle St. Paul not merely begs, but entreates and implores Christians to be all of the same mind, and to avoid difference of opinions: "I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you all speak the same thing, and that there be no schisms amongst you, and that you be perfect in the same mind and in the same judgment" (1 Cor. i., 10). Such passages certainly need no interpreter; they speak clearly enough for themselves. Besides, all who profess Christianity allow that there can be but one faith. It is of the greatest importance and indeed of absolute necessity, as to which many are deceived, that the nature and character of this unity should be recognized. And, as We have already stated, this is not to be ascertained by conjecture, but by the certain knowledge of what was done; that is by seeking for and ascertaining what kind of unity in faith has been commanded by Jesus Christ.

THE KIND OF UNITY IN FAITH COMMANDED BY CHRIST

7. The heavenly doctrine of Christ, although for the most part committed to writing by divine inspiration, could not unite the minds of men if left to the human intellect alone. It would, for this very reason, be subject to various and contradictory interpretations. This is so, not only because of the nature of the doctrine itself and of the mysteries it involves, but also because of the divergencies of the human mind and of the disturbing element of conflicting passions. From a variety of interpretations a variety of beliefs is necessarily begotten; hence come controversies, dissensions and wranglings such as have arisen in the past, even in the first ages of the Church. Irenaeus writes of heretics as follows: "Admitting the Sacred Scriptures they distort the interpretations" (Lib. iii., cap. 12, n. 12). And Augustine: "Heresies have arisen, and certain perverse views ensnaring souls and precipitating them into the abyss only when the Scriptures, good in themselves, are not properly understood" (*In Evang. Joan.*, tract xviii., cap. 5, n. 1). Besides Sacred Scripture it was absolutely necessary to insure this union of men's minds - to effect and preserve unity of ideas - that there should be another principle. This the wisdom of God requires: for He could not have willed that the faith should be one if He did not provide means sufficient for the preservation of this unity; and this Sacred Scripture clearly sets forth as We shall presently point out. Assuredly the infinite power of God is not bound by

anything, all things obey it as so many passive instruments. In regard to this external principle, therefore, we must inquire which one of all the means in His power Christ did actually adopt. For this purpose it is necessary to recall in thought the institution of Christianity.

The Magisterium (or Teaching Authority) of the Church to be Perpetual

8. We are mindful only of what is witnessed to by Sacred Scripture and what is otherwise well known. Christ proves His own divinity and the divine origin of His mission by miracles; He teaches the multitudes heavenly doctrine by word of mouth; and He absolutely commands that the assent of faith should be given to His teaching, promising eternal rewards to those who believe and eternal punishment to those who do not. "If I do not the works of my Father, believe Me not" (John x., 37). "If I had not done among them the works than no other man had done, they would not have sin" (Ibid. xv., 24). "But if I do (the works) though you will not believe Me, believe the works" (Ibid. x., 38). Whatsoever He commands, He commands by the same authority. He requires the assent of the mind to all truths without exception. It was thus the duty of all who heard Jesus Christ, if they wished for eternal salvation, not merely to accept His doctrine as a whole, but to assent with their entire mind to all and every point of it, since it is unlawful to withhold faith from God even in regard to one single point.

When about to ascend into heaven He sends His Apostles in virtue of the same power by which He had been sent from the Father; and he charges them to spread abroad and propagate His teaching. "All power is given to Me in Heaven and in earth. Going therefore teach all nations...teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you" (Matt. xxviii., 18-19-20). So that those obeying the Apostles might be saved, and those disobeying should perish. "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be condemned" (Mark xvi., 16). But since it is obviously most in harmony with God's providence that no one should have confided to him a great and important mission unless he were furnished with the means of properly carrying it out, for this reason Christ promised that He would send the Spirit of Truth to His Disciples to remain with them for ever. "But if I go I will send Him (the Paraclete) to you....But when He, the Spirit of Truth is come, He will teach you all truth" (John xvi., 7-13). "And I will ask the Father, and He shall give you another Paraclete, that he may abide with you for ever, the Spirit of Truth" (Ibid. xiv., 16-17). "He shall give testimony of Me, and you shall give testimony" (Ibid. xv., 26-27). Hence He commands that the teaching of the Apostles should be religiously accepted and piously kept as if it were His own - "He who hears you hears Me, he who despises you despises Me" (Luke x., 16). Wherefore the Apostles are ambassadors of Christ as He is the ambassador of the Father. "As the Father sent Me so also I send you" (John xx., 21). Hence as the Apostles and Disciples were bound to obey Christ, so also those whom the Apostles taught were, by God's command, bound to obey them. And, therefore, it was no more allowable to repudiate one iota of the Apostles' teaching than it was to reject any point of the doctrine of Christ Himself.

Truly the voice of the Apostles, when the Holy Ghost had come down upon them, resounded

throughout the world. Wherever they went they proclaimed themselves the ambassadors of Christ Himself. "By whom (Jesus Christ) we have received grace and Apostleship for obedience to the faith in all nations for His name" (Rom. i., 5). And God makes known their divine mission by numerous miracles. "But they going forth preached everywhere: the Lord working withal, and confirming the word with signs that followed" (Mark xvi., 20). But what is this word? That which comprehends all things, that which they had learnt from their Master; because they openly and publicly declare that they cannot help speaking of what they had seen and heard.

But, as we have already said, the Apostolic mission was not destined to die with the Apostles themselves, or to come to an end in the course of time, since it was intended for the people at large and instituted for the salvation of the human race. For Christ commanded His Apostles to preach the "Gospel to every creature, to carry His name to nations and kings, and to be witnesses to Him to the ends of the earth." He further promised to assist them in the fulfilment of their high mission, and that, not for a few years or centuries only, but for all time - "even to the consummation of the world." Upon which St. Jerome says: "He who promises to remain with His Disciples to the end of the world declares that they will be for ever victorious, and that He will never depart from those who believe in Him" (*In Matt.*, lib. iv., cap. 28, v. 20). But how could all this be realized in the Apostles alone, placed as they were under the universal law of dissolution by death? It was consequently provided by God that the Magisterium instituted by Jesus Christ should not end with the life of the Apostles, but that it should be perpetuated. We see it in truth propagated, and, as it were, delivered from hand to hand. For the Apostles consecrated bishops, and each one appointed those who were to succeed them immediately "in the ministry of the word."

Nay more: they likewise required their successors to choose fitting men, to endow them with like authority, and to confide to them the office and mission of teaching. "Thou, therefore, my son, be strong in the grace which is in Christ Jesus: and the things which thou hast heard of me by many witnesses, the same command to faithful men, who shall be fit to teach others also" (2 Tim. ii., 12). Wherefore, as Christ was sent by God and the Apostles by Christ, so the Bishops and those who succeeded them were sent by the Apostles. "The Apostles were appointed by Christ to preach the Gospel to us. Jesus Christ was sent by God. Christ is therefore from God, and the Apostles from Christ, and both according to the will of God....Preaching therefore the word through the countries and cities, when they had proved in the Spirit the first-fruits of their teaching they appointed bishops and deacons for the faithful....They appointed them and then ordained them, so that when they themselves had passed away other tried men should carry on their ministry" (S. Clemens Rom. *Epist. I ad Corinth.* capp. 42, 44). On the one hand, therefore, it is necessary that the mission of teaching whatever Christ had taught should remain perpetual and immutable, and on the other that the duty of accepting and professing all their doctrine should likewise be perpetual and immutable. "Our Lord Jesus Christ, when in His Gospel He testifies that those who not are with Him are His enemies, does not designate any special form of heresy, but

declares that all heretics who are not with Him and do not gather with Him, scatter His flock and are His adversaries: He that is not with Me is against Me, and he that gathereth not with Me scattereth" (S. Cyprianus, *Ep.* lxi., ad Magnum, n. 1). [anti-ecumenical]

EVERY REVEALED TRUTH, WITHOUT EXCEPTION,
MUST BE ACCEPTED

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9. The Church, founded on these principles and mindful of her office, has done nothing with greater zeal and endeavor than she has displayed in guarding the integrity of the faith. Hence she regarded as rebels and expelled from the ranks of her children all who held beliefs on any point of doctrine different from her own. The Arians, the Montanists, the Novatians, the Quartodecimans, the Eutychians, did not certainly reject all Catholic doctrine: they abandoned only a certain portion of it. Still who does not know that they were declared heretics and banished from the bosom of the Church? In like manner were condemned all authors of heretical tenets who followed them in subsequent ages. "There can be nothing more dangerous than those heretics who admit nearly the whole cycle of doctrine, and yet by one word, as with a drop of poison, infect the real and simple faith taught by our Lord and handed down by Apostolic tradition" (Auctor Tract. *de Fide Orthodoxa contra Arianos*). [anti-ecumenical]

The practice of the Church has always been the same, as is shown by the unanimous teaching of the Fathers, who were wont to hold as outside Catholic communion, and alien to the Church, whoever would recede in the least degree from any point of doctrine proposed by her authoritative Magisterium. Epiphanius, Augustine, Theodoret, drew up a long list of the heresies of their times. St. Augustine notes that other heresies may spring up, to a single one of which, should any one give his assent, he is by the very fact cut off from Catholic unity. "No one who merely disbelieves in all (these heresies) can for that reason regard himself as a Catholic or call himself one. For there may be or may arise some other heresies, which are not set out in this work of ours, and, if any one holds to one single one of these he is not a Catholic" (S. Augustinus, *De Haeresibus*, n. 88). [anti-ecumenical]

ANTI-CATHOLIC

son of heresy cuts you off from the church

The need of this divinely instituted means for the preservation of unity, about which we speak is urged by St. Paul in his epistle to the Ephesians. In this he first admonishes them to preserve with every care concord of minds: "Solicitous to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace" (Eph. iv., 3, et seq.). And as souls cannot be perfectly united in charity unless minds agree in faith, he wishes all to hold the same faith: "One Lord, one faith," and this so perfectly one as to prevent all danger of error: "that henceforth we be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine by the wickedness of men, by cunning craftiness, by which they lie in wait to deceive" (Eph. iv., 14); and this he teaches is to be observed, not for a time only - "but until we all meet in the unity of faith...unto the measure of the age of the fulness of Christ" (13). But, in what has Christ placed the primary principle, and the means of preserving this unity? In that "He gave some Apostles and other some pastors and doctors, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ" (11-12).

Wherefore, from the very earliest times the Fathers and doctors of the Church have been accustomed to follow and, with one accord to defend this rule. Origen writes: "As often as the heretics allege the possession of the canonical scriptures, to which all Christians give unanimous assent, they seem to say: 'Behold the word of truth is in the houses.' But we should believe them not and abandon not the primary and ecclesiastical tradition. We should believe not otherwise than has been handed down by the tradition of the Church of God" [anti-protestant] (*Vetus Interpretatio Commentariorum in Matt.* n. 46). Irenaeus too says: "The doctrine of the Apostles is the true faith...which is known to us through the Episcopal succession...which has reached even unto our age by the very fact that the Scriptures have been zealously guarded and fully interpreted" (*Contra Haereses*, lib. iv., cap. 33, n. 8). And Tertullian: "It is therefore clear that all doctrine which agrees with that of the Apostolic churches - the matrices and original centers of the faith, must be looked upon as the truth, holding without hesitation that the Church received it from the Apostles, the Apostles from Christ and Christ from God...We are in communion with the Apostolic churches, and by the very fact that they agree amongst themselves we have a testimony of the truth" (*De Praescrip.*, cap. xxxi). And so Hilary: "Christ teaching from the ship signifies that those who are outside the Church can never grasp the divine teaching; for the ship typifies the Church where the word of life is deposited and preached. Those who are outside are like sterile and worthless sand: they cannot comprehend" (*Comment. in Matt.* xiii., n. 1). Rufinus praises Gregory of Nazianzum and Basil because "they studied the text of Holy Scripture alone, and took the interpretation of its meaning not from their own inner consciousness, but from the writings and on the authority of the ancients, who in their turn, as it is clear, took their rule for understanding the meaning from the Apostolic succession" (*Hist. Eccl.*, lib. ii., cap. 9).

Wherefore, as appears from what has been said, Christ instituted in the Church a living, authoritative and permanent Magisterium, which by His own power He strengthened, by the Spirit of truth He taught, and by miracles confirmed. He willed and ordered, under the gravest penalties, that its teachings should be received as if they were His own. As often, therefore, as it is declared on the authority of this teaching that this or that is contained in the deposit of divine revelation, it must be believed by every one as true. If it could in any way be false, an evident contradiction follows; for then God Himself would be the author of error in man. "Lord, if we be in error, we are being deceived by Thee" (Richardus de S. Victore, *De Trin.*, lib. i., cap. 2). In this wise, all cause for doubting being removed, can it be lawful for anyone to reject any one of those truths without by the very fact falling into heresy? without separating himself from the Church? without repudiating in one sweeping act the whole of Christian teaching? For such is the nature of faith that nothing can be more absurd than to accept some things and reject others. Faith, as the Church teaches, is "that supernatural virtue by which, through the help of God and through the assistance of His grace, we believe what he has revealed to be true, not on account of the intrinsic truth perceived by the natural light of reason, but because of the authority of God Himself, the Revealer, who can neither deceive nor be deceived"

(Conc. Vat., Sess. iii., cap. 3). If then it be certain that anything is revealed by God, and this is not believed, then nothing whatever is believed by divine Faith: for what the Apostle St. James judges to be the effect of a moral delinquency, the same is to be said of an erroneous opinion in the matter of faith. "Whosoever shall offend in one point, is become guilty of all" (Ep. James ii., 10). Nay, it applies with greater force to an erroneous opinion. For it can be said with less truth that every law is violated by one who commits a single sin, since it may be that he only virtually despises the majesty of God the Legislator. But he who dissents even in one point from divinely revealed truth absolutely rejects all faith, since he thereby refuses to honour God as the supreme truth and the formal motive of faith. "In many things they are with me, in a few things not with me; but in those few things in which they are not with me the many things in which they are will not profit them" (S. Augustinus in Psal. liv., n. 19). And this indeed most deservedly; for they, who take from Christian doctrine what they please, lean on their own judgments, not on faith; and not "bringing into captivity every understanding unto the obedience of Christ" (2 Cor. x., 5), they more truly obey themselves than God. "You, who believe what you like, believe yourselves rather than the gospel" (S. Augustinus, lib. xvii., *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*, cap. 3).

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THE CHURCH A DIVINE SOCIETY

10. But as this heavenly doctrine was never left to the arbitrary judgment of private individuals, but, in the beginning delivered by Jesus Christ, was afterwards committed by Him exclusively to the Magisterium already named, so the power of performing and administering the divine mysteries, together with the authority of ruling and governing, was not bestowed by God on all Christians indiscriminately, but on certain chosen persons. For to the Apostles and their legitimate successors alone these words have reference: "Going into the whole world preach the Gospel." "Baptizing them." "Do this in commemoration of Me." "Whose sins you shall forgive they are forgiven them." And in like manner He ordered the Apostles only and those who should lawfully succeed them to feed - that is to govern with authority - all Christian souls. Whence it also follows that it is necessarily the duty of Christians to be subject and to obey. And these duties of the Apostolic office are, in general, all included in the words of St. Paul: "Let a man so account of us as of the ministers of Christ, and the dispensers of the mysteries of God" (I Cor. iv., 1).

Wherefore Jesus Christ bade all men, present and future, follow Him as their leader and Savior; and this, not merely as individuals, but as forming a society, organized and united in mind. In this way a duly constituted society should exist, formed out of the divided multitude of peoples, one in faith, one in end, one in the participation of the means adapted to the attainment of the end, and one as subject to one and the same authority. To this end He established in the Church all principles which necessarily tend to make organized human societies, and through which they attain the perfection proper to each. That is, in it (the Church), all who wished to be the sons of God by adoption might attain to the perfection demanded by their high calling, and might obtain salvation. The Church, therefore, as we have said, is man's guide to whatever pertains to Heaven. This is the office appointed unto it by God: that it may watch over and may order all that concerns religion, and may, without let or hindrance, exercise, according to its judgment, its charge over Christianity. Wherefore they who pretend that the Church has any wish to interfere in civil matters, or to infringe upon the rights of the State, know it not, or wickedly calumniate it.

God indeed even made the Church a society far more perfect than any other. For the end for which the Church exists is as much higher than the end of other societies as divine grace is above nature, as immortal blessings are above the transitory things on the earth. Therefore the Church is a society divine

in its origin, supernatural in its end and in means proximately adapted to the attainment of that end; but it is a human community inasmuch as it is composed of men. For this reason we find it called in Sacred Scripture by names indicating a perfect society. It is spoken of as the House of God, the city placed upon the mountain to which all nations must come. But it is also the fold presided over by one Shepherd, and into which all Christ's sheep must betake themselves. Yea, it is called the kingdom which God has raised up and which will stand for ever. Finally it is the body of Christ - that is, of course, His mystical body, but a body living and duly organized and composed of many members; members indeed which have not all the same functions, but which, united one to the other, are kept bound together by the guidance and authority of the head.

Indeed no true and perfect human society can be conceived which is not governed by some supreme authority. Christ therefore must have given to His Church a supreme authority to which all Christians must render obedience. For this reason, as the unity of the faith is of necessity required for the unity of the church, inasmuch as it is the body of the faithful, so also for this same unity, inasmuch as the Church is a divinely constituted society, unity of government, which effects and involves unity of communion, is necessary *jure divino*. "The unity of the Church is manifested in the mutual connection or communication of its members, and likewise in the relation of all the members of the Church to one head" (St. Thomas, IIa IIae, 9, xxxix., a. 1).

From this it is easy to see that men can fall away from the unity of the Church by schism, as well as by heresy. "We think that this difference exists between heresy and schism" (writes St. Jerome): "heresy has no perfect dogmatic teaching, whereas schism, through some Episcopal dissent, also separates from the Church" (S. Hieronymus, Comment. in Epist. ad Titum, cap. iii., v. 10-11). In which judgment St. John Chrysostom concurs: "I say and protest (he writes) that it is as wrong to divide the Church as to fall into heresy" (Hom. xi., in Epist. ad Ephes., n. 5). Wherefore as no heresy can ever be justifiable, so in like manner there can be no justification for schism. "There is nothing more grievous than the sacrilege of schism...there can be no just necessity for destroying the unity of the Church" (S. Augustinus, *Contra Epistolam Parmeniani*, lib. ii., cap. ii., n. 25). [anti-ecumenical]

THE SUPREME AUTHORITY FOUNDED BY CHRIST

11. The nature of this supreme authority, which all Christians are bound to obey, can be ascertained only by finding out what was the evident and positive will of Christ. Certainly Christ is a King for ever; and though invisible, He continues unto the end of time to govern and guard His church from Heaven. But since He willed that His kingdom should be visible He was obliged, when He ascended into Heaven, to designate a vice-gerent on earth. "Should anyone say that Christ is the one head and the one shepherd, the one spouse of the one Church, he does not give an adequate reply. It is clear, indeed, that Christ is the author of grace in the Sacraments of the Church; it is Christ Himself who baptizes; it is He who forgives sins; it is He who is the true priest who ^{has} offered Himself upon the altar of the cross, and it is by His power that His body is daily consecrated upon the altar; and still,

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because He was not to be visibly present to all the faithful, He made choice of ministers through whom the aforesaid Sacraments should be dispensed to the faithful as said above" (cap. 74). "For the same reason, therefore, because He was about to withdraw His visible presence from the Church, it was necessary that He should appoint someone in His place, to have the charge of the Universal Church. Hence before His Ascension He said to Peter: 'Feed my sheep' " (St. Thomas, *Contra Gentiles*, lib. iv., cap. 76).

Jesus Christ, therefore, appointed Peter to be that head of the Church; and He also determined that the authority instituted in perpetuity for the salvation of all should be inherited by His successors, in whom the same permanent authority of Peter himself should continue. And so He made that remarkable promise to Peter and to no one else: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church" (Matt. xvi., 18). "To Peter the Lord spoke: to one, therefore, that He might establish unity upon one" (S. Pacianus ad Sempronium, Ep. iii., n. 11). "Without any prelude He mentions St. Peter's name and that of his father (Blessed art thou Simon, son of John) and He does not wish Him to be called any more Simon; claiming him for Himself according to His divine authority He aptly names him Peter, from petra the rock, since upon him He was about to found His Church" (S. Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *In Evang. Joan.*, lib. ii., in cap. i., v. 42).

THE UNIVERSAL JURISDICTION OF ST. PETER

12. From this text it is clear that by the will and command of God the Church rests upon St. Peter, just as a building rests on its foundation. Now the proper nature of a foundation is to be a principle of cohesion for the various parts of the building. It must be the necessary condition of stability and strength. Remove it and the whole building falls. It is consequently the office of St. Peter to support the Church, and to guard it in all its strength and indestructible unity. How could he fulfill this office without the power of commanding, forbidding, and judging, which is properly called jurisdiction? It is only by this power of jurisdiction that nations and commonwealths are held together. A primacy of honor and the shadowy right of giving advice and admonition, which is called direction, could never secure to any society of men unity or strength. The words - and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it - proclaim and establish the authority of which we speak. "What is the it?" (writes Origen). "Is it the rock upon which Christ builds the Church or the Church? The expression indeed is ambiguous, as if the rock and the Church were one and the same. I indeed think that this is so, and that neither against the rock upon which Christ builds His Church nor against the Church shall the gates of Hell prevail" (Origenes, *Comment. in Matt.*, tom. xii., n. ii). The meaning of this divine utterance is, that, notwithstanding the wiles and intrigues which they bring to bear against the Church, it can never be that the church committed to the care of Peter shall succumb or in any wise fail. "For the Church, as the edifice of Christ who has wisely built 'His house upon a rock,' cannot be conquered by the gates of Hell, which may prevail over any man who shall be off the rock and outside the Church, but shall be powerless against it" (Ibid.). Therefore God confided His Church to Peter so that he might safely guard it with his unconquerable power. He invested him, therefore, with the needful authority; since the right

to rule is absolutely required by him who has to guard human society really and effectively. This, furthermore, Christ gave: "To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of Heaven." And He is clearly still speaking of the Church, which a short time before He had called His own, and which He declared He wished to build on Peter as a foundation. The Church is typified not only as an edifice but as a Kingdom, and every one knows that the keys constitute the usual sign of governing authority. Wherefore when Christ promised to give to Peter the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, he promised to give him power and authority over the Church. "The Son committed to Peter the office of spreading the knowledge of His Father and Himself over the whole world. He who increased the Church in all the earth, and proclaimed it to be stronger than the heavens, gave to a mortal man all power in Heaven when He handed him the Keys" (S. Johannes Chrysostomus, *Hom. liv.*, in Matt. v., 2). In this same sense He says: "Whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth it shall be bound also in Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth it shall be loosed also in Heaven." This metaphorical expression of making laws, of judging and of punishing; and the power is said to be of such amplitude and force that God will ratify whatever is decreed by it. Thus it is supreme and absolutely independent, so that, having no other power on earth as its superior, it embraces the whole Church and all things committed to the Church.

The promise is carried out when Christ the Lord after His Resurrection, having thrice asked Peter whether he loved Him more than the rest, lays on him the injunction: "Feed my lambs - feed my sheep." That is He confides to him, without exception, all those who were to belong to His fold. "The Lord does not hesitate. He interrogates, not to learn but to teach. When He was about to ascend into Heaven He left us, as it were, a vice-gerent of His love...and so because Peter alone of all others professes his love he is preferred to all that being the most perfect he should govern the more perfect" (S. Ambrosius, *Exposit. in Evang. secundum Lucam*, lib. x., nn. 175-176).

These, then, are the duties of a shepherd: to place himself as leader at the head of his flock, to provide proper food for it, to ward off dangers, to guard against insidious foes, to defend it against violence: in a word to rule and govern it. Since therefore Peter has been placed as shepherd of the Christian flock he has received the power of governing all men for whose salvation Jesus Christ shed His blood. "Why has He shed His blood? To buy the sheep which He handed over to Peter and his successors" (S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *De Sacerdotio*, lib. ii).

And since all Christians must be closely united in the communion of one immutable faith, Christ the Lord, in virtue of His prayers, obtained for Peter that in the fulfillment of his office he should never fall away from the faith. [supports sedevacantism] "But I have asked for thee that thy faith fail not" (Luke xxii., 32), and He furthermore commanded him to impart light and strength to his brethren as often as the need should arise: "Confirm thy brethren" (Ibid.). He willed then that he whom He had designated as the foundation of the Church should be the defense of its faith. "Could not Christ who confided to him the Kingdom by His own authority have strengthened the faith of one whom

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one appointed those who were to succeed them immediately "in the ministry of the word."

Nay more: they likewise required their successors to choose fitting men, to endow them with like authority, and to confide to them the office and mission of teaching. "Thou, therefore, my son, be strong in the grace which is in Christ Jesus: and the things which thou hast heard of me by many witnesses, the same command to faithful men, who shall be fit to teach others also" (2 Tim. ii, 1-2). Wherefore, as Christ was sent by God and the Apostles by Christ, so the Bishops and those who succeeded them were sent by the Apostles. "The Apostles were appointed by Christ to preach the Gospel to us. Jesus Christ was sent by God. Christ is therefore from God, and the Apostles from Christ, and both according to the will of God....Preaching therefore the word through the countries and cities, when they had proved in the Spirit the first-fruits of their teaching they appointed bishops and deacons for the faithful....They appointed them and then ordained them, so that when they themselves had passed away other tried men should carry on their ministry" (S. Clemens Rom. *Epist. I ad Corinth.* capp. 42, 44). On the one hand, therefore, it is necessary that the mission of teaching whatever Christ had taught should remain perpetual and immutable, and on the other that the duty of accepting and professing all their doctrine should likewise be perpetual and immutable. "Our Lord Jesus Christ, when in His Gospel He testifies that those who not are with Him are His enemies, does not designate any special form of heresy, but declares that all heretics who are not with Him and do not gather with Him, scatter His flock and are His adversaries: He that is not with Me is against Me, and he that gathereth not with Me scattereth" (S. Cyprianus, *Ep. lxxix.*, ad Magnum, n. 1). [anti-ecumenical]

EVERY REVEALED TRUTH, WITHOUT EXCEPTION,
MUST BE ACCEPTED

9. The Church, founded on these principles and mindful of her office, has done nothing with greater zeal and endeavor than she has displayed in guarding the integrity of the faith. Hence she regarded as rebels and expelled from the ranks of her children all who held beliefs on any point of doctrine different from her own. The Arians, the Montanists, the Novatians, the Quartodecimans, the Eutychians, did not certainly reject all Catholic doctrine: they abandoned only a tertian portion of it. Still who does not know that they were declared heretics and banished from the bosom of the Church? In like manner were condemned all authors of heretical

tenets who followed them in subsequent ages. "There can be nothing more dangerous than those heretics who admit nearly the whole cycle of doctrine, and yet by one word, as with a drop of poison, infect the real and simple faith taught by our Lord and handed down by Apostolic tradition" (Auctor Tract. *de Fide Orthodoxa contra Arianos*). [anti-ecumenical]

The practice of the Church has always been the same, as is shown by the unanimous teaching of the Fathers, who were wont to hold as outside Catholic communion, and alien to the Church, whoever would recede in the least degree from any point of doctrine proposed by her authoritative Magisterium. Epiphanius, Augustine, Theodoret, drew up a long list of the heresies of their times. St. Augustine notes that other heresies may spring up, to a single one of which, should any one give his assent, he is by the very fact cut off from Catholic unity. "No one who merely disbelieves in all (these heresies) can for that reason regard himself as a Catholic or call himself one. For there may be or may arise some other heresies, which are not set out in this work of ours, and, if any one holds to one single one of these he is not a Catholic" (S. Augustinus, *De Haeresibus*, n. 88). [anti-ecumenical]

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It is then undoubtedly the office of the Church to guard Christian doctrine and to propagate it in its integrity and purity. But this is not all: the object for which the Church has been instituted is not wholly attained by the performance of this duty. For, since Jesus Christ delivered Himself up for the salvation of the human race, and to this end directed all His teaching and commands, so He ordered the Church to strive, by the truth of its doctrine, to sanctify and to save mankind. But faith alone cannot compass so great, excellent, and important an end. There must needs be also the fitting and devout worship of God, which is to be found chiefly in the divine Sacrifice and in the dispensation of the Sacraments, as well as salutary laws and discipline. All these must be found in the Church, since it continues the mission of the Savior for ever. The Church alone offers to the human race that religion-that state of absolute perfection - which He wished, as it were, to be incorporated in it. And it alone supplies those means of salvation which accord with the ordinary counsels of Providence.

THE CHURCH A DIVINE SOCIETY

10. But as this heavenly doctrine was never left to the arbitrary judgment of private individuals, but, in the beginning delivered by Jesus Christ, was afterwards committed by Him exclusively to the Magisterium already named, so the power of performing and administering the divine mysteries, together with the authority of ruling and governing, was not bestowed by God on all Christians indiscriminately, but on certain chosen persons. For to the Apostles and their legitimate successors alone these words have reference: "Going into the whole world preach the Gospel." "Baptizing them." "Do this in commemoration of Me." "Whose sins you shall forgive they are forgiven them." And in like manner He ordered the Apostles only and those who should lawfully succeed them to feed - that is to govern

with authority - all Christian souls. Whence it also follows that it is necessarily the duty of Christians to be subject and to obey. And these duties of the Apostolic office are, in general, all included in the words of St. Paul: "Let a man so account of us as of the ministers of Christ, and the dispensers of the mysteries of God" (I Cor. iv., 1).

Wherefore Jesus Christ bade all men, present and future, follow Him as their leader and Savior; and this, not merely as individuals, but as forming a society, organized and united in mind. In this way a duly constituted society should exist, formed out of the divided multitude of peoples, one in faith, one in end, one in the participation of the means adapted to the attainment of the end, and one as subject to one and the same authority. To this end He established in the Church all principles which necessarily tend to make organized human societies, and through which they attain the perfection proper to each. That is, in it (the Church), all who wished to be the sons of God by adoption might attain to the perfection demanded by their high calling, and might obtain salvation. The Church, therefore, as we have said, is man's guide to whatever pertains to Heaven. This is the office appointed unto it by God: that it may watch over and may order all that concerns religion, and may, without let or hindrance, exercise, according to its judgment, its charge over Christianity. Wherefore they who pretend that the Church has any wish to interfere in Civil matters, or to infringe upon the rights of the State, know it not, or wickedly calumniate it.

God indeed even made the Church a society far more perfect than any other. For the end for which the Church exists is as much higher than the end of other societies as divine grace is above nature, as immortal blessings are above the transitory things on the earth. Therefore the Church is a society divine in its origin, supernatural in its end and in means proximately adapted to the attainment of that end; but it is a human community inasmuch as it is composed of men. For this reason we find it called in Sacred Scripture by names indicating a perfect society. It is spoken of as the House of God, the city placed upon the mountain to which all nations must come. But it is also the fold presided over by one Shepherd, and into which all Christ's sheep must betake themselves. Yea, it is called the kingdom which God has raised up and which will stand for ever. Finally it is the body of Christ - that is, of course, His mystical body, but a body living and duly organized and composed of many members; members indeed which have not all the same functions, but which, united one to the other, are kept bound together by the guidance and authority of the head.

Indeed no true and perfect human society can be conceived which is not governed by some supreme authority. Christ therefore must have given to His Church a supreme authority to which all Christians must render obedience. For this reason, as the unity of the faith is of necessity required for the unity of the church, inasmuch as it is the body of the faithful, so also for this same unity, inasmuch as the Church is a divinely constituted society, unity of government, which effects and involves unity of communion, is necessary *jure divino*. "The unity of the Church is manifested in the mutual connection or communication of its members, and likewise in the relation of all the members of the Church to one head" (St. Thomas, *IIa IIae*, 9, xxxix., a. 1).

From this it is easy to see that men can fall away from the unity of the Church by schism, as well as by heresy. "We think that this difference exists between heresy and schism" (writes St. Jerome): "heresy has no perfect dogmatic teaching, whereas schism, through some Episcopal dissent, also separates from the Church" (S. Hieronymus, *Comment. in Epist. ad Titum*, cap. iii., v. 10-11). In which judgment St. John Chrysostom concurs: "I say and protest (he writes) that it is as wrong to divide the Church as to fall into heresy" (Hom. xi., in *Epist. ad Ephes.*, n. 5). Wherefore as no heresy can ever be justifiable, so in like manner there can be no justification for schism. "There is nothing more grievous than the sacrilege of schism....there can be no just necessity for destroying the unity of the Church" (S. Augustinus, *Contra Epistolam Parmeniani*, lib. ii., cap. ii., n. 25). [anti-ecumenical]

THE SUPREME AUTHORITY FOUNDED BY CHRIST

11. The nature of this supreme authority, which all Christians are bound to obey, can be ascertained only by finding out what was the evident and positive will of Christ. Certainly Christ is a King for ever; and though invisible, He continues unto the end of time to govern and guard His church from Heaven. But since He willed that His kingdom should be visible He was obliged, when He ascended into Heaven, to designate a vice-gerent on earth. "Should anyone say that Christ is the one head and the one shepherd, the one spouse of the one Church, he does not give an adequate reply. It is clear, indeed, that Christ is the author of grace in the Sacraments of the Church; it is Christ Himself who baptizes; it is He who forgives sins; it is He who is the true priest who bath offered Himself upon the altar of the cross, and it is by His power that His body is daily consecrated upon the altar; and still, because He was not to be visibly present to all the faithful, He made choice of ministers through whom the aforesaid Sacraments should be dispensed to the

faithful as said above" (cap. 74). "For the same reason, therefore, because He was about to withdraw His visible presence from the Church, it was necessary that He should appoint someone in His place, to have the charge of the Universal Church. Hence before His Ascension He said to Peter: 'Feed my sheep' " (St. Thomas, *Contra Gentiles*, lib. iv., cap. 76).

Jesus Christ, therefore, appointed Peter to be that head of the Church; and He also determined that the authority instituted in perpetuity for the salvation of all should be inherited by His successors, in whom the same permanent authority of Peter himself should continue. And so He made that remarkable promise to Peter and to no one else: "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church" (Matt. xvi., 18). "To Peter the Lord spoke: to one, therefore, that He might establish unity upon one" (S. Pacianus ad Sempronium, Ep. iii., n. 11). "Without any prelude He mentions St. Peter's name and that of his father (Blessed art thou Simon, son of John) and He does not wish Him to be called any more Simon; claiming him for Himself according to His divine authority He aptly names him Peter, from petra the rock, since upon him He was about to found His Church" (S. Cyrillus Alexandrinus, *In Evang. Joan.*, lib. ii., in cap. i., v. 42).

THE UNIVERSAL JURISDICTION OF ST. PETER

12. From this text it is clear that by the will and command of God the Church rests upon St. Peter, just as a building rests on its foundation. Now the proper nature of a foundation is to be a principle of cohesion for the various parts of the building. It must be the necessary condition of stability and strength. Remove it and the whole building falls. It is consequently the office of St. Peter to support the Church, and to guard it in all its strength and indestructible unity. How could he fulfill this office without the power of commanding, forbidding, and judging, which is properly called jurisdiction? It is only by this power of jurisdiction that nations and commonwealths are held together. A primacy of honor and the shadowy right of giving advice and admonition, which is called direction, could never secure to any society of men unity or strength. The words - and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it - proclaim and establish the authority of which we speak. "What is the it?" (writes Origen). "Is it the rock upon which Christ builds the Church or the Church? The expression indeed is ambiguous, as if the rock and the Church were one and the same. I indeed think that this is so, and that neither against the rock upon which Christ builds His Church nor against the Church shall the gates of Hell prevail" (Origenes, *Comment. in Matt.*, tom.

xii., n. ii). The meaning of this divine utterance is, that, notwithstanding the wiles and intrigues which they bring to bear against the Church, it can never be that the church committed to the care of Peter shall succumb or in any wise fail. "For the Church, as the edifice of Christ who has wisely built 'His house upon a rock,' cannot be conquered by the gates of Hell, which may prevail over any man who shall be off the rock and outside the Church, but shall be powerless against it" (Ibid.). Therefore God confided His Church to Peter so that he might safely guard it with his unconquerable power. He invested him, therefore, with the needful authority; since the right to rule is absolutely required by him who has to guard human society really and effectively. This, furthermore, Christ gave: "To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of Heaven." And He is clearly still speaking of the Church, which a short time before He had called His own, and which He declared He wished to build on Peter as a foundation. The Church is typified not only as an edifice but as a Kingdom, and every one knows that the keys constitute the usual sign of governing authority. Wherefore when Christ promised to give to Peter the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, he promised to give him power and authority over the Church. "The Son committed to Peter the office of spreading the knowledge of His Father and Himself over the whole world. He who increased the Church in all the earth, and proclaimed it to be stronger than the heavens, gave to a mortal man all power in Heaven when He handed him the Keys" (S. Johannes Chrysostomus, *Hom. liv.*, in Matt. v., 2). In this same sense He says: "Whatsoever thou shall bind upon earth it shall be bound also in Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth it shall be loosed also in Heaven." This metaphorical expression of binding and loosing indicates the power of making laws, of judging and of punishing; and the power is said to be of such amplitude and force that God will ratify whatever is decreed by it. Thus it is supreme and absolutely independent, so that, having no other power on earth as its superior, it embraces the whole Church and all things committed to the Church.

The promise is carried out when Christ the Lord after His Resurrection, having thrice asked Peter whether he loved Him more than the rest, lays on him the injunction: "Feed my lambs - feed my sheep." That is He confides to him, without exception, all those who were to belong to His fold. "The Lord does not hesitate. He interrogates, not to learn but to teach. When He was about to ascend into Heaven He left us, as it were, a vice-gerent of His love....and so because Peter alone of all others professes his love he is preferred to all-that being the most perfect he should govern the more perfect" (S.

Ambrosius, *Exposit. in Evang. secundum Lucam*, lib. x., nn. 175-176).

These, then, are the duties of a shepherd: to place himself as leader at the head of his flock, to provide proper food for it, to ward off dangers, to guard against insidious foes, to defend it against violence: in a word to rule and govern it. Since therefore Peter has been placed as shepherd of the Christian flock he has received the power of governing all men for whose salvation Jesus Christ shed His blood. "Why has He shed His blood? To buy the sheep which He handed over to Peter and his successors" (S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *De Sacerdotio*, lib. ii).

And since all Christians must be closely united in the communion of one immutable faith, Christ the Lord, in virtue of His prayers, obtained for Peter that in the fulfillment of his office he should never fall away from the faith. [supports sedevacantism] "But I have asked for thee that thy faith fail not" (Luke xxii., 32), and He furthermore commanded him to impart light and strength to his brethren as often as the need should arise: "Confirm thy brethren" (Ibid.). He willed then that he whom He had designated as the foundation of the Church should be the defense of its faith. "Could not Christ who confided to him the Kingdom by His own authority have strengthened the faith of one whom He designated a rock to show the foundation of the Church?" (S. Ambrosius, *De Fide*, lib. iv., n. 56). For this reason Jesus Christ willed that Peter should participate in certain names, signs of great things which properly belong to Himself alone: in order that identity of titles should show identity of power. So He who is Himself "the chief corner-stone in whom all the building being framed together, groweth up in a holy temple in the Lord" (Eph. ii., 21), placed Peter as it were a stone to support the Church. "When he heard 'thou art a rock,' he was ennobled by the announcement. Although he is a rock, not as Christ is a rock, but as Peter is a rock. For Christ is by His very being an immovable rock; Peter only through this rock. Christ imparts His gifts, and is not exhausted....He is a priest, and makes priests. He is a rock, and constitutes a rock" (Hom. *de Poenitentia*, n. 4 in Appendice opp. S. Basilii). He who is the King of His Church, "Who hath the key of David, who openeth and no man shutteth, who shutteth and no man openeth (Apoc. iii., 7), having delivered the keys to Peter declared him Prince of the Christian commonwealth. So, too, He, the Great Shepherd, who calls Himself "the Good Shepherd," constituted Peter the pastor "of His lambs and sheep. Feed My lambs, feed My Sheep." Wherefore Chrysostom says: "He was preeminent among the Apostles: He was the mouthpiece of the Apostles and the head of the Apostolic College....at

the same time showing him that henceforth he ought to have confidence, and as it were blotting out his denial, He commits to him the government of his brethren....He saith to him: 'If thou lovest Me, be over my brethren.' Finally He who confirms in "every good work and word" (2 Thess. ii., 16) commands Peter "to confirm his brethren."

Rightly, therefore, does St. Leo the Great say: "From the whole world Peter alone is chosen to take the lead in calling all nations, to be the head of all the Apostles and of all the Fathers of the Church. So that, although in the people of God there are many priests and many pastors Peter should by right rule all of those over whom Christ Himself is the chief ruler" (Sermo iv., cap. 2). And so St. Gregory the Great, writing to the Emperor Maurice Augustus, says: "It is evident to all who know the gospel that the charge of the whole Church was committed to St. Peter, the Apostle and Prince of all the Apostles, by the word of the Lord....Behold! he hath received the keys of the heavenly kingdom-the power of binding and loosing is conferred upon him: the care of the whole government of the Church is confided to him" (Epist. lib. v., Epist. xx).

THE ROMAN PONTIFFS POSSESS SUPREME POWER IN THE CHURCH *JURE DIVINO*

13. It was necessary that a government of this kind, since it belongs to the constitution and formation of the Church, as its principal element - that is as the principle of unity and the foundation of lasting stability - should in no wise come to an end with St. Peter, but should pass to his successors from one to another. "There remains, therefore, the ordinance of truth, and St. Peter, persevering in the strength of the rock which he had received, hath not abandoned the government of the Church which had been confided to him" (S. Leo M. *sermo* iii., cap. 3). For this reason the Pontiffs who succeed Peter in the Roman Episcopate receive the supreme power in the Church, *jure divino*. "We define" (declare the Fathers of the Council of Florence) "that the Holy and Apostolic See and the Roman Pontiff hold the primacy of the Church throughout the whole world: and that the same Roman Pontiff is the successor of St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and the true Vicar of Christ, the head of the whole Church, and the father and teacher of all Christians; and that full power was given to him, in Blessed Peter, by our Lord Jesus Christ to feed, to rule, and to govern the universal Church, as is also contained in the acts of oecumenical councils and in the sacred canons" (Conc. Florentinum). Similarly the Fourth Council of Lateran declares: "The Roman Church, as the mother and mistress of all the faithful, by the will of Christ obtains primacy of jurisdiction over all other

Churches." These declarations were preceded by the consent of antiquity which ever acknowledged, without the slightest doubt or hesitation, the Bishops of Rome, and revered them, as the legitimate successors of St. Peter.

Who is unaware of the many and evident testimonies of the holy Fathers which exist to this effect? Most remarkable is that of St. Irenaeus who, referring to the Roman Church, says: "With this Church, on account of its preeminent authority, it is necessary that every Church should be in concord" (*Contra Haereses*, lib. iii., cap. 3, n. 2); and St. Cyprian also says of the Roman Church, that "it is the root and mother of the Catholic Church, the chair of Peter, and the principal Church whence sacerdotal unity has its source" (*Ep.* xlviii., ad Cornelium, n. 3. and *Ep. liac.*, ad eundem, n. 14). He calls it the chair of Peter because it is occupied by the successor of Peter: he calls it the principal Church, on account of the primacy conferred on Peter himself and his legitimate successors; and the source of unity, because the Roman Church is the efficient cause of unity in the Christian commonwealth. For this reason Jerome addresses Damasus thus: "My words are spoken to the successor of the Fisherman, to the disciple of the Cross....I communicate with none save your Blessedness, that is with the chair of Peter. For this I know is the rock on which the Church is built" (*Ep.* xv., ad Damasum, n. 2). Union with the Roman See of Peter is to him always the public criterion of a Catholic. "I acknowledge everyone who is united with the See of Peter" (*Ep.* xvi., ad Damasum, n. 2). And for a like reason St. Augustine publicly attests that, "the primacy of the Apostolic chair always existed in the Roman Church" (*Ep.* xliii., n. 7); and he denies that anyone who dissents from the Roman faith can be a Catholic. "You are not to be looked upon as holding the true Catholic faith if you do not teach that the faith of Rome is to be held" (*Sermo* cxx., n. 13). So, too, St. Cyprian: "To be in communion with Cornelius is to be in communion with the Catholic Church" (*Ep.* lv., n. 1). In the same way Maximus the Abbot teaches that obedience to the Roman Pontiff is the proof of the true faith and of legitimate communion. Therefore if a man does not want to be, or to be called, a heretic, let him not strive to please this or that man...but let him hasten before all things to be in communion with the Roman See. If he be in communion with it, he should be acknowledged by all and everywhere as faithful and orthodox. He speaks in vain who tries to persuade me of the orthodoxy of those who, like himself, refuse obedience to his Holiness the Pope of the most holy Church of Rome: that is to the Apostolic See." The reason and motive of this he explains to be that

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"the Apostolic See has received and hath government, authority, and power of binding and loosing from the Incarnate Word Himself; and, according to all holy synods, sacred canons and decrees, in all things and through all things, in respect of all the holy churches of God throughout the whole world, since the Word in Heaven who rules the Heavenly powers binds and loosens there" (*Defloratio ex Epistola ad Petrum illustrem*).

Wherefore what was acknowledged and observed as Christian faith, not by one nation only nor in one age, but by the East and by the West, and through all ages, this Philip, the priest, the Pontifical legate at the Council of Ephesus, no voice being raised in dissent, recalls: "No one can doubt, yea, it is known unto all ages, that St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, the pillar of the faith and the ground of the Catholic Church, received the keys of the Kingdom from Our Lord Jesus Christ. That is: the power of forgiving and retaining sins was given to him who, up to the present time, lives and exercises judgment in the persons of his successors" (*Actio iii.*). The pronouncement of the Council of Chalcedon on the same matter is present to the minds of all: "Peter has spoken through Leo" (*Actio ii.*), to which the voice of the Third Council of Constantinople responds as an echo: "The chief Prince of the Apostles was fighting on our side: for we have had as our ally his follower and the successor to his see: and the paper and the ink were seen, and Peter spoke through Agatho" (*Actio xviii.*).

In the formula of Catholic faith drawn up and proposed by Hormisdas, which was subscribed at the beginning of the sixth century in the great Eighth Council by the Emperor Justinian, by Epiphanius, John and Menna, the Patriarchs, this same is declared with great weight and solemnity. "For the pronouncement of Our Lord Jesus Christ saying: 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church,' &c., cannot be passed over. What is said is proved by the result, because Catholic faith has always been preserved without stain in the Apostolic See" (*Post Epistolam*, xxvi., ad omnes Episc. Hispan., n. 4). We have no wish to quote every available declaration; but it is well to recall the formula of faith which Michael Paleologus professed in the Second Council of Lyons: "The same holy Roman Church possesses the sovereign and plenary primacy and authority over the whole Catholic Church, which, truly and humbly, it acknowledges to have received together with the plenitude of power from the Lord Himself, in the person of St. Peter, the Prince or Head of the Apostles, of whom the Roman Pontiff is the successor. And as it is bound to defend the truth of

faith beyond all others, so also if any question should arise concerning the faith it must be determined by its judgment" (*Actio iv.*).

BISHOPS BELONG TO THE ESSENTIAL CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH

14. But if the authority of Peter and his successors is plenary and supreme, it is not to be regarded as the sole authority. For He who made Peter the foundation of the Church also "chose, twelve, whom He called apostles" (Luke vi., 13); and just as it is necessary that the authority of Peter should be perpetuated in the Roman Pontiff, so, by the fact that the bishops succeed the Apostles, they inherit their ordinary power, and thus the episcopal order necessarily belongs to the essential constitution of the Church. Although they do not receive plenary, or universal, or supreme authority, they are not to be looked as vicars of the Roman Pontiffs; because they exercise a power really their own, and are most truly called the ordinary pastors of the peoples over whom they rule.

But since the successor of Peter is one, and those of the Apostles are many, it is necessary to examine into the relations which exist between him and them according to the divine constitution of the Church. Above all things the need of union between the bishops and the successors of Peter is clear and undeniable. This bond once broken, Christians would be separated and scattered, and would in no wise form one body and one flock. "The safety of the Church depends on the dignity of the chief priest, to whom if an extraordinary and supreme power is not given, there are as many schisms to be expected in the Church as there are priests" (S. Hieronymus, *Dialog. contra Luciferianos*, n. 9). It is necessary, therefore, to bear this in mind, viz., that nothing was conferred on the apostles apart from Peter, but that several things were conferred upon Peter apart from the Apostles. St. John Chrysostom in explaining the words of Christ asks: "Why, passing over the others, does He speak to Peter about these things?" And he replies unhesitatingly and at once, "Because he was pre-eminent among the Apostles, the mouthpiece of the Disciples, and the head of the college" (*Hom. lxxxviii.* in Joan., n. 1). He alone was designated as the foundation of the Church. To him He gave the power of binding and loosing; to him alone was given the power of feeding. On the other hand, whatever authority and office the Apostles received, they received in conjunction with Peter. "If the divine benignity willed anything to be in common between him and the other princes, whatever He did not deny to the others He gave only through him. So that whereas Peter alone received many things, He conferred nothing on any

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of the rest without Peter participating in it" (S. Leo M. sermo iv., cap. 2).

BISHOPS SEPARATED FROM PETER AND HIS
SUCCESSORS, LOSE ALL JURISDICTION

15. From this it must be clearly understood that Bishops are deprived of the right and power of ruling, if they deliberately secede from Peter and his successors; [anti-ecumenical] because, by this secession, they are separated from the foundation on which the whole edifice must rest. They are therefore outside the edifice itself; and for this very reason they are separated from the fold, [anti-frankenchurch] whose leader is the Chief Pastor; they are exiled from the Kingdom, the keys of which were given by Christ to Peter alone.

These things enable us to see the heavenly ideal, and the divine exemplar, of the constitution of the Christian commonwealth, namely: When the Divine founder decreed that the Church should be one in faith, in government, and in communion, He chose Peter and his successors as the principle and centre, as it were, of this unity. Wherefore St. Cyprian says: "The following is a short and easy proof of the faith. The Lord saith to Peter: 'I say to thee thou art Peter'; on him alone He buildeth His Church; and although after His Resurrection He gives a similar power to all the Apostles and says: 'As the Father hath sent me,' &c., still in order to make the necessary unity clear, by His own authority He laid down the source of that unity as beginning from one" (*De Unit. Eccl.*, n. 4). And Optatus of Milevis says: "You cannot deny that you know that in the city of Rome the Episcopal chair was first conferred on Peter. In this Peter, the head of all the Apostles (hence his name Cephas), has sat; in which chair alone unity was to be preserved for all, lest any of the other apostles should claim anything as exclusively his own. So much so, that he who would place another chair against that one chair, would be a schismatic and a sinner" (*De Schism. Donat.*, lib. ii). Hence the teaching of Cyprian, that heresy and schism arise and are begotten from the fact that due obedience is refused to the supreme authority. "Heresies and schisms have no other origin than that obedience is refused to the priest of God, and that men lose sight of the fact that there is one judge in the place of Christ in this world" (*Epist. xii. ad Cornelium*, n. 5). No one, therefore, unless in communion with Peter can share in his authority, since it is absurd to imagine that he who is outside can command in the Church. [supports sedevacantism] Wherefore Optatus of Milevis blamed the Donatists for this reason: "Against which ages (of hell) we read that Peter

received the saving keys, that is to say, our prince, to whom it was said by Christ: 'To thee will I give the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and the gates of Hell shall not conquer them.' Whence is it therefore that you strive to obtain for yourselves the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven-you who fight against the chair of Peter?" (*Lib. ii.*, n. 45).

But the episcopal order is rightly judged to be in communion with Peter, as Christ commanded, if it be subject to and obeys Peter; otherwise it necessarily becomes a lawless and disorderly crowd. It is not sufficient for the due preservation of the unity of the faith that the head should merely have been charged with the office of superintendent, or should have been invested solely with a power of direction. But it is absolutely necessary that he should have received real and sovereign authority which the whole community is bound to obey. What had the Son of God in view when he promised the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven to Peter alone? Biblical usage and the unanimous teaching of the Fathers clearly show that supreme authority is designated in the passage by the word keys. Nor is it lawful to interpret in a different sense what was given to Peter alone, and what was given to the other Apostles conjointly with him. If the power of binding, loosening, and feeding confers upon each and every one of the Bishops the successors of the Apostles a real authority to rule the people committed to him, certainly the same power must have the same effect in his case to whom the duty of feeding the lambs and sheep has been assigned by God. "Christ constituted [Peter] not only pastor, but pastor of pastors; Peter therefore feeds the lambs and feeds the sheep, feeds the children and feeds the mothers, governs the subjects and rules the prelates, because the lambs and the sheep form the whole of the Church" (S. Brunonis Episcopi Signiensis *Comment. in Joan.*, part iii., cap. 21, n. 55). Hence those remarkable expressions of the ancients concerning St. Peter, which most clearly set forth the fact that he was placed in the highest degree of dignity and authority. They frequently call him "the Prince of the College of the Disciples; the Prince of the holy Apostles; the leader of that choir; the mouthpiece of all the Apostles; the head of that family; the ruler of the whole world; the first of the Apostles; the safeguard of the Church." In this sense St. Bernard writes as follows to Pope Eugenius: "Who art thou? The great priest - the high priest. Thou art the Prince of Bishops and the heir of the Apostles. . . . Thou art he to whom the keys were given. There are, it is true, other gatekeepers of heaven and to pastors of flocks, but thou art so much the more glorious as thou hast inherited a different and more glorious name than all the rest. They have flocks consigned to them, one to each; to thee all the

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flocks are confided as one flock to one shepherd, and not alone the sheep, but the shepherds. You ask how I prove this? From the words of the Lord. To which I do not say - of the Bishops, but even of the Apostles have all the sheep been so absolutely and unreservedly committed? If thou lovest me, Peter, feed my sheep. Which sheep? Of this or that country, or kingdom? My sheep, He says: to whom therefore is it not evident that he does not designate some, but all? We can make no exception where no distinction is made" (*De Consideratione*, lib. ii., cap. 8).

But it is opposed to the truth, and in evident contradiction with the divine constitution of the Church, to hold that while each Bishop is individually bound to obey the authority of the Roman Pontiffs, taken collectively the Bishops are not so bound. For it is the nature and object of a foundation to support the unity of the whole edifice and to give stability to it, rather than to each component part; and in the present case this is much more applicable, since Christ the Lord wished that by the strength and solidity of the foundation the gates of hell should be prevented from prevailing against the Church. All are agreed that the divine promise must be understood of the Church as a whole, and not of any certain portions of it. These can indeed be overcome by the assaults of the powers of hell, as in point of fact has befallen some of them. Moreover, he who is set over the whole flock must have authority, not only over the sheep dispersed throughout the Church, but also when they are assembled together. Do the sheep when they are all assembled together rule and guide the shepherd? Do the successors of the Apostles assembled together constitute the foundation on which the successor of St. Peter rests in order to derive therefrom strength and stability? Surely jurisdiction and authority belong to him in whose power have been placed the keys of the Kingdom taken collectively. And as the Bishops, each in his own district, command with real power not only individuals but the whole community, so the Roman pontiffs, whose jurisdiction extends to the whole Christian commonwealth, must have all its parts, even taken collectively, subject and obedient to their authority. Christ the Lord, as we have quite sufficiently shown, made Peter and his successors His vicars, to exercise for ever in the Church the power which He exercised during His mortal life. Can the Apostolic College be said to have been above its master in authority?

This power over the Episcopal College to which we refer, and which is clearly set forth in Sacred Scripture, has ever been acknowledged and attested by the Church, as is clear from the teaching of General Councils. "We read that the Roman Pontiff has pronounced judgments on the prelates of all the

churches; we do not read that anybody has pronounced sentence on him" (Hadrianus ii., in *Allocutione* iii., ad *Synodum Romanum* an. 869, Cf. *Actionem* vii., Conc. Constantinopolitani iv). The reason for which is stated thus: "there is no authority greater than that of the Apostolic See" (Nicholaus in *Epist.* lxxxvi. ad Michael. Imperat.) wherefore Gelasius on the decrees of Councils says: "That which the First See has not approved of cannot stand; but what it has thought well to decree has been received by the whole Church" (*Epist.* xxvi., ad Episcopos Dardaniae, n. 5). It has ever been unquestionably the office of the Roman Pontiffs to ratify or to reject the decrees of Councils. Leo the Great rescinded the acts of the Conciliabulum of Ephesus. Damasus rejected those of Rimini, and Hadrian I. those of Constantinople. The 28th Canon of the Council of Chalcedon, by the very fact that it lacks the assent and approval of the Apostolic See, is admitted by all to be worthless. Rightly, therefore, has Leo X. laid down in the 5th council of Lateran "that the Roman Pontiff alone, as having authority over all Councils, has full jurisdiction and power to summon, to transfer, to dissolve Councils, as is clear, not only from the testimony of Sacred Scripture, from the teaching of the Fathers and of the Roman Pontiffs, and from the decrees of the sacred canons, but from the teaching of the very Councils themselves." Indeed, Sacred Scripture attests that the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven were given to Peter alone, and that the power of binding and loosening was granted to the Apostles and to Peter; but there is nothing to show that the Apostles received supreme power without Peter, and against Peter. Such power they certainly did not receive from Jesus Christ. Wherefore, in the decree of the Vatican Council as to the nature and authority of the primacy of the Roman Pontiff, no newly conceived opinion is set forth, but the venerable and constant belief of every age (Sess. iv., cap. 3).

Nor does it beget any confusion in the administration that Christians are bound to obey a twofold authority. We are prohibited in the first place by Divine Wisdom from entertaining any such thought, since this form of government was constituted by the counsel of God Himself. In the second place we must note that the due order of things and their mutual relations are disturbed if there be a twofold magistracy of the same rank set over a people, neither of which is amenable to the other. But the authority of the Roman Pontiff is supreme, universal, independent; that of the bishops limited, and dependent. [anti-collegiality] "It is not congruous that two superiors with equal authority should be placed over the same flock; but that two, one of whom is higher than the other, should be

placed over the same people is not incongruous. Thus the parish priest, the bishop, and the Pope, are placed immediately over the same people" (St. Thomas *in iv Sent.*, dist. xvii., a. 4, ad q. 4, ad 3). So the Roman Pontiffs, mindful of their duty, wish above all things, that the divine constitution of the Church should be preserved. Therefore, as they defend with all necessary care and vigilance their own authority, so they have always labored, and will continue to labor, that the authority of the bishops may be upheld. Yea, they look up whatever honor or obedience is given to the bishops as paid to themselves. "My honor is the honor of the Universal Church. My honor is the strength and stability of my brethren. Then am I honored when due honor is given to everyone" (S. Gregorius M. *Epistolarum*, lib viii., ep. xxx., ad Eulogium).

APPEAL TO SHEEP NOT OF THE FOLD

16. In what has been said we have faithfully described the exemplar and form of the Church as divinely constituted. We have treated at length of its unity: we have explained sufficiently its nature, and pointed out the way in which the Divine Founder of the Church willed that it should be preserved. There is no reason to doubt that all those, who by Divine Grace and mercy have had the happiness to have been born, as it were, in the bosom of the Catholic Church, and to have lived in it, will listen to Our Apostolic Voice: "My sheep hear my voice" (John x., 27), and that they will derive from Our words fuller instruction and a more perfect disposition to keep united with their respective pastors, and through them with the Supreme Pastor, so that they may remain more securely within the one fold, and may derive therefrom a greater abundance of salutary fruit. But We, who, notwithstanding our unfitness for this great dignity and office, govern by virtue of the authority conferred on us by Jesus Christ, as we "look on Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith" (Heb. xii., 2) feel Our heart fired by His charity. What Christ has said of Himself We may truly repeat of Ourselves: "Other sheep I have that are not of this fold: them also I must bring and they shall hear my voice" (John x., 16). Let all those, therefore, who detest the widespread irreligion of our times, and acknowledge and confess Jesus Christ to be the Son of God and the Saviour of the human race, but who have wandered away from the Spouse, listen to Our voice. Let them not refuse to obey Our paternal charity. Those who acknowledge Christ must acknowledge Him wholly and entirely. "The Head and the body are Christ wholly and entirely. The Head is the only-begotten son of God, the body is His Church; the bridegroom and the bride, two in one flesh. All who dissent from

the Scriptures concerning Christ, although they may be found in all places in which the Church is found, are not in the Church; [anti-ecumenical & anti frankenchurch] and again all those who agree with the Scriptures concerning the Head, and do not communicate in the unity of the Church, are not in the Church" (S. Augustinus, *Contra Donatistas Epistola*, sive De Unit. Eccl., cap. iv., n. 7).

And with the same yearning Our soul goes out to those whom the foul breath of irreligion has not entirely corrupted, and who at least seek to have the true God, the Creator of Heaven and earth, as their Father. Let such as these take counsel with themselves, and realize that they can in no wise be counted among the children of God, unless they take Christ Jesus as their Brother, and at the same time the Church as their mother. We lovingly address to all the words of St. Augustine: "Let us love the Lord our God; let us love His Church; the Lord as our Father, the Church as our Mother. Let no one say, I go indeed to idols, I consult fortune-tellers and soothsayers; but I leave not the Church of God: I am a Catholic. Clinging to thy Mother, thou offendest thy Father. Another, too, says: 'Far be it from me; I do not consult fortune-telling, I seek not soothsaying, I seek not profane divinations, I go not to the worship of devils, I serve not stones: but I am on the side of Donatus.' What doth it profit thee not to offend the Father, who avenges an offence against the Mother? What doth it profit to confess the Lord, to honour God, to preach Him, to acknowledge His Son, and to confess that He sits on the right hand of the Father, if you blaspheme His Church? . . . If you had a beneficent friend, whom you honoured daily - and even once calumniated his spouse, would you ever enter his house? Hold fast, therefore, O dearly beloved, hold fast altogether God as your Father, and the Church as your Mother" (*Enarratio in Psal.* lxxxviii., sermo ii., n. 14).

Above all things, trusting in the mercy of God, who is able to move the hearts of men and to incline them as and when He pleases, We most earnestly commend to His loving kindness all those of whom We have spoken. As a pledge of Divine grace, and as a token of Our affection, We lovingly impart to you, in the Lord, Venerable Brethren, to your clergy and people, Our Apostolic Blessing.

Given at St. Peter's, Rome, the 29th day of June, in the year 1896, and the nineteenth of our Pontificate.

against
schismatics
& SSPX